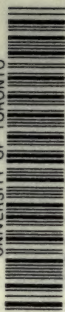


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# ITALY:

REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS

FROM

THE YEAR 1816 to 1854.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHTON, G.C.B.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1861.

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## PREFACE.

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I PUBLISH these little volumes with much hesitation. They treat, for the most part, of times long past, and refer to a country now made accessible by a few hours' journey and familiar to us by every mode of illustration. It is more than a hundred years ago that Johnson, reviewing a work called 'Memoirs of the Court of Augustus,' said of it,—the "book relates to a people "who above all others have furnished employment to "the studious and amusement to the idle ; who have "scarcely left behind them a coin or a stone which has "not been examined and explained a thousand times ; "and whose dress and food and household stuff it has "been the pride of learning to understand." This remark must apply, in part, to any work that treats either of Rome, or Italy under its Roman masters ; and if it was true in 1756, with how much greater force must it apply to a book published after an interval during which archæological studies, and particularly those which relate to Rome, have made greater progress than at any former period !

I should not, indeed, have ventured upon such a publication but for the following circumstance.

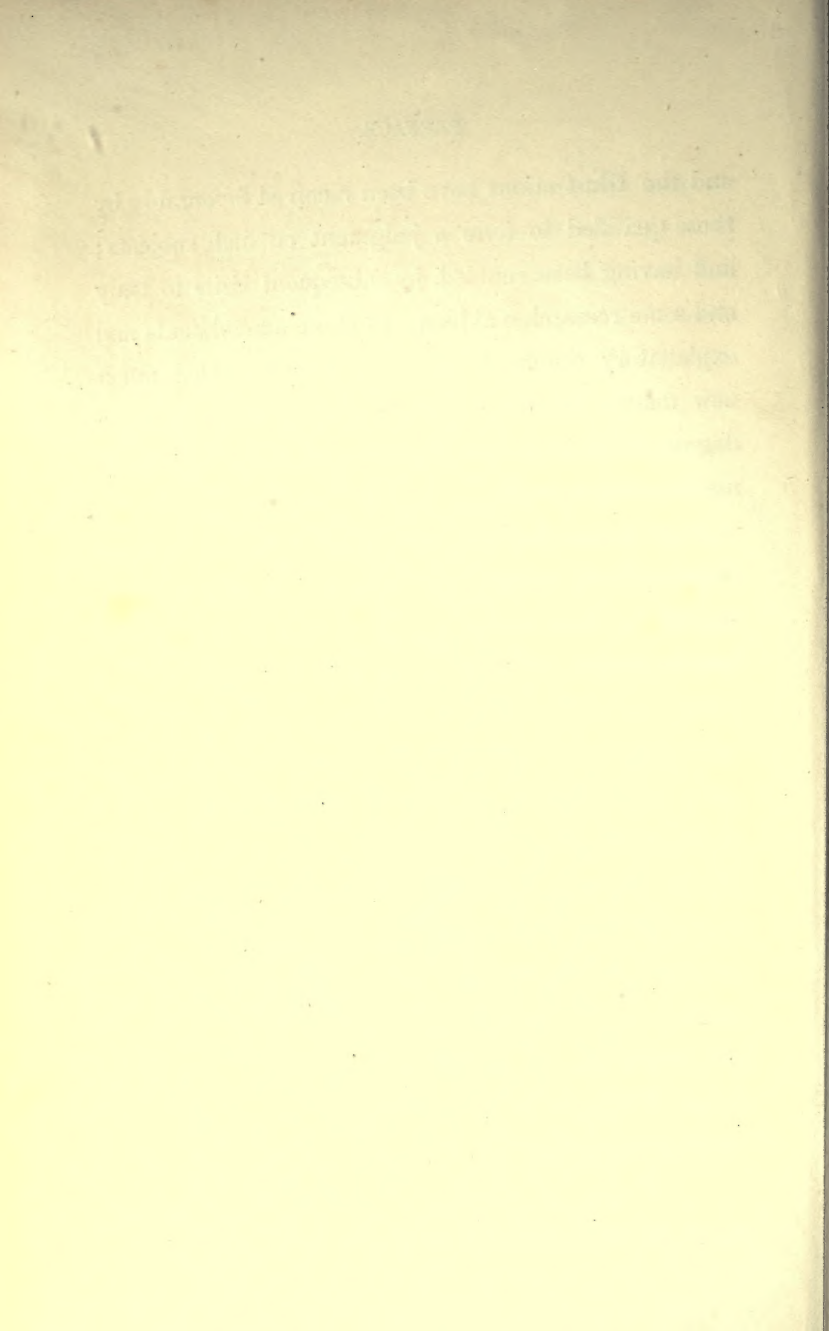
When I rejoined Lord Byron at La Mira, on the banks of the Brenta, in the summer of 1817, I found him employed upon the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' and, later in the autumn, he showed me the first sketch of the Poem. It was much shorter than it afterwards became, and it did not remark on several objects which appeared to me peculiarly worthy of notice. I made a list of those objects, and, in conversation with him, gave him reasons for the selection. The result was the Work as it now appears, and he then engaged me to write notes for the whole canto. I performed this task chiefly at Venice, where I had the advantage of consulting the Ducal library, and was seduced by the attractions of the inquiry, and, if I may say so much, by my love for it, into a commentary too bulky for an appendix to the Verses. The consequence was the division of the notes into two parts, one of which was appended to the canto in the form of notes, the other appeared in a separate volume of 'Historical Illustrations.' I mentioned this in the Preface to that volume, and I repeat it now to another generation, to account for venturing to write about Italy at all.

I have been given to understand that both the Notes



and the Illustrations have been received favourably by those qualified to form a judgment on such subjects; and having been enabled, by subsequent visits to Italy and some researches at home, to make amendments and explanatory comments on them, I have added much new matter, which, I hope, may contribute, in some degree, to their general interest, and make them more useful to the traveller.

I am aware that this new portion of my volumes requires most excuse, but that excuse will, I hope, suggest itself to the reader; for, if it does not, nothing that the writer might say would be of any avail.





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# ITALY.

## REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS

FROM THE YEAR 1816 TO 1854.

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### CHAPTER I.

Switzerland — Chamouni — Byron — Shelley — Madame de Staël — Schlegel — Bonstetten, his account of Voltaire — Departure for Italy — La Ripaille — General Duppa — Meillerie — Lago Maggiore — Isola Bella.

IN the summer of 1816 I visited Switzerland for the first time, and remained there until early in the following October. I passed those happy days with Lord Byron, chiefly at the villa Diodati, on the Savoy side of the lake of Geneva, but, occasionally, in short journeys to some of the spots usually visited by strangers. One was to Chamouni, another to the Grindelwald. Of the latter Lord Byron recorded short notices in a journal which he sent to his sister, and which Mr. Moore published in his Life. It was on our visit to Chamouni that a circumstance occurred which has been so entirely distorted, and represented directly contrary to the fact, that I feel bound to mention it. At an inn on the road the travellers' book was put before us, and Lord Byron having written his name, pointed out to me the name of



Mr. Shelley, with the words atheist and philanthropist written in Greek opposite to it; and observing, "Do you not think I shall do Shelley a service by scratching this out?" he defaced the words with great care. This was the fact—the fiction afterwards printed and published was, that Lord Byron wrote the word "atheist" after his own name in that book; and Mr. Southey, although he does not repeat that absurd story, nevertheless endeavours to make Lord Byron answerable for Mr. Shelley's inscription.

During my residence at Diodati I had the satisfaction of renewing my acquaintance with Madame de Staël, and seeing her where she was best seen—at home. I have elsewhere in this volume attempted to show her in the light in which she appeared at Coppet. There, indeed, she gave full play to a disposition most engaging and unaffected. In the artificial existence of Paris and London some foibles were forced into life which were dormant in her native Switzerland. In the society of cities she was not always satisfied with waiting for the approaches of the "little people called the great," but was impatient and rather too persevering in her advances. Not so at Coppet—there she was impartially attentive to all, or, if her civilities were directed to one more than to another, they were pointed to the guest whose inferior pretensions made them the more acceptable to him. In the exercise of her polite hospitalities, she forgot former injuries; and one of the company whom we met at her table was the wife of a

French marshal, who, in the days of Napoleon, would not willingly be seen in the same room with Madame de Staël. In contrast, somewhat, with this behaviour, was her reception of another guest, a serene highness, to whom she was sufficiently polite, as others thought, but not submissive enough to suit the taste and habits of a German friend, who thus reproved her indifference : “Ne connoissez-vous pas, madame,” said he, “que c’est un Prince de Mecklenburgh Schwerin ?” Those who remember the most learned and very eccentric person who gave her this admonition will admit that Mr. Schlegel afforded her many opportunities for the exercise of her social qualities. With him she was engaged in a perpetual controversy, playful and good-humoured on her side, but conducted by him in terms which gave very little grace to opinions in themselves far from popular. According to him, Canova knew nothing of sculpture, and had no merit of any kind as an artist. “Have you seen his group of Filial Piety ?” asked Lodovico di Breme. “Have you seen my bust by Tieck ?” was the reply. He contended that the Italian was a dialect of the German language ; and, on another occasion, having asserted that Locke was unsatisfactory because he did not account for the phenomena of the human mind, and a person present having remarked “that Locke had accounted for the phenomena as well as human reason would allow,” Mr. Schlegel exclaimed, “La raison ! je me moque de la raison.” Yet, in spite of these extravagances, Mr. Schlegel was long a much-

cherished guest at Coppet ; and Madame de Staël, who respected his vast erudition, had too much good sense and good feeling, whilst availing herself of the learning of the scholar, to sport with the infirmities of the friend.

At Coppet we saw Mr. de Bonstetten, famous for his friendships with remarkable men, and valuable on his own account. The associate of Gray, and Müller, and Voltaire, had much to tell, and told it with the vivacity of youth rather than the garrulity of old age. One evening, returning with us from Coppet to Genthod, he gave us a short account of his first introduction to Gray. They met by accident at a London assembly, and after a good deal of conversation the poet said to him, "I see you can do better than be a man of fashion—come to Cambridge ;" an invitation which Bonstetten accepted, and accompanied his new friend the next day to the University. In answer to a question from Lord Byron, Bonstetten told us that Gray was not esteemed as a poet so much at that time as afterwards, but was treated with much personal deference. He had the "*esprit gai*" and the "*humeur triste*,"—a lively wit, but a melancholy turn of mind. He used to talk of his intended lectures on history ; but when asked why he did not do something more than he had done, he answered only with a sigh.

Mr. Bonstetten confirmed to us all the usual accounts of Voltaire. He was unlike any other human being : what he said, on whatever subject, important or trivial, was quite in his own way, and yet without the offensive



singularity of a professed humourist. The whole country, that is, the country on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, was in a tremor of anxiety at every movement of his pen; and his theatre contributed not a little to the uneasiness of his very sensitive neighbours, for he occasionally amused himself with interpolating Molière with allusions to existing follies. He was, so at least said our informant, habitually kind and considerate in his intercourse with his dependants. The person who had been his secretary for twenty years declared that in all that time Voltaire had never used a harsh word to him, and never required duties more than ordinary without expressions of apology and regret. Bonstetten denied positively the truth of the story which originated with one of Voltaire's medical attendants, namely, that he died a death of terror and despair; and he added, that the physician himself confessed the pious imposture—and, what is more strange, excused it. Nothing is more injudicious, nothing more prejudicial to the cause of religion itself, than such inventions. The detection of the falsehood is almost inevitable; but, even supposing the story to be uncontradicted, to what does it amount? These terrors may assail the most pious and best conducted of Christians; indeed, a truly religious man, not trusting to his own merits, would be much more exposed to the horrors of the hour of death than the most confirmed unbeliever. But in most cases, as in this, we may safely conclude with the charitable curate of St. Sulpice, who witnessed the last moments of this won-

derful person, that no importance ought to be attached to the words of the dying man—"Vous voyez bien qu'il n'a plus sa tête."

The day before we left Switzerland I met Madame de Staël in Geneva. Taking leave, she said, "God bless you! stay for me in Italy," alluding to a fanciful project of joining us on the other side of the Alps; and on the same evening I had a note from her concluding with these words: "I shall never forget the two friends."

When I revisited Geneva in 1828 I passed by Coppet, and paused a short time to gaze on the vine-covered slopes under the villa Diodati. I could discover the little pathway down which I had many a time rambled to the cove where Lord Byron's boat was anchored. The well-known scenes on either side of the lake were indeed as magnificent and lovely as ever—"but all the guests departed." It is seldom that death in so few years has dealt so many blows in a circle where old age was scarcely to be seen. Of the inmates and habitual visitors at Diodati, Lord Byron, Mr. Shelley, Mr. Lewis, Dr. Polidori were gone. Of those I saw at Coppet, Madame de Staël herself, her son, her friend Rocca, and Schlegel, all had passed away. I am speaking of the year 1828, but when I last saw the same scenes, in 1842, many other names might be added to the list.\*

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\* Mr. de Bonstetten died on the 3rd of February, 1832, as I learn from a pleasing account of him published at Lausanne in this year. The name of the author is Aimé Steinlen.—1860.

We left the neighbourhood of Geneva for Italy on the 5th of October, 1816. From Thonon we went to La Ripaille, where we saw one of the living wrecks of the Revolution. The old inhabitants of this celebrated retreat, the monks, were expelled by the French, and the extensive but ruined mansion, having been thrice sold, was at last tenanted by General Duppa. The general was present when we entered the premises—a fine, tall, pleasing-looking person, dressed like a farmer. His wife was killing fowls in the courtyard. “Formerly,” said the general, “I commanded divisions, now I command nobody but my wife; I have no steward, and am my own servant.” He added that he had lost 75,000 livres of annual income by French politics, and was now on the point of losing 4000 more because he did not choose to be naturalized in France. He informed us that he had served under Louis XVI., but said nothing of his other commander-in-chief, Napoleon. An Englishman who should be equally communicative with one whom he had never seen before, and was never likely to see again, would be thought mad.

At La Ripaille the church was turned into a barn, the towers, all but two, were razed, and a garden had been planted on the embanked buttresses. Over the front gate were still seen the arms of the Prince of Savoy, surmounted by that papal crown which he resigned for this sensual seclusion. The French, by an easy conversion, had made the tiara look like a cap of liberty.

Passing the rocks of Meillerie, we could not help remarking that the bowers of Clarens are not visible



from that spot, but that the view of them which charmed St. Preux must have been taken nearer to St. Gingough, where the precipices are higher and more immediately overhanging the lake—but Meillerie sounded well, and was preferred. The noble road which has been cut through the rocks has discontented some of the lovers of Rousseau, as having spoiled all the tender recollections connected with this region of romance. This objection was made in our hearing at Coppet, when a gentleman present, an old soldier, remarked “that the road was well worth the recollections.” Lord Byron, in a note to the third canto of *Childe Harold*, has mentioned this, but made the remark somewhat stronger by changing the “*vaut bien*” into “*vaut mieux*.”

We crossed the Simplon and stayed a day on the banks of the Lago Maggiore, to visit the Borromean islands. On the Isola Bella we were shown the large laurel-tree on which Napoleon cut the word “*BATAGLIA*” a day or two before the battle of Marengo. This sort of record has one advantage over other memorials, that the incision may be deepened repeatedly, and the tradition easily kept alive without injury to the original. One of the first objects pointed out to me when I went to Westminster School were the letters “*J. Dryden*,” rudely cut or scratched in the bench of the lower-fifth form, and no one doubted that the first traces of the name had been made by the hand of the great poet himself.

## CHAPTER II.

Milan — Society of 1816 — Di Breme — Silvio Pellico — Bosiert — De Tracy — Confalonieri — Count Luigi Porro — Anelli — Count Strasoldo — Austrian Government — The French kingdom of Italy — First appearance of Napoleon at Milan — Madame Castiglione — Prince Eugene — The Secret Society — The Allies enter Italy — Promises of independence — Revolution at Milan — Murder of Prina — Provisional Government — Austrians recover Milan and all Lombardy — Attempt at insurrection in 1820-21.

WE arrived in Milan on the 12th of October, 1816, and left it on the 3rd of November. Those with whom we chiefly associated during the time were the Abate Monsignore Lodovico Gattinara di Breme, and his brother the Marquis, the head of that distinguished Piedmontese family; the celebrated Monti; Silvio Pellico, the author of ‘*Francesca da Rimini*,’ afterwards so well known by the painful narrative of his sufferings in the dungeons of Spielberg. There also we saw Count Perticari, an author of some repute, and Bosieri, the conductor of a literary journal called ‘*The Day*.’ These gentlemen—even Monti, of whom it may now safely be told, for “nothing can touch him further,”—were all of one way of thinking in politics; but we also saw something of the inmates and frequenters of the Casa Castiglione, such as Acerbi, conductor of the *Biblioteca Italiana*, Anelli, and others whose opinions took their complexion from the recently-restored masters of Lombardy.

I passed through Milan in 1822. All my friends of the Liberal party had disappeared. Where is Di Breme? "He is happy in having died; he has seen none of these things," was the reply. And Silvio Pellico? "In an Hungarian dungeon." Bosieri too? "In prison." De Tracy? "Also in confinement." Confalonieri? "Reprieved on the scaffold; but whether dead or in prison now, no one knows." Count Luigi Porro? "In exile." He had been executed in effigy a few days before my arrival. Such were the bitter fruits of that unhappy attempt to shake off the Austrian yoke in 1821. Shortly after the failure of this conspiracy it was known that the Heads of Departments were prepared to retire from Milan, with the treasure and the archives, had the Piedmontese advanced into Lombardy with the expected force. The fate of Italy was then in the hands of the Prince of Carignan, the unfortunate Charles Albert of later days. It should be told, however, that neither Count Strasoldo nor Count Bubna, the civil and military governors of Milan, were accused of remembering their dangers with the rancour which such recollections usually inspire; indeed their administration generally could not be called tyrannical or unjust. The severe punishment of insurrection, or political conspiracy, is an inevitable condition of foreign subjection; but the ordinary tribunals were impartial and just. The interference of the priesthood in civil and social matters was much checked; several church ceremonies, the encouragement of idleness or vice, had



been suppressed; the employment of many labourers and artizans in public works, and the cheapness of provisions, which enabled the labour of three days to provide food for a week, had satisfied those classes to whom such advantages are the test of good government. The discontented belonged to another portion of the community, who were aggrieved by the employment of Germans in all the higher, and many of the inferior departments of administration. The head of the Milanese Church was acknowledged to be a liberal and a highly honourable man, but he was disagreeable to the nobility as a foreigner. The same dislike, and no little ridicule, attached to the Austrian principal of the university of Padua; and what made this preference of foreigners still more distasteful was, that, although the higher classes were excluded from employment at home, they were almost prohibited from seeking amusement or instruction abroad. Foreign travel was discouraged as much as possible, and, when a licence for that purpose was obtained, the term of absence was specified, and a positive promise exacted that the traveller would not hold intercourse with the diplomatic members of any court that he might frequent.

But even those Italians who were in public employment of an inferior grade partook in some degree of the discontent of the upper classes. Their salaries were extremely small; a police agent, a custom-house officer, an attendant on the Court, had no more than a franc a day—hence not only their discontent, but their im-

portunity with strangers. But it should not be forgotten that the pay of clerks in the public offices, of higher mechanics, such as engineers and superintendents in manufactories, was proportionably small. Three Austrian livres, about two shillings a-day, were considered good wages—four were never given; yet on that pittance this class of Milanese citizens contrived to frequent the restaurateurs and the theatres—it is true their wives lived at home on soup. Except in England, there was no city in Europe where so many well-dressed cleanly-looking people were to be seen as in Milan. In some subsequent visits I found very little if any change in the appearance or manners of the inhabitants. The glories of the Corso, the two-miled string of carriages, had survived, in 1845, the ruin of all their governments; the Scala opera-house was equally flourishing. The Milanese patrician, so early as in 1828, had forgotten, or seemed to have forgotten, the storms of 1821, and was much as I saw him at my first visit in 1816. The individuals were gone, but the fashions remained, somewhat, indeed, modified by English literature and English habits. There were four teachers of the English language in 1828. The booksellers' shops abounded with English works, both ancient and modern, both original and translated, some of them such as bigotry and despotism could hardly be expected to tolerate: for example, Locke and Gibbon: Sir Walter Scott had long been a favourite; Moore had general admittance since 1822; Lord Byron was prohibited, but in 1826 his 'Corsair'

was acted every night at the Scala. At that period the Anglo-American method of speedy and elegant writing was recommended in placards on every wall, and the cavaliers of the Corso, with English horses and English saddles, studiously imitated the English seat and the English pace : but even two years earlier, viz., in 1826, Count Strasoldo, in a state proclamation denouncing the black slave-trade, laid it down as an axiom in political morals, that "man instinctively feels he is his own property," a manifest copy from the Abbé Gregoire and Mr. Wilberforce, and, I should think, a very controvertible proposition, especially in the meridian of Milan.

### THE FRENCH KINGDOM OF ITALY.

During the days of the two short-lived republics, the higher classes of Lombardy showed very little sympathy with Frenchmen and French principles, and very few indeed were persuaded to partake of the fortunes of Napoleon at his first conquest of Italy. I heard an account of his proceedings at Milan from an eye-witness. One of his harangues was delivered from a balcony opposite to the Casa Castiglione, where my informant stood at the time and heard him. He told the Milanese youth that "he would make something of them—he would make them soldiers—and would lead them, in six months, as conquerors to the Tower of London." A member of that noble family heard him, and joined his banner ; he was drowned. Madame Castiglione then

foretold, from his deportment towards his officers and those about him, that he was only at the outset of his career: "This man," said she, "will not be content with being a general." After the complete subjection of Italy, and the consolidation of his power, Napoleon, though never popular with the Milanese patricians, worked, to some extent, a favourable change in their character. The extreme activity of his government partially communicated itself to those whose long-cherished hereditary vice was laziness; and some of them condescended to become influential in the state, and useful in society. Many of the great nobles did still keep aloof from the new viceregal court, but some of the best and most active of the administration were of the highest class. Melzi, Duke of Lodi, was an able and an honest minister, and a vigilant superintendence was maintained over all the public departments. No less than a hundred clerks and others were employed in the Ministry of the Interior; four hundred were attached to the War Department—these were all Italians; the Senate, the Council of State, the Metropolitan and Provincial Prefectures, all opened a career to the native community; and I was informed that, in Milan alone, there were eighteen hundred persons in government pay: the army also, to a great degree, was national. This could not fail of producing a salutary influence with those who, for the first time, discovered that activity was profitable. The inevitable consequence ensued—men of considerable capacity appeared in every



branch of administration, and a general spirit of emulation and enterprise was diffused amongst the northern Italians.

PRINCE EUGENE had been liked, but his popularity did not survive the campaign of Moscow, and his subsequent behaviour was unworthy of his former character. During the early part of his viceroyalty he had been much esteemed for a quality seldom found in men of high station and moderate capacity—he listened to good advice, and was thus enabled to extricate himself from many difficulties. His conduct towards the Pope, for example, showed how capable he was of reconciling the interests of Napoleon with the temper of those whom he was called upon to control. He seems, however, to have been directed no longer by the same good sense or the same wise counsellors, when, during the retreat from Russia, he studiously neglected his Italian generals, and thereby forfeited the attachment of those on whom he was chiefly to depend in the approaching struggle. Other causes are assigned for his decreasing popularity. Guicciardi mentions the inspection of the post-office correspondence, and Botta reckons the employment of Prina and Mejean, and the vigorous activity in raising the contingent for the campaign of 1813, as injurious to Eugene. But he was himself, as will be hereafter seen, the cause of his own downfall. He was guilty of something worse than precipitancy during his last unhappy days at Mantua, when he seized the crown from selfishness, and surrendered it from spite.

## THE SECRET SOCIETY.

It is now well known, and no danger can result from the promulgation of the fact, that for some time previous to the downfall of Napoleon a widely-extended conspiracy had been formed in his Italian provinces, having for its object the long-desired, unattainable independence of the Italian Peninsula. The secret, if so it may be called, was in the breasts of no less than 4000 individuals, calling themselves Freemasons, and communicating by the Masonic signs in use, not in France but in England. These persons, though for ordinary purposes they acted with all the Freemasons of Italy, yet, for special political objects, were governed by rules and conducted by chiefs known only to themselves. Thus Prince Eugene was Grand Master of Lombardy, but the private Grand Master was the real head of the brotherhood, and of the project of which it was intended the Viceroy should be the last to hear, and which was scrupulously concealed from every one connected with French interests. When Murat passed through Milan after the reverses of the campaign of 1813, he repaired to the house of a merchant, from whom he borrowed a thousand louis d'ors, to enable him to return to his capital with the equipage, at least, of a sovereign, and he then confided to the lender of the money his scheme of speedily assembling an army of 80,000 men, marching northwards, raising the patriots of every province, and declaring the independence of

Italy. The merchant was a Freemason, and communicated the project of Murat to the Great Lodge; the consequence was that the whole secret, just at the time that concealment was most necessary, was betrayed by —— to the friends of the Viceroy. From that moment discord arose between Murat and Eugene and their respective partizans, which put an end to all chance of co-operation between the Neapolitans and Lombards, and was, most probably, the real cause of the unfortunate policy adopted by the Viceroy at Mantua. The battle of Hanau afforded the Italians the last opportunity of displaying their military genius beyond the Alps; and when General Zucchi, who commanded their contingent of the French army, returned to Milan, he proclaimed publicly that he was authorized to announce that Napoleon resigned the iron crown, released his Italian subjects and soldiers from their oaths, and left the whole of their armed force to work out the independence of their common country. This certainly was, if any, the time to secure that glorious object. Eugene and his council deliberated on a declaration proclaiming the union of all the states of Upper Italy, with Eugene for their constitutional monarch, and France for a permanent ally. The decree was written, and preparations made for sending it to all the provincial prefects; but the prince hesitated, and the decree was cancelled. He was unwilling to convoke the electoral or representative bodies, fearful lest his influence, declining daily with the disasters of his imperial

step-father, should prove too weak to place the crown on his own head. The patriot Freemasons also were inactive, partly because they were aware of divisions amongst themselves, and partly because they depended on the assistance of England to secure their liberties at a general peace. Some of the bolder malcontents, amongst them Pino, opened communication with Murat, who was advancing through the Roman States with designs unknown to others, and probably not determined upon by himself. The war came at last into Italy, and, according to approved precedents, the Austrians advanced with the assurance that they came to liberate the Lombards from a foreign yoke, and had no desire to regain their ancient Cisalpine possessions. An English general officer was charged to pledge the imperial word of Francis the First to that effect. Not one of all the champions contending for the honour of imposing a master on this unhappy country omitted the usual ceremony of promising better days of freedom and happiness. The Austrian general, Nugent, and his English partizans disembarked at the mouth of the Po and overran Romagna, and before they were repulsed by the French general, Grenier, near Parma, had time to proclaim themselves "disinterested liberators." Prince Eugene, in his proclamation of the 4th of February (1814), from Verona, declared that Murat had for the three past months promised to march to his aid. But Murat was now the ally of Austria; and advancing towards Lombardy, proclaimed, by the mouth of his



general, Carascosa, the independence of Italy. The English, Sicilians, Calabrians, and Greeks, who landed at Leghorn under the command of Lord William Bentinck, assumed the same generous character of liberators and friends, allies in the same pious enterprise—the final emancipation of all Italy from a foreign yoke. It must seem to us, who have seen the event, very strange that the most credulous of the patriot Italians should have indulged in any hopes not derived from the acknowledged prowess of their own Italian army; nor would they, perhaps, if Eugene had adopted a decided course, and raised the national banner. This, however, he did not do; he preferred, for the time, constancy to his great benefactor; and in the above-mentioned declaration of the 4th of February, 1814, from Verona, “FIDELITY,” not “LIBERTY,” was declared to be the watchword of all true Italians.

When Eugene opened the campaign against the so-called liberators of Italy, he was at the head of 60,000 men, of whom somewhat more than a third were Italians. Several bloody, though it appears fruitless, battles were fought, and the honour of the Italian army was upheld; but a retreat behind the Mincio was inevitable, and ought to have been adopted whilst the last native defenders of the soil were undiminished and unbroken. The Austrian general did not choose to act at once offensively, being uncertain what conduct Murat might adopt; and when the Viceroy, after the action at

Valleggio, had taken up his position at Mantua, and the news of Napoleon's abdication had arrived, he readily listened to the proposal for a suspension of arms, and agreed not to cross the Mincio until an answer should be returned on the part of the deputies who were sent to the allied sovereigns at Paris. The agreement, signed at Schiavino Pizzino on the 16th of April (1814), between Eugene and Count Bellegarde, provided for the departure of the French part of the army, the cession of several fortresses, including Venice, and, as if in mockery, also for *the renewal of hostilities*, after due notice given. The day after the suspension of arms, Melzi, Duke of Lodi, then suffering from an attack of gout at his villa, convened, in his capacity of president, an extraordinary meeting of the senate, and addressed a message to them, avowing the real state of the kingdom, concluding with a proposal that the deputies should demand at Paris a final cessation of hostilities, the independence of Italy, and the crown of the new kingdom for Prince Eugene. The senate deliberated on the message, first in a committee of seven members, and afterwards in the whole house. The deputies named at Mantua were Generals Bertoletti and Fontanelli for the army, and Counts Paradisi and Prina for the nation generally. The senate approved the two first of the demands of Melzi, but, after some warm discussions, they evaded the last, viz. the choice of Eugene; and, instead of the deputies before named,

they appointed Count Louis Castiglione, of Milan, and Count Guicciardi,\* to represent the wishes of the Senate and People of Italy.

At this time opinions were much divided at Milan—Paradisi, Oriani, Prina, Mejean, Darnay took the part of Eugene; others proposed a return to the Austrian rule; the third and strongest party contended for independence, with an Austrian, or any monarch, except Eugene. The above-mentioned deputies proceeded at once (18th April) to Mantua, and had an audience of Eugene, to whom they delivered a despatch from the Duke of Lodi, containing the decree of the senate. They were unjustly blamed at the time for not taking the road to Paris at once, and for going to Mantua; but it was indispensable so to do, in order to procure passports from the Austrian general, Bellegarde. The visit to Mantua, however, gave colour to a rumour that the Duke of Lodi and the deputies were playing a part for Eugene; and in the blindness of the moment it was believed that not only the Duke of Lodi had falsified the decree of the senate in his despatch to Eugene, but that the senate had entered into his views in favour of Eugene. The truth was, that Count Guicciardi, chancellor of the senate, and one of the deputies, had, in the secret sitting of that body on the 17th of April, strenuously opposed the selection of the Viceroy; but the rumour did its work

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\* The same, before alluded to, who published a short account of these transactions.

before the truth was known, and paralysed all the proceedings of the senate, who were henceforth regarded as partizans of the French interest and opposed to the national cause. The consequence was a temporary union between the patrician Milanese and the patriot Freemasons. Aware of the weakness of the government—for the regular troops at Milan amounted only to 400 men, commanded by an officer not to be trusted—the united parties, joined by the civic guard, resolved upon measures amounting in fact to an overthrow of the existing authorities. A paper was put forth, with 141 signatures, of which the first names all belonged to the highest of the nobles—Count Pino, Luigi Porro, Giacomo Trivulzio, Federigo Confalonieri, and Ghiberto Borromeo. This paper, demanding the convocation of the electoral colleges, was sent to the senate on the 19th of April by Count Darini, the podesta of Milan; but the measure was not considered sufficiently decisive, and preparations were made for the fatal event of the ensuing day—the Revolution of the 20th of April, 1814. Early at the meeting of the senate on that day, Marini, adjutant of the civic guard, demanded that the senate should dismiss the regular troop that guarded their palace and accept a patrol from his own body of armed citizens. This was complied with; the troops of the line were withdrawn, and from that moment the free deliberations of the assembly were at an end. The tumult in front of the palace became alarming; many of the higher nobility, and amongst them several ladies,



shouting "*Patria e Indipendenza, non Eugenio, non Vicere, non Francesi!*" were discovered amongst the crowd; and although the historian of this shameful day ascribes good motives to the patrician rioters and the motley multitude, the accounts I heard from some of the parties concerned were anything but creditable to the insurgents, headed though they were by the unfortunate Confalonieri and the virtuous Alberto Litta. A voice was heard from the crowd, demanding in a furious tone the convocation of the Electoral Colleges and the recall of the deputation to Mantua. The adjutant, Marini, alarmed for the consequences of the tumult of which he had himself been the first promoter, implored the individual thus clamorous not to inflame the multitude, but to present himself to the assembly and address them peaceably. He implored in vain; the people burst into the outer court of the senate-house, and had already mounted the steps of the hall, when Count Verri, accompanied by the senators Massori and Falici, attempted to address them, but after several fruitless efforts, and returning more than once to his colleagues, he was presented with a paper opening with these words: "*Hanno la Spagna e l'Allemagna gittato via dal collo il giogo dei Francesi; halle l'Italia ad imitare.*" Verri did not read the paper, but carried it forthwith to his colleagues in the hall, who, however, had not time to recite the whole of this address, for they were interrupted by the entrance of some officers of the civic guard (Pietro Ballabio, a colonel, and Benigno Bossi, a captain, were

principal actors in this unhappy scene), who seemed scarcely less alarmed than the senators themselves, and remained pale and agitated for a short time, without speaking a word. At last Bossi recovered himself, and renewed the demand, in a loud voice, for the convocation of the Electoral Colleges and the recall of the deputies from Mantua. The president of the senate put two decrees to that effect to the senate; they were carried, signed, and taken out of the hall by Bossi, who shortly returned, demanding in the name of the people that the senate should declare their deliberations had been free. This also was decreed, and thirty copies of these decrees, having been made by the civic guard, were distributed amongst the crowd. The senators now dispersed themselves in all directions, amidst shouts of laughter from the people, who had forced their way into the hall and instantly began the work of demolition. Furniture was dashed to pieces, decorations torn down, the records of the assembly were thrown into the canal. The signal for these exploits was given by a nobleman, who thrust his umbrella through the portrait of Napoleon by Appiani. Count Frederic Confalonieri was said to be the man, but he indignantly refuted the charge; and, in fact, the real hero was a Castiglione. It was not likely that the madness should end with the destruction of a picture. Whilst the rage was at its height, some one called out *Melzi, Melzi!* but a friend of that minister called out *Prina*—so says Botta, but I did not hear that story in 1816. What I did hear was,

that the people rushed to the house of Prina; entered in a body, in spite of the gallant resistance of one friend, a general officer, the Baron de Regen, seized him, half stripped him, and threw him from a window. He was able to walk, and after traversing a street where the sentinels at a public office witnessed his distress and helped him not, he took refuge in the house of a wine-merchant near the Scala Theatre. The people discovered his retreat, and threatened to burn the house. Prina came forth, presented himself to them, and exclaimed, "Sfogatevi pure sopra di me; poichè sono già immolato alla vostra rabbia, ma fate almeno che sia l'ultima questa vittima." These were his last words: the people seized him and beat him to death with their umbrellas. It was supposed that he retained some life for nearly four hours; not a single mortal wound was found upon his body, which was dragged about by the savage populace by torchlight until ten o'clock at night, and was so much disfigured that no one could be found to identify the corpse. Botta\* spares his readers the details of this tragedy; I believe they were such as above described.

Prina was a man of great talents, fertile in resources, undaunted by difficulties, intrepid in action, superior to his station, and above his fortune in all the circumstances of his career; but he was a great dissembler, a masker of his passions, cold, unfeeling, inexorable, a

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\* Storia d'Italia, lib. xxvii., vol. iv. p. 498.

heart of stone—bent only upon the accomplishment of his immediate object, without scruples, without pity. He had been minister, first to the King of Sardinia, then to the Cisalpine Republic. His next master was Napoleon, and to that mighty prince he dedicated all his genius. His financial schemes were easily devised, and he generally raised a revenue larger than his own estimate or the expectations of Napoleon himself; but only the state was a gainer, for he died a poor man. Secure of the support of his sovereign, he disregarded the opinions of the Viceroy and the decisions of his council whenever they were opposed to his own convictions. Such a man might have been the powerful instrument of a tyranny more severe than that of Napoleon, and was qualified for employments far more important than the administration of the Lombard treasury; but it was easy to foresee that the downfall of Napoleon would leave him without a friend. A warning voice did exhort him to provide for his safety the evening before his death,\* but he had been too long used to the mastery of the Milanese to regard them with alarm; and when his hour was come, he met his assassins with the countenance of a man accustomed to command. His dying request was heard. It was said that Mejean and Darnay were sought for, but they were not found, and he was the only victim.†

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\* This fact is mentioned in the Abate di Breme's pamphlet, afterwards cited.

† Count Mejean had been sent by Prince Eugene to Milan to



But the populace committed great excesses (on the 21st of April), and from daybreak until night the city was a prey to every alarm. The shops were mostly shut, the streets were crowded with persons of the most menacing appearance. The public offices and some private houses were marked for destruction ; a general pillage was expected. The few regular soldiers composing the garrison had disappeared ; even the Custom-house officers had left the gates of the city. The civic guard, who had partaken of, or at least permitted, the first outrages against the senate, seemed disinclined to act ; and it was now seen that the most active of the rioters were men of an uncouth and savage mien, evidently not natives of the capital. These ruffians ran wildly through the streets, brandishing scythes and reaping-hooks, and ropes in nooses. The terrified municipal council named a provisional regency, who issued proclamations, abolished taxes, and called on the citizens to arm. The last order was partially obeyed, but the insurgents were still masters of the town ; they en-

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sound the senators and principal official personages in favour of his pretensions to the crown. He was also the instrument employed to get together the provincial partisans of the Viceroy, called the *Estensi*, composed of natives of Bologna, Ravenna, Modena, and Reggio, fellow-subjects, but not friends nor favourites with the Milanese. Darnay was Director of the Posts. Both Mejean and Darnay had seconded the efforts of Paradisi and Oriani in the discussions in the senate, of which Botta gives a short summary, whether imaginary or not I cannot say ; but they are probable enough, and the arguments are such as might have been fairly used.—See *Storia d' Italia*, lib. xxvii. 1814.

countered small parties of the armed citizens, and frightened them into inactivity. Milan was saved by an accident. The insurgents met a small body of the patrol and ordered them to unfix their bayonets as their comrades had done; one of the patrol happened to be armed with a rusty musket, and was not able to take off his bayonet. The populace became impatient, and, exclaiming "Down with the bayonets!" began to fling stones; the patrol, to save their own lives, charged the multitude, who fled in every direction, and never re-assembled afterwards. The arrival of a few cavalry soldiers restored tranquillity, and enabled the city merchants and municipal council to provide against future tumults by organizing a civic guard for the protection of the regency. The members of that council were Pino, Carlo Verri, Giacomo Mellerio, Ghiberto Borromeo, Alberto Litta, Giorgio Guilini, and Buzetta. Pino was declared commander-in-chief, and issued a proclamation accordingly. The Electoral Colleges were convoked, to meet the ensuing day.

The colleges did meet (on the 22nd of April), but not in sufficient number to give assurance of national support, or even to transact business. By the constitution one-third of the members was required for any enactment, but only 70 out of 1153 electors appeared in their places: and yet this fragment of the electoral body assumed to itself sovereign power, overthrew all previous authorities by a simple decree, framed a new constitution, and resolved to demand of

the allied sovereigns at Paris much the same boon as the deputies of the senate and the army had been previously instructed to request, except that, in stipulating for a monarch "whose origin and qualities might make them forget the evils of their former government," they seemed to exclude Eugene from the throne. The deputation appointed to proceed to Paris consisted of Marc-Antonio Fè, Frederick Confalonieri, Giacomo Ciani, Alberto Litta, Giacomo Trivulzi, Pietro Ballabio, with Giacomo Beccaria for secretary. Botta includes Sommi of Crema, and omits Trivulzi. Individuals better known, names more illustrious, it would have been difficult to select. The deputies set out for France forthwith, but they might have spared themselves their haste. The real hopes of Italy, and all chances of independence, were centered in Mantua. There it was that her destinies were to be determined; and, unfortunately, although the transactions at Milan were powerless of any good, they produced the worst results when the news of them reached the Viceroy and the army at Mantua. The Counts Guicciardi and Castiglione, the first-appointed deputies, returned to Milan, without any effort to overtake their colleagues, Generals Fontanelli and Bertolini, who were already on their road through Bavaria to France. Their conduct, however, was excusable; the real error, to call it by no harsher name, was committed by Eugene. That prince, hearing of the murder of Prina, and not aware of any efforts to support his pretensions, resolved to assume the crown

by an act of his own. Accordingly he published a proclamation, declaring his readiness to take upon himself the cares of sovereignty, without much attempt at reasoning or justification, and only alluding shortly to the exigencies of the times. Perhaps, of all the strange accidents of this eventful period, it is one of the most singular that a prince who had long been the heir of an imperial crown, and a viceroy over a great kingdom, and who now was a general of high repute, at the head of a formidable army in an impregnable fortress, should create an independent monarchy, and place the crown of it on his own head; and that an act of such vast significance should not only be productive of no results, but should drop, as it were, still-born, so that the very fact may be said to have been almost unknown. Count Guicciardi does not mention it in his narrative, nor Botta in his history. But the proclamation was issued: I was assured of that fact at Mantua in 1816. No notice was taken of it, except that murmurs were heard amongst the superior officers. It was never cancelled, nor contradicted, nor acted upon; indeed the paper on which it was printed could hardly have been dry when Eugene himself signed, with Field-Marshal Bellegarde, the convention of the 23rd of April, by which he lost his crown, his army, and his honour. What he secured was a retreat in Germany, and his military treasure. But even these were not easily saved from the wreck of his fortunes and of his character; for no sooner was the capitulation known, than the officers of the garrison



broke out almost into open mutiny. They scrupled not to accuse the prince of treachery; they declared his whole conduct to have been the result of a deep-laid scheme for his own aggrandisement; and they called to mind the words of Grenier, the commander of the French forces, who, when leaving Mantua with his army, is reported to have said to the prince, "*You want to be king of Italy—you will be nothing.*" The dismissal of that French army was charged against him as one of the sacrifices by which he hoped to propitiate the triumphant allies. His frequent communications with Bellegarde were also remembered. His abortive proclamation, and his surrender of Mantua, left him without party, and without support of any kind, "*deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat.*" Such was the indignation of the garrison, that General Palombini proposed to arrest him. It was too late; he had left Mantua, and his treasure was conveyed through a gate guarded by an officer whom the public voice accused of having accepted a large bribe for suffering it to pass.

It cannot be denied that great abilities, or undoubted probity, perhaps a union of both, were requisite to extricate Eugene from the difficulties of his position. It is equally certain that the friends of independence at Milan were deplorably ignorant of their own interests, when, instead of joining with the prince and the army, they chose to act in opposition to them, and added to the general embarrassment. This, however, is no excuse for the prince. Botta hands him over to the per-

petual scorn of posterity for his surrender of Mantua : "Atto veramente biasimevole del quale perpetuamente la posterità accuserà Eugenio;" and Guicciardi, somewhat his apologist, drily remarks that he left the re-establishment of order to the troops of his Apostolic Majesty.\*

Mantua being given to the Austrians, the Italian army was broken up, and General Sommariva, arriving at Milan on the 25th of April, put himself at the head of the regency as commissary for the high allies. Some faint hopes, however, were still entertained from the efforts of the deputies at Paris. The Electoral Colleges continued their sittings, and even on the day of Sommariva's arrival passed some decrees which his excellency condescended to overlook. The Civic Guard protected the capital. "Independence or Death" was still the pass-word of the citizens; and the official journal, describing the entrance of the Austrian troops into Milan on the 28th of April, announced that they "were received with the noble reserve becoming a nation whose first wish was Independence."

It was soon known that the deputies at Paris had not to complain of the misery of suspense. At their first interview with the representative of that power to which principally they looked for deliverance, Lord Castlereagh told them to address themselves to their master,

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\* A futile attempt has recently been made to relieve Prince Eugene from this stigma by a legal process in Paris (1858).

the Emperor of Austria. His Imperial Majesty's answer was explicit enough, although somewhat ironical: "Rispose, anche lui essere Italiano; i suoi soldati avere conquistato la Lombardia: udirebbero a Milano quanto loro avesse a comandare;"\* and Humboldt told them the painful truth, that they "should have brought their twenty-five thousand soldiers to negotiate for them."

Nevertheless the Electoral Colleges continued to legislate for the forthcoming king and kingdom of Italy. Their last sitting was on the 2nd of May, when "their patriotism did not forget to limit the manorial rights of the royal villa of Monza:" so says Guicciardi with bitter irony. Some of their body were deputed to Marshal Bellegarde, a few days afterwards (on the 10th of May), still to pray for political existence. The Regency also gave signs of life. They made some military promotions, for an army now disbanded; amongst them, Ugo Foscolo was created Brigadier-General. This was not all: despair suggested a wild scheme of insurrection, which the unhappy patriots, whom no experience could disabuse, thought would be countenanced by the English, at that time masters of Genoa;† and these hopes and projects were entertained only a day or two previously to the 23rd of May, when Field-Marshal Bellegarde issued a proclamation, announcing that Lombardy was taken possession of for the Emperor

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\* Botta, vol. iv. p. 499.

† Surrendered to Lord William Bentinck on the 15th of April.

of Austria, that the Electoral Colleges were dissolved, and that Bellegarde himself was now president of the Regency.

When Lord Byron and myself visited Milan two years after these scenes, the mistakes committed by the principal actors in them were acknowledged by all parties; but concerning the revolution or insurrection of the 20th of April, all were silent, because all were ashamed. A formal denial in a French journal attempted at the time to exempt the Milanese from all share in the follies and atrocities of that unhappy day; but if the assassins of Prina were not inhabitants of the city, they were not unknown to some of the citizens; in fact, they were peasants from the estates of some of the higher nobles, admitted during the night, and instructed what part they were to perform; and as the murder was not punished, it is but a fair conclusion that it was not thought safe to inquire as to the real instigators of the excesses which led to so unprofitable a crime.



## CHAPTER III.

Di Breme — Monti — The Scala — Sgricci — Italian Improvvisatori  
— Peticari.

I WOULD say something more of those whom we saw at Milan in 1816, and first of the Abate di Breme, to whom we were introduced by a letter from Madame de Staël. He was one of the most amiable of men, and the high station he had held under the French (he was one of the almoners, "*aumônier vicaire*," of the Italian court of the kingdom of Italy) gave authority to his account of events in which he had borne a part, and which were, at the time of our visit, much more the object of curiosity than they are at this day. His father was Minister of the Interior for the Emperor Napoleon at Turin, and his family influence would have raised him to the highest dignities in the church, a profession, indeed, which at first he seems to have adopted of his own accord. Subsequently his disposition seems to have undergone a change, for although he was offered a mitre three times, he refused to occupy a position not at all suitable to his altered taste, nor congenial with his opinions. There was, however, no laxity of principle, nor neglect of moral propriety, to influence his refusal, for he had a high character in every respect,

and was so much esteemed that he was offered great promotion by the Austrians, to whom he was known to bear no good will. His talents were considerable, and, although not much distinguished as an author, he was well read in ancient and modern literature, and had acquired a critical knowledge of his own language—a rare attainment. He had been the intimate friend of Caluso, the friend of Alfieri, and the father of his genius; Caluso died in his arms. In society he was surpassed by no man. The variety of his information, the liveliness and justice of his remarks, his grave humour, and almost imperceptible irony, gave to his conversation charms which were rendered still more attractive by kind, unaffected, noble manners. The intimacy which I had the happiness of forming with this excellent person was somewhat checked, in after times, by an unwary expression contained in my little essay on Italian literature. I called the controversy between the *Romantici* and the *Classicisti* “an idle question.” Now the Abate was, both by writing and in society, an eager advocate of the former, and did not like to be told that his time and talents had been wasted in a frivolous dispute. Yet frivolous it was; for even if it admitted of any decision, it could produce no result nor influence on language or literature. The question is a question of taste; and the production of an ingenious romance, such as the *Promessi Sposi*, has done no more to establish the opinions of the *Romantici* than the appearance of a great work, written entirely

on the ancient model, would decide the dispute in favour of the opposing party. In this, as in other literary quarrels, the antagonists on both sides pushed their arguments too far. The Classicisti decried all imitation and all translation of modern authors as unworthy of a nation abounding in perfect native models; whilst, on the other hand, the Romantici had the boldness to deride the severe taste and style of many of the old, and almost all the modern Italian writers, as little better than pedantry and affectation. Of this war of words Madame de Staël had been the unintentional author, by telling the Italians, first in her essay on the Influence of Literature, and afterwards in *Corinne*, that there were good writers beyond the Alps whom it might be profitable to peruse, and, perhaps, no disgrace to copy. The conductors of the '*Piedmont Gazette*,' and the '*Milanese Spectator*,' took fire at this friendly hint, and the friends of the lady replied to them in a tone still more furious than that of the critics. It was an idle question; but pronouncing it to be such was sure to displease both parties, for it was the constant topic of conversation, and much importance was attached to it in all societies of that day.\* Idle, however, as it

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\* Di Breme, being much offended by an article in the *Biographie des Vivans*, by L. G. Michaud, purporting to be a Life of him, published at Genoa and Paris, in 1817, a pamphlet, called '*GRAND COMMENTAIRE SUR UN PETIT ARTICLE, par un Vivant remarquable sans le savoir.*' The pamphlet gives some account of his father, of himself, and of his literary pursuits and opinions, intermixed with interesting anecdotes of the principal personages of the

essentially was, it was to a stranger not altogether destitute of amusement, as the contending critics favoured us repeatedly with attacks on their opponents, not confined to the points in debate, but, as usual in such cases, embracing the whole of their literary, and something of their personal history. Mr. di Breme's *opera-box*, and our own room, were enlivened morning and evening by these anecdotes, which gave us, perhaps, more than a long residence under other circumstances might have done, a tolerable view of the society, and an adequate notion of the ephemeral literature of Upper Italy. It was satisfactory to find all parties agreed in one point; namely, that Monti, Pindemonte, and Foscolo were the living writers esteemed as decidedly superior to all their contemporaries. I have already told what I believe is the judgment generally formed in Italy of the merits of these distinguished authors.\* They are all dead. The last, the youngest of them, died first. He was buried at Chiswick, in the church-

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French kingdom of Italy, with whom he was officially and privately connected. The Abate was, perhaps, a little more angry than the occasion required; and his defence of his poetry, his prose, and his literary controversies, has not much to engage the attention of readers at the present day. But the pamphlet, with its appendices, abounds with noble and generous sentiments, worthy of the character and the career of the writer; and we may well regret that he did not live to produce that History of his Own Times, which we learn by the concluding paragraph he "seriously intended" to write.

\* See 'The Present State of Italian Literature,' appended to the Illustrations of the 4th canto of 'Childe Harold,' reprinted in the Appendix to these volumes.



yard, where a tombstone tells his name and the day of his death, Sept. xiv., A.D. 1827. His age was only fifty years, seven months, and a few days.\* The other two died within a few months of each other in 1828.

I may now tell what it would have been unsafe to mention in the life-time of Monti—that in spite of congratulatory odes and outward compliances, that great poet did not look on any foreigners with cordial good will; and, as for the Germans, he hated them with a true Italian hatred. His literary transformations were too abrupt, his panegyrics of all his many masters too evidently insincere to be of service to them: it is surprising that they were of use to him. Yet when the Austrian Government established the *Biblioteca Italiana*, Monti was requested to conduct that journal. He refused, but consented to be an occasional contributor to it. The same offer was made to Foscolo, who also refused. Monti, in confidential conversation, left no room to doubt that his inclinations and opinions were those of all educated Italians. “I shall not live,” said he to me, “to sing once more the liberties of Italy; no change can happen in my time; I am too old.” I ventured to observe that, although he could not sing the liberties of his country, he might try what his muse could do towards restoring them. “Alas!” he replied, “it would be ‘*vox clamantis in deserto*.’ Besides,” he

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\* See plate to Foscolo's ‘Dante,’ published by Rolandi in 1842.

added, "how can the grievances of Italy be made known? No one dares to write, scarcely to think, politics; if truth is to be told, it must be told by the English—England is the only tribunal yet open to the complaints of Europe." He then addressed Lord Byron in a low and earnest tone, and gave an account of the return of the Emperor Francis to his Lombard provinces. His discouraging story ended, however, with the remark that a certain portion of instruction had gone forth amongst the people, which could not be altogether lost, and would, in time, be productive of good fruit. Monti in every respect afforded a singular contrast between his writings and his real opinions. In the before-mentioned literary dispute he argued vehemently against all attempts at innovation; but his own compositions, even when dealing with the old mythology of Greece and Rome, are, in their phraseology and general tone of expression, decidedly new and modern. Homer was his god, although he did not, as he himself confessed, understand Greek; Dante was his hero; Shakspeare he thought almost equal to Dante, and, like the great German critic, chiefly admired his comedies; Milton he defended from the charge of stealing his 'Paradise Lost' from the Italians. "The artist," said he, "when he cast the first mould of the Venus de Medicis, found the clay somewhere, but that does not make him a thief." He then told us that he was charmed with the celestial cannons, and the angels

flinging hills at one another: the Italians had nothing like that. The irony here was a little too apparent, and our talk broke up with a laugh.

Monti was then evidently in the decline, not only of his life, but his mental powers, and the deference paid him was a tribute rather to his former fame than to his present superiority. . "I revere him as a portrait of what he was," said Di Breme, and he then repeated a part of the wonderful ode on the death of Louis XVI., exclaiming, "This would make a nation revolt." Never, perhaps, was so much genius combined with such weakness of character. The countenance of Monti was very striking: he had a high and rather curved forehead; his eyes were not dark nor large, but lively and piercing; his eyebrows were shaggy and overhanging; his nose somewhat aquiline; his mouth rather projecting, but of a most pleasing and mild expression; his features and his whole frame were above the common size. When we saw him he was a little bent; his long loose hair was not quite grey. In manners he was very pleasing and natural, and apparently sincere. Showing us a snuff-box given to him by Pius VII., he repeated Dante's verses, "Due bestie sotto una pelle." With the exception of Foscolo, whom he disliked, he seemed to encourage and speak favourably of his contemporaries, particularly of Silvio Pellico, whose 'Francesca' he allowed to be a successful essay in a new style. The part of Francesca, played by the then celebrated actress, had made an effect such as

simple pathos has seldom produced; but she has been far surpassed by the Ristori of these days (1856).\*

### THE SCALA THEATRE.

The Scala Theatre is the general rendezvous of Milan, and those who meet nowhere else meet there. The principal business of the audience certainly is not attention to the music; and murmurs, loud talking, and laughing are heard from the beginning to the end of the performance, except during one or two favourite airs, when all are still. Those who sit in the pit are the only real audience. Those who stand in the alleys come to hear the news, and arrange commercial affairs. Of the boxes the two first tiers are the most polite and the least amusing. In the third and fourth tiers are settled almost all intrigues of all kinds; in the fifth some of them are brought to a conclusion; and there also are card-tables, and gambling is going on during the whole performance. The sixth is open, like the pit. Such was the "*carte scandaleuse*" given to us in 1816. If a fair picture, it would appear that Milanese morals had not much mended since Parini described the amusements of the Corso.

The ballets of this theatre are thought, I believe, superior to any in Italy. The dancing tragedies are,

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\* The Abate di Breme, in the before-cited pamphlet, records the effects produced by this tragedy, p. 148.



indeed, as good as such things can be. We saw the famous Pallarini, and whatever dumb show can effect she contrived to accomplish : it is impossible to carry farther the art of wringing hands, and staring wildly, and starting suddenly, and fainting and falling. To me, however, it appears that, although a single accident, such as that of the father dropping his infant from a window, which Garrick made so appalling, may be represented as well by action as by words, yet, to introduce the story, and carry on and unravel the plot, of a drama, merely by gesture, is a poor substitute for such plays as Italy has produced, and is excusable only where the police interferes with the words, as has been the case with some of Alfieri's tragedies. Then indeed the expedient might be not without value, and I heard there was an intention of adopting it at Milan. Whilst we were in Milan (1816), the celebrated Sgricci, the improvvisatore, made his appearance before the critical audience of Lombardy. His visit had been announced and his praises loudly trumpeted by the Bologna Gazette, where it was proclaimed that he had refused the crown of Corinna, as premature, but would accept the well-deserved tribute when he had obtained "the suffrages of all Italy." The novelty, and the challenge, filled the Scala Theatre. We were present in Mr. Di Breme's box, where an amusing running commentary kept us awake during a performance, on the whole, rather dull, and broken by intervals more frequent, and long than usual on the stage. It opened with music,

and, whilst the orchestra were playing, some of the audience handed in folded papers to a person who shortly retired behind the scenes. The stage was then for some time empty, and the music ceased. The audience became impatient and so eager for the show, that when a man appeared and came forward, with much ceremony, carrying a vase in his hand, they took him for the poet and applauded loudly. He was a servant, who, placing the vase on the table, withdrew. Then entered a man in mourning and a boy, who took up their position solemnly at opposite ends of the table. The first trial of skill was to be in "*versi sciolti*," and the man in black read aloud the subjects inscribed on each paper, and then, folding up the papers, threw them into the vase. The audience manifested their opinion of the subjects sometimes by applause, sometimes by loud laughter; but it seemed to us that these subjects, most of them classical or historical, were understood by a much greater number of persons than might be expected to be found in a very large well-filled theatre, promiscuously filled by an audience paying only fifteen-pence a-head. At last, all the papers being folded up and thrown into the vase, which was then sufficiently shaken to secure fair play, the boy, with averted head, lifted up his hand, as was the custom at the drawing of our abolished lotteries, and, dipping it into the vase, drew out a paper. The man, opening the paper, read aloud the proposed theme, "*The taking of Algiers*,"—a happy if not a suspicious chance selection, the place

having been taken a few months before. The attendants now withdrew and the table was removed. The anxiety for the commencement of the performance became intense, and broke out into loud clapping of hands. At last SGRICCI appeared, and was received with shouts of applause. He was fantastically dressed: his long black hair flowed wildly over his face and shoulders, and his neck was bare. He wore yellow Turkish slippers. He began at once to pour forth his unpremeditated verse, invoking, as he said, not the Greek muse, but the muse of Mount Libanus. The classical deities were, however, very soon put in requisition, and we heard a good deal about Amphitrite and Aurora. The poem ended with a speech from the liberated slaves, and this was the only circumstance that distinguished the taking of Algiers from any other successful siege. The recitation lasted nearly a quarter of an hour, and the poet did not hesitate for a single moment. As he withdrew much applause was heard. The attendants with the table and vase again made their appearance, and the same ceremonies were observed as before. The subject chosen for the *terze rime* was "Artemisia at the tomb of Mausolus." Sgricci again appeared: his action was more vehement than before, and his poetry not less fluent; but we heard very many rhymes in "ente" and "etto." A little child of the Queen of Caria added pathos to the distress of her Majesty, and Aurora was again introduced to console the weeping widow, but nothing was said about

the ashes of Mausolus, nor of the tomb giving a name to all superb sepulchres. The performer continued without interruption for about the same time as when attacking Algiers; but he was less applauded than for the siege. He withdrew, and the assistants came forward and read the subjects proposed for the great trial—the touchstone of genius, the tragedy. The themes sounded like ancient bills of mortality; deaths of kings, queens, heroes, poets, and patriots slowly succeeded each other. None found favour with the audience; but the Apotheosis of Victor Alfieri was received with thunders of applause. It did not, however, turn up, and the paper chosen by the lottery-boy was inscribed “The death of Socrates.” There was a long pause, after which Sgricci came on the stage and hoped that another lot might be drawn, as the “*buonissimo pubblico*” would probably think with him that the death of Socrates was not “*tragediabile*”—a tragedy has, however, been written on the subject. The audience consented to have another lot drawn, and the boy pulled out “The death of Montezuma.” Sgricci reappeared, and saying that he could not reconcile the adventures of Montezuma with the manners of Italy, protested that, of the two, he preferred Socrates. On this the audience became very noisy; some called out for Socrates, others for Montezuma, and after a good deal of clamour the lots were a third time tried, and “Eteocles and Poly-nices” drawn. Even this subject, “*tragediabile*” enough, seemed to disconcert the poet, who continued



so long silent that the audience began to hoot and whistle, and again call for Socrates and Montezuma. At last Sgricci was inspired; he told us that his scene was in the palace at Thebes, his personages Eteocles, Polynices, Jocasta, Tiresias, and Manto, with a chorus of Theban women. Tossing up his head and hands, he then began versifying in one character, and when he changed to another he walked to the side of the stage. He gave a tolerable copy of the description in Æschylus of the chiefs before Thebes, and he was much impassioned in the part of Jocasta; but the audience gave evident signs of impatience, and before the tragedy was concluded had partially left the house. Though at the end of the fifty minutes during which this surprising exhibition lasted there was some applause, the tragedy was considered a failure, and the whole performance did not satisfy the Milanese. Our friends of the Romantic school spoke of it with the utmost contempt; but Monti and Perticari patronized Sgricci, and during his performance were behind the scenes, to inspect the papers and take care that no offensive subjects were introduced amongst them. What La Bendetina, or the great Roman improvvisatore, Gianni, may have been able to perform, I know not, except by the printed poems of the latter, which, if they were really spoken without premeditation, exhibit talents far superior to those which were displayed by Sgricci when we heard him. A judgment of his power in this way may be formed by those who have read the tragedy which he afterwards

published, in 1827, I believe. He probably selected for the press that which he thought the best of his spoken dramas.

I think I discover in a charming writer on Italy—Forsyth—an inclination to admire these performances, and he goes so far as to discover signs of improvization in Homer *himself*, or rather *itself*, from the frequent recurrence of the same verses. That the Homeric verses were sung by the rhapsodists ages before they were committed to writing, no one, I believe, denies, but there is a wide difference between unwritten and unpremeditated poetry, and it is hard to believe that any number of the Homeric, or any Greek verses, such as we now read them, were composed and spoken at the same moment. The same may, I presume, be said of all poetry of the highest class; and whatever may be the comparative merit of the Italian improvvisatori, from Serafino d'Aquila down to Signor Sgricci, I never heard but one opinion from men of real judgment in regard to this capacity. They all lamented that encouragement should be given to mediocrity in that department of literature in which, by common consent, mediocrity is not to be borne. The market-place is the proper stage, and the guitar the proper accompaniment, for such effusions, and even the drawing-room may be enlivened by extemporary trifles in verse; but the tragic muse, like the heroines of romance, requires a long and assiduous courtship, and the stage is degraded by exhibitions resembling the real masterpieces of

dramatic poetry in nothing but their inferior properties, the metre and the rhyme.

A second exhibition of Sgricci, several years afterwards, when he gave his forty-third extemporary tragedy at Venice, did not alter my opinion, either as to the poet or his performance. He gave us the Earl of Essex, whom he called "Odoardo;" and as he pretended he knew nothing of the story, it was told to him, somewhat incorrectly, aloud, by a person from one of the boxes of the theatre. The Queen Elizabeth of Sgricci made war upon France. The tragedy lasted two hours. When I went away half the audience had already fled.

It would be well, not only for the literature, but the character of the Italians, if they did not play so much with their noble language. The sing-song exercises of aged monsignori and simple professors, the shepherds, and the lovers, and the poets of Arcadian academies, the eternal sonnet that celebrates every exploit, the inscription ready for all imaginable events and every description of person, bespeak and add to the dangerous facilities of the language, and, combined with political disaster, have filled the country of Dante and Macchiavelli with a nation of triflers.\* On the other hand,

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\* At Venice I saw a sonnet addressed by the Harlequin of the Arena, an open theatre, to the Venetian people. At the Mira I read this placard:—"Al chiarissimo Signor David Zuliani, medico chirurgo, per l'insigne operazione da esso eseguita alla Mira nell'estrazione della placenta dopo 36 ore del parto alla povera Antonia Allegro, SONETTO." Then followed the verses on this uncomfortable subject.

the pedantry of criticism, though it has not added to the strength or ease of composition, and though it affects to decry all these fluent follies, is but trifling of another kind, and must rather "impede than promote the real objects of a sound national literature. Who, for example, but an Italian would have thought of alluding to the verbal licences observable in the fine Hymn to Death dictated by Pandolfo Collenuccio whilst he was waiting for the executioner? \* Yet Perticari, himself a poet, did, in his memoir of that historian, remark that there were "alcuni vizj del dire" in these dying notes, such as "preghe" for "preghiere," secondo l' esempio del Cavalca! This seems ridiculous enough, but the memoir was not without merit of another kind; for when it was submitted to a counsellor of state for an imprimatur, the critic struck out several passages, as of dangerous political tendency. Acerbi showed the manuscript to Count Saurau, the governor of Milan, who said "Let it pass," a liberal permission as it appeared to me; but Mr. Acerbi remarked, "The counsellor was afraid, if he made a mistake in such a matter, of losing his place—Count Saurau was not."

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\* Collenuccio was strangled in prison at Pesaro by order of Giovanni Sforza, then master of that town.



## CHAPTER IV.

Milan — The Arena — The country house of Prince Eugene — Napoleon — His personal habits — Illness in 1812 — The sights of Milan.

ONE of the sights of Milan (in 1816) was the Arena, an open circus, the work of Canonici, said to be capable of containing 30,000 spectators, adapted for chariot races and other ancient games. The area can be flooded for the exhibition of "naumachia" on a small scale. This is the unfinished work of Napoleon, who was present at one of the games the year after he was crowned King of Italy. For some time after the change of government the circus was neglected, and the races discontinued; but the velvet throne of Napoleon, and two figures in the ceiling representing him and his empress Josephine, were shown at our first visit. At my next visit, in 1822, the empress was become a Minerva, and the former master of the iron crown was an old man with a beard. The Austrian government, after an interval, continued the work on the circus, and a few days before my third visit, in September, 1828, a boat-race was exhibited, the performers being gondoliers brought from Venice. Even then, however, the Arena was not finished: some of the stone-work being incomplete.

The passion for copying the ancients was encouraged by Napoleon, not only in Italy, but in France ; but he wished his subjects to confine their imitations to the artists of Greece and Rome. The writers it was not so safe to hold up as models ; and, accordingly, his Milanese edition of the classics was to have excluded all passages of a democratic tendency. Such an insane project is more than a set-off against the wish to amuse the Lombards with the shows of the amphitheatre. The Austrians are, I believe, not so apprehensive of the text of the old authors, but they are very suspicious of commentators ; and the new editions of Virgil and Cornelius Nepos were sent to Vienna for the inspection of the Aulic Council. Monti, who told me of the projected castration of the classics by Napoleon, was also my authority for the sage precaution of his German successors.

I may here mention that, at this time (1816), strangers were taken to the vice-regal country house of Prince Eugene, built originally by Marshal Belgioioso, commonly called the Villa Buonaparte. We went there. It was as handsome a palace as could be made out of a barrack. The rooms appeared as if the late owners had just risen from their chairs, and left them, shortly to return. In the theatre the scenes were standing, and a transparent sun which had shone on the last play acted before the French Viceroy was still dimly seen in the canvas heaven. Those who visited Lombardy at this time saw many similar tokens of the

haste of the departed guests, and the laziness or indifference of their immediate followers. The very pictures used at the coronation of Napoleon were in the sacristy of the cathedral at Milan.

The gardens at this villa were inconsiderable; they were English à la Parisienne, as Mr. Simond says; but the park was ten miles in circumference, and filled with game. Beauharnois, like his great stepfather, was fond of the chace—that is, of shooting, and hunting, or coursing, in a very unsportsmanlike style—very different from that in which our Duke used to follow his foxhounds in the Spanish Peninsula. It is possible there was some little affectation in this attachment to what has long been a royal amusement, particularly of the Bourbons, to whose habits Napoleon was not unwilling to be thought a successor, as well as to their throne. He used, so says an authority not quite incontestable in such matters,\* frequently to balance himself on one leg whilst overlooking the card-parties at his court circles—a notorious trick of the two last legitimate sovereigns of France. This was recorded of him in the latter days of his glory—when he was king of kings—when it was reckoned a sign of bad taste and disaffected politics to allude in any way to death, or any of the disastrous chances of humanity, as being common to Napoleon with the rest of the species—and when Geneviève was very nearly compelled to give up the patronage of Paris

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\* Madame de Staël, 'Dix Ans d'Exile.'

to the emperor's own saint, Napoleon. It was no wonder that the intellect of this marvellous man was not quite proof against the intoxication of the Tuileries; and it now seems pretty certain that it gave way during the dreadful reverses of the Russian campaign. The now celebrated Mr. Beyle told us, at Milan, that he saw Napoleon more than once put the signature "Pompey" to an official paper, and ventured to notice the mistake to his imperial master, who rectified it without any remark.\*

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\* This gentleman in those days was called *De Beyle*, and afterwards called himself, for authorship, Count Stendhall. We were told that he was one of the intendants "de la mobilière de la couronne," and acted occasionally as secretary to Napoleon during the Russian campaign. His anecdote is somewhat confirmed by what M. Thiers has narrated, in his 14th volume '*Du Consulat*,' &c., of Napoleon's frequent mention of Pultowa during his retreat from Moscow. I confess I was not aware of the great celebrity of Mr. Beyle until this year (1856), when, opening a clever article in the '*Edinburgh Review*' for January, I awoke and "found him famous." My previous acquaintance with him as an author, I ought to be ashamed to say, was confined to a quotation from his '*History of Painting in Italy*,' which I found in Moore's '*Life of Byron*' (p. 47, vol. i. quarto), and which contains an account of what passed at a dinner given by Di Breme to Lord Byron, Monti, and others, at Milan, in 1816. I was one of the guests on that occasion, and can only repeat the old remark, "Although all these things happened in my time, I never heard of them." The dinner was a formal banquet, the attendants being in state liveries; and the whole ceremony—for a ceremony it was—reminded me very much of Rousseau's account of the grand Turinese entertainments, at which he assisted in the capacity of footman. I think that if any one had repeated nearly the whole canto of a poem at table, I must have recollected it. Yet Mr. Beyle says that Monti did repeat the first canto—almost the whole of it—of his own '*Mascheroniana*,' "vaincu par les acclamations des auditeurs," on that occasion; and,



I say nothing of the beautiful Duomo, except recommending the traveller to see it first by moonlight, just as Arthur Young, in his account of Milan, contents himself with saying, "See the Ambrosian Library." That acute and sagacious observer of many things does not appear to have devoted much attention to this famous Library. It seems also that he travelled through France without noticing any symptoms of the convulsion which shortly afterwards flung the monarchy to the ground, and tore all its members to pieces. Since the good agriculturist travelled in 1789, this precious collection has partaken the fortunes of other Italian treasures—it has been robbed, and all that was lost has not been entirely restored. But the discoveries of Mai have added to the interest of the library: fortunately they came too late to enrich the plundered portion of the Imperial collection at Paris. Had the value of the palimpsests been suspected, not only they, but Mr. Mai himself, might have been transferred to the French capital. Of the pictures and designs which were sent to France, seven are missing, besides the greater part of Leonardo da Vinci's manuscripts. The Petrarchian Virgil, the Josephus, and the illuminated missals are

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adds he, "causa la plus vive sensation à l'auteur de Childe Harold. Je n'oublierai jamais l'expression divine de ses traits—c'était l'air serein de la puissance et du génie." Not only Lord Byron, but every one else, would, I have no doubt, have experienced a very lively sensation at such an exhibition at dinner time; and I feel almost certain that if any such singular occurrence had taken place, I should have noted it at the time.

safe ; so is that which our fellow-countrymen enquire after more often than any other curiosity, the MS. letters of Bembo and Lucrezia Borgia, when Duchess of Ferrara. The very doubtful morality of the lady, and a long lock of her bright yellow hair, add, perhaps, to the attractions of the correspondence. She addresses the Cardinal in a very tender tone, "My dear," and sometimes "My dearest Messr. Bembo,"\* and sends to him, on one occasion, a copy of Spanish verses. If it is true, as has been said (by Baretti, in his 'Frusta Letteraria,' xxv.), that Bembo's warmth was only in his lips, not in his heart, there was little scandal and less danger in such a literary intercourse. How the hair came with the letters I do not know. The Italians, who write treatises on all subjects, have not overlooked either the letters or the lock of hair. Oltrocchi has a memoir on them, which I have not seen. We endeavoured, in vain, to procure a copy of the letters, but Lord Byron † was allowed to take the smallest possible specimen of the other treasure, for which he proposed this motto from Pope—

"And beauty draws us by a single hair."

Between my first and second visit to Milan (in 1822), some letters of Tasso had been discovered and published. They add nothing to his literary or personal

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\* If Bembo resembled the bust of him on his tomb in the Cathedral at Padua, he was a very handsome man.

† Byron says, in a letter published by Moore, that he was promised a copy of the letters.—*Life*, vol. ii. p. 45.

history. The promotion of Mai to the Vatican had suspended researches in the Ambrosian library. There is not, and never was, a complete catalogue of the books and MSS.—a fortunate neglect—as they might have shared the fate of the pictures.

### THE BRERA.

The gallery of pictures collected by the late Government having been accumulated by purchase, and not by plunder, was suffered to remain, without any diminution of its treasures. Guercino's 'Hagar' affected us more than any other of the spoils of the Zampieri Palace,\* although the 'Peter and Paul' was once reckoned, so says Arthur Young, the finest picture in Italy.

It is not quite fair to the modern painters to exhibit annually, as is the custom, their productions in the Brera apartments; yet there is always a crowd round the huge flesh-coloured daubs of the living, whilst only a stranger or two are seen near the masterpieces of the dead. The same preferences may, however, be remarked in London and in Paris. The architectural designs and sculptures were far superior to the paintings. Bossi had left no worthy successor, but Marchesi was an artist of great merit; and, in engraving, the Cavalier Longhi was by many considered superior to Morghen. We visited him (1816), and he showed us some of the

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\* John Bell felt as much as Lord Byron whilst gazing at the Hagar.—OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY, vol. i. p. 74.

plates on which he was then working. One of them was the famous 'Marriage of Joseph and the Virgin,' in the Brera. He also pointed out to us a full-length portrait of Prince Eugene. This work was for some time deposited with the police; for the prince being dressed in vice-regal robes, there was some doubt as to the expediency of encouraging the remembrances of usurpation. But as the engraving was for the prince's cabinet, and he was to pay 24,000 francs for it, the Austrian government restored it to Longhi. This artist was also a painter; he showed us a portrait of a deceased brother, remarking, quietly, "*J'ai fait cela pour témoigner le chagrin que j'ai eu pour sa perte,*" a grief quite as sincere as that which prompted Lord Lyttelton's monody.

#### ST. AMBROGIO.

Besides the old metropolitan church of this saint, a work of the ninth century, there is, in Milan, a little chapel, where he baptized St. Augustin, and, divinely inspired, broke out into the chaunt "*Te Deum laudamus,*" which the other continued with "*Te Dominum confitemur.*" At the church they still persist in showing the doors, as being those which he shut against the Emperor Theodosius. The stone seats and the double pulpits, and the miraculous serpent, and the brass eagle, and everything within and without the basilica, are, in appearance, as old as the building itself, excepting the very recent tomb of Marcellina, the sister of Ambrose,



and herself a saint, whose relics were removed to this spot in the year 1812, after a procession round the city. The monument and the statue are of the whitest marble, "fresh as a farthing from the mint" amongst a collection of old coins.

St. Ambrose was not a native of Milan, but it was in that city that his virtues and his indomitable energy were chiefly displayed; and it is not a little remarkable that, incontestably the two greatest men that ever flourished in Milan were archbishops and saints. The long interval between Ambrose and Borromeo produced no man in the capital of Lombardy equal to either of them, whether as regards their influence in life, or their renown after death.

#### ST. LORENZO.

The sixteen columns in front of this basilica, once thought to belong to the Baths of Maximian, are now supposed to have been a portion of the Temple of Hercules, destroyed by Theodosius: so says an inscription on the spot. Being almost the only relic of the Pagan Roman Empire now to be seen at Milan, the inhabitants would do well to be careful of it, but it is as much neglected by them as it is admired by strangers. Mr. Forsyth calls the colonnade "magnificent," and says it is the latest specimen, seen by him, of the ancient Corinthian. But the Milanese, generally, are not distinguished for their respect for ancient or modern art. Laurenzi's celebrated statues of Adam and Eve

were left in the niches in front of St. Celso, and the iron network before them rather prevented them from being seen than afforded them any useful protection, so that they might easily be mistaken for a Venus and youthful Bacchus. They should be removed to the Brera.

STA. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE. THE LAST SUPPER.

This work, itself a restoration, was fast crumbling away. I perceived the process of decay even between 1816 and 1828. The fresco painting at the opposite end of the room is older, but in better preservation; and the frescoes of St. Vittore, between 300 and 400 years old, are as fresh as those of Appiani at St. Celso. Some accuse the oil, others the dampness of the wall, as the cause of the disaster; but the neglect, as well as the positive violence which the picture had to endure when the apartment that it adorned was, successively, a refectory, a stable, and a prison, will account for its condition; the only wonder is that any vestige of it remains. Mr. Eustace talks of it as a work that "was," and had disappeared. If, as a more accurate writer mentions, it is true that the Dominican monks of the convent whitewashed the picture, and it is certain that they cut away the legs of the Saviour and his Apostles, to open a communication between their dining-room and kitchen, they are far more to be condemned than the barbarians, whether Slavonians or French, who used it for a target to shoot at; for these soldiers had never

seen the wonderful composition until it had been long neglected, and already much effaced. Bossi's copy of it in the Brera is a very fine picture, much superior to the old painting of 1612 in the Ambrosian library. In 1816 we saw that the attempts of the French government to preserve the work from further injury were recorded in an inscription in honour of Eugene. In 1828 the inscription had disappeared.

“The picture is now nearly lost, and all its beauty gone,” says John Bell,\* who saw it in 1817. This accomplished and scientific observer adds that “This is principally owing to the whimsical theories Leonardo had conceived in the composition, and manner of laying on his colours. He is reported to have been occupied sixteen years in this painting, the chief part of which time was, I doubt not, employed in experiments more properly chemical; and after having tried and rejected many materials, he at last finished the picture in oil, on a ground composed of pitch, mastic, and plaster, combined with some fourth ingredient, and wrought with heated iron; an invention probably altogether his own, but which was afterwards used by Sebastian del Piombo. Over this preparation he laid his fresco, a cement of burnt clay and ochre, which, being mixed up with varnish, formed a colouring of great beauty, but short duration.”

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\* See ‘Observations on Italy,’ vol. i. p. 67, edit. Naples, 1834.

## MONZA.

We visited Monza and saw the curiosities there, having obtained the usual permission from Count Saurau. What most struck us, after the holy nail in the inside of the far-famed iron crown, was the skeleton of Count Hector Visconti, who was killed at the siege of Monza in 1412. It was found in the ruins of the old castle, and kept in a cupboard in the cloisters of the cathedral. The flesh was sticking to many parts of it, particularly the hands and the left leg, the ankle of which looked as if just shattered by the shot which killed him: there was an appearance of blood upon it. The hole under his right breast was made after his body was found. His sword, a short, broad, very sharply-pointed weapon, was hanging with him in its sheath. The beginning of the inscription, on a paper in the case containing the bones, runs thus: "This skeleton once enclosed the soul of Count Hector Visconti."\* This skeleton and the tombs in the cathedral, and the plaster busts in the old Visconti Palace at Milan, were all that recalled to us the powerful family that so long governed this fine country.

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\* The Italians do not feel that dread of human bones found amongst other nations. In a little wayside open chapel I have seen skulls piled in fantastic forms of pyramids like cannon-balls in a battery, or stuck in niches like shells in a grotto, with the names of those who owned them living, such as the 'Canonico' and 'il Cavaliere;' and no other distinctive note—no time, or place, or date of age.



## CHAPTER V.

Brescia — The neighbourhood — Road to the Adriatic — The Lago di Garda — Sirmium — Catullus — Famine in the Venetian Provinces — Desenzano — Verona — The Amphitheatre — The Congress of 1822 — The tombs of the Scaligers — Romeo and Juliet — Maffei — Arco di' Gavi.

IN our journey from Milan to Venice (1816) we passed through Brescia. The decayed fortifications, the narrow arcaded streets, and the tall towers and battlements,\* gave an air of antiquity to this town; but the well-dressed crowd, the gay equipages, and the new theatre, one of the most magnificent in Europe, bespoke prosperity and a large population. The famous pistol manufactory had lost much of its former renown, but there were still 40,000 inhabitants in Brescia, and there was trade enough to supply many well-furnished shops. The palaces, a name given in Italy to the mansions of the higher nobility, were numerous, and the houses in the principal streets were handsome and of a good size.†

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\* Torre dell' Orologio, Torre di Pallade, the towers and battlements of the Broletto.

† Mr. Murray's Handbook will show how many things were to be seen in Brescia in 1848. I visited this city in 1845, and went over the Museum of Antiquities, which had been put together since my first visit. I quite agree with the Handbook, that converting

The immediate neighbourhood of Brescia appeared extremely populous. The interminable plain below it was studded with houses of every description, from the spacious villa to the vine-dresser's cottage; and villages embosomed in fruit-gardens rose one above the other on the sides of the hills as far as the eye could reach. From Rezzato, where the high road leaves the hills, the country did not seem so thickly inhabited, but was equally well cultivated. The road itself, from Milan to the Adriatic, was one of the many works of the French—a noble contrast with the old Venetian road, which was one of the worst in Europe. After Ponte St. Marco we again approached the hills, and beyond Lonato, a small town with a military post on a height, the scenery changed at once, and gave us a view of the high Alps, rising round a dark deep basin, to the north. Descending from Lonato, we soon had our first view of the great lake of Garda, and the thin long strip of land, the Sirmio of the poet, to whom, as is usual in Italy, all the wonders of the Benacus are said to belong. The subterranean ruins of a palace of the Scaligers, on the promontory, are called the grottos of Catullus; and some vestiges of an old town, which may occasionally be seen beneath the surface of the lake, are given to the same classical personage. There were a few fishermen's huts, sheltered by an olive grove, on Sirmione, for it retains

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the cell of the ruined Temple into a museum for the reception of these remains was an unhappy idea—as unhappy as desecrating the chapel at Holyrood by modern tombstones.

its old name ; but, when approached, the little peninsula had a desolate and unhealthy appearance—half choked with reeds, the resort of innumerable wild fowl. We stopped at Desenzano, a small town on the side of the lake, with a stone pier and a little port for the boats that exchange the grain from Mantua and the Milanese for the timber of the Tyrol ; but our project of visiting Sirmione was not carried into effect, for the rain and mist of an autumnal evening gradually gathering on the mountain shores in the distance, and driving down the lake upon us, we soon saw only an horizon of foaming waters ; and had we wished to try the voyage, no boat would have ventured out with us. The waves leapt up the little promontories which we could now and then discern for a moment, and drove against the pier with all the roar and violence of a stormy sea. Although Virgil recollected the tempests of the Benacus, Catullus, the poet of Sirmio, found perfect repose in his much-loved home ; and, in regard to Virgil's epithet, Lord Byron remarked that, in one respect, the lake did not resemble the sea, for when the storm subsided there was no swell in the offing.

This was a year (1816) of great distress in the Venetian provinces ;\* millet, the principal food, had risen

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\* The peasants were reduced to feed on cakes made of grass. New diseases appeared. The medical faculty memorialized the Aulic Council, who transmitted an Imperial rescript to be read in all the churches, recommending the people to live generously, on good meat and wine, that diet being the only cure of the disorder. They wanted, doubtless, to rival Maria Theresa in her prescription

from one soldo to five for the pound ; the taxes were the same as under the French, eight francs a-head capitation tax, and twenty francs for exemption from military service in the civic guard ; but there was no employment ; and eleven hundred of the inhabitants of Salò (a town on the lake rendered famous by the residence of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) had sold everything and repaired to Genoa, intending to emigrate, but they were sent back again, and were now dispersed over the country, and all of them begging from door to door. An improvvisatore, singing in the streets of Desenzano when we were there (5th Nov. 1816), attributed this misery to the Austrians—an unlucky flight, for the poor poet was arrested and imprisoned.

From Desenzano we passed onwards to Peschiera, a fortress of the Scaliger princes, constructed amongst the reeds at the end of the lake, where the Mincio flows out of it, and not into it, as Gibbon so strangely asserted.\*

### VERONA.

“Magna et præclara pollet urbs hæc in Italiâ, in partibus Venetiarum, ut docet Isidorus, quæ Verona vocitatur olim antiquitus.” This was written about the year 790, when Charlemagne was master of Italy and

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of croûte de pâté. The same wise men, in the programme of the procession of the patriarch on taking possession of his see, prescribed his progress to St. Mark's in a coach and six !!

\* See ‘Historical Illustrations of Childe Harold,’ canto iv. p. 58, 2nd edit. 1818, and a subsequent notice in this volume.



Pepin himself resided in Verona; but the reign of the Carlovingian princes lasted only seventy-three years, and Verona itself, although it appears to have been the strongest place of refuge in Upper Italy, could not keep out the Barbarians, who for fifty years spread themselves over the fairest portion of the Peninsula. The Hungarians, a nation described as more ferocious than ferocity, were in Verona about the year 900;\* and it is said that the fall of some ancient edifice during their stay was nearly fatal to the Arena, the famous attraction of the place, for much damage being done by this accident, it was thought advisable to pull down that part of the other great building which threatened a similar catastrophe—accordingly what was standing of the outer circle of arcades of the amphitheatre was pulled down. The repairs began as early at least as the end of the sixteenth century, as an inscription records,† and have been frequent since that period. Napoleon devoted an annual sum to that object, and his zeal was commemorated as usual, but the inscription has been effaced. The Austrian government, however, continue to devote the same sum to the same purpose. Like the Coliseum,

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\* “Gens ipsa feritate ferocior ac omnium Barbarorum immanitatem post se relinquens,” says Muratori, ‘*Antiquitat. Medii Ævi.*’ Diss. Prima I. i. p. 22. There seems to have been a friendly contest between Maffei and Muratori as to the exact date of the Hungarian invasion; but the latter, in his 40th Dissertation, says positively, “Tota ergo periodus ærumnarum quas ab Hungris Italia sustinuit inter annum 900 et ann. 950 revera concluditur.”—P. III. p. 670.

† Quod ex parte corruerat civitas a solo restituit, MDXCV.

in former days, the lower arcades of this vast structure were, in part, converted into mean dwellings, one or two of which were inhabited when we first saw it. I cannot, however, call to mind the old clothes' shops, by which Mr. Simond entered into the Arena, nor did I see any of the rags which that amusing writer must have thought were the common banners of Italy, for he met them flying everywhere, and delighted to contrast the "guenilles" with the past grandeur and present pride of the Italians. A wooden theatre and a circus for equestrian performances were, we saw, fitted up and lost in the vast area. A better opportunity of comparing an ancient with a modern exhibition of such games could not have been devised. The whole audience of the theatre could now be easily seated on a small section of a few yards of the ancient amphitheatre; and the other spectacle, similar to Astley's or Franconi's, might take place, at the same time, without interfering with the dramatic performance, whilst in spite of both shows, including audience and actors, men and horses, scenes and wooden circus, the huge circumference would appear almost empty.\* Large as it is, Mr. Simond

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\* The dimensions were as follows :—The actual elevation of the outer wall, 110 feet, but originally it was between 40 and 50 feet higher. The largest diameter, 478 feet; the smaller, 375 feet. The circumference 1,344 feet. Mabillon (*Iter. Italic.* tom. i. p. 24, edit. Paris, 1724) calls it "*opus insigne ac fere integrum a Veronensibus magna diligentia servatum*;" but he reduces the number of spectators to 26,000.

In the 'Rhythmical Description of Verona,' written about the year 790, there are these lines :—"Habet altum laberinthum, magnum,

denies the possibility of 60,000 spectators finding room in the Veronese amphitheatre, and reduces the number to one half; nevertheless it was calculated that when Pius VI. in 1782 gave his benediction there, no less than 80,000 partook of the blessing. The ceremony is thus recorded:—

“PIUS VI. PONT. MAX.

“Trans alpino rediens itinere civibus et incolis provinciæ per cuneos arenamque compositis ab aureo solio cœlestia munera exoravit.”—*M. Savorniano, Præfecto.*

It is true that the multitude was not commodiously arranged, for, when the blessing was given, much con-

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per circuitum in qua nescius egressus non valet egredi nisi igne lucernæ vel a filo glomere.<sup>a</sup> Foro lato specioso sternuto lapidibus—ubi in quatuor cantus magnus instat forniceps—plateæ miræ sternutæ desectis lapidibus.”—(*Rerum Ital. Script. t. ii. § ii. p. 1095.*)

The exact date of building the amphitheatre is unknown; nor is it known at what period the ruin of this huge structure began. I cannot recover the allusion to the ruin in the time of the Hungarians. I find no earlier record of its decay than the notice in the ‘Chronicon Veronense,’ under date M.CLXXXIII:—“Millesimo supradicto intrante mense Januario, maxima pars alæ Arenæ Veronæ cecidit terra motu magno per prius facto, videlicet ala exterior.”—(*Script. Rer. Ital. t. viii. p. 622.*)

The restoration and care of the Arena began at an early period—certainly in the 13th century; but after that date the stones of it were carried away and used for modern buildings, and this “fatal use” of them, Maffei is obliged to confess, was continued at least up to 1406.—(*Degli Anfiteatri, lib. primo, p. 140, oper. t. v., edit. Milan, 1826.*)

The integrity of the inside of it, and the red cement used in reconstructing the blocks, give a very modern appearance to this part of the structure, which contrasts strongly with the exterior ruin.

<sup>a</sup> Maffei reads—Cum fili glomere, and “nunquam” instead of “non.”

fusion took place and many were seriously injured. The influx of strangers into the city on that occasion caused also a temporary famine. No such mischief happened when Joseph II. witnessed a bull fight there, which he appears, from inscriptions, to have done in 1769 and 1779, nor could all the sovereigns of the Congress in 1822 attract so dangerous an assemblage, for nothing could pass off more peaceably than the concert and the ball with which their imperial and royal majesties were regaled in the amphitheatre. I happened to be at Verona a few days afterwards before the decorations of the festival had been removed. In the middle of the arena stood a gigantic figure, half plaster, half drapery, of Madonna Verona; and, on the exterior wall, a large placard, like that of a travelling menagerie, contained the following invitation:—

“Quotquot Veronæ considitis  
Imperatores, Reges, Principesque viri,  
Dignitate, auctoritate, sapientiâ  
Præstantissimi.  
Amphitheatrum ingredimini  
Et amplitudini animarum  
Par siet loci amplitudo.”

The English song-writer asks for a bowl “as large as his capacious soul;” but the magnanimity which could not be circumscribed by the amphitheatre was hardly to be found at the congress of Verona. A few days after the concert in the amphitheatre the allied sovereigns attended the performance of a cantata composed for the occasion, and presented by the Chamber of Commerce of Verona as “an offering to their adored sovereign the



Emperor Francis." The august visitors consisted of the Emperor Alexander, the Emperor Francis, the Empress of Austria, the King of Naples, the King of Sardinia, the Duchess of Lucca, the Archduke Reynier, Viceroy of Lombardy, and the Empress Maria Louisa. All these, excepting the last, were in the Imperial box in front of the orchestra. When they first entered, the Emperor Alexander and the Empress of Austria seemed to preside over the ceremonies and to lead in the minor monarchs and introduce them to the people who greeted them warmly, particularly a lady whom they mistook for Maria Louisa. These great personages were some time before they could arrange themselves in due order; but after much bowing and curtsying they were seated, and the performance began. The audience consisted of the masters of the civilised world, most of them present in person, and all by their ambassadors. The men, the scene, the occasion, it would seem impossible to imagine a more imposing spectacle; nevertheless the general effect was inconsiderable, and Rossini's music, sung by Galli, Crivelli, and Velluti, the first artists in Italy, coupled with such poetry as the occasion required, was not esteemed one of his happy efforts. Whether the music was admired or not we could not at the time judge, for all applause was forbidden, except with reference to the real personages of the scene. Fileno, Elpino, Alceo, Argene, and other shepherds and shepherdesses, representatives of the Lombard Provinces, the Genius of the House of Austria, attended by Clemency,

Faith, Justice, and Valour, passed almost unnoticed before the assembled monarchs; even the Emperor Francis scarcely noticed, unless by a nod, the marks of favour bestowed upon the Genius of his House, nor moved his eyes from the printed Cantata containing his own praises. It will be seen, from the dedication of the Canto to the Emperor Francis, that the Veronese, to use an expression of Swift, "gave their monarch better weight."

"SACRA MAESTÀ.

"Se dalla eminente maestà del Trono commisurar si dovesse l'offerte di un ceto di devotissimi sudditi, il commercio di Verona serberebbe un profondo e rispettoso silenzio; ma non isdegna un Padre amoroso di raccogliere i teneri sensi de' proprj figli, e questa idea non meno vera che dolce rinfranca, fra tutti, quei Veronesi che sono addetti al commercio.

"Pochi carmi pronunciati dalla pastorale innocenza possano meritare uno solo sguardo benigno della paterna maestà vostra, e saranno così adempiati que' voti del cuore che lingua alcuna, nè penna, esprimere potrebbe adeguatamente."

Whilst looking at the cluster of crowned heads it was impossible not to remark that the absolute lords of so many millions of men had not only nothing to distinguish them from the common race of mankind, but were, in appearance, inferior to what might be expected from the same number of gentlemen taken at hazard from any society in Europe. Nor was there to be seen a trait expressive of any great or attractive quality in all those who were to be the sources of so much happiness or misery to so large a portion of the civilised world. Yet some of those were notoriously good men in their

private capacity, and scarcely one of them has been distinguished for vices eminently pernicious to society, or any other than the venial failings of humanity; or, as a writer of no democratic tendency\* says of them, "all excellent persons in private life, all scourges of the countries submitted to their sway."

Of the sovereigns at Verona the Emperor Alexander took the most pains to ingratiate himself with the Veronese, by rambling about in pretended incognito, and seizing the hands of the ladies whom he happened to encounter in the streets, or giving sequins to the boys at play. He one day amused himself with carrying up the coffee to his brother of Austria, and it was some time before Francis discovered that he was waited upon by an emperor in disguise. A strange but innocent frolic, but "utinam his potius nugis."

To prepare for the Congress two hundred policemen were despatched from Venice to Verona, and two hundred from Milan. The number of troops in the city and round it amounted to 10,000. The principal employment of the police was to watch the proceedings of those to whom it was not desirable the Italians should have promiscuous access. The Emperor Alexander and the Duke of Wellington were the especial objects of their care. The latter peculiarly so; for he had been much cheered in St. Mark's Square at Venice, and had become, unwittingly no doubt, very popular by appearing in the

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\* Mr. Stewart Rose, in his *Letters from the North of Italy*.

pit at the opera-house there in plain clothes. Every movement of the Emperor Alexander was vigilantly observed and noted. A legion of spies hovered round him wherever he went. At this time (1822) these most odious of all the satellites of despotism were in full activity. The commotions of 1820 and 1821 had roused the suspicions of all the petty monarchs of the Peninsula, as well as of their master at Vienna. The persons employed were chiefly natives of the Italian Tyrol, who corresponded directly with Vienna or Milan, without reference to the local authorities. One of these spies did, however, hand in a report to the delegate at Verona implicating several respectable Veronese families, and, upon receiving a reproof for his officiousness, actually went to Milan and saw the Archduke Viceroy himself, who made him a present of a hundred louis d'or. Thus encouraged he returned to Verona, and very soon sent in a list of Carbonari to Milan, including amongst them the delegate himself. It was not without some difficulty that the magistrate was saved and the denunciator exposed.

Philip de Comines had sagacity enough to see that the interviews of sovereigns seldom are advantageous to themselves, and it is equally or more certain that their respective subjects derive no benefit from them, often the contrary. The ambition of Napoleon was not cured by meeting Frederick and Alexander on the raft, nor was the future intimacy between the sovereigns more



cordial or sincere than before the meeting. Their subjects traced from it nothing but future wars and more bloodshed. The conferences at Aix produced no fruit except the melancholy reaction in France. The royal meeting at Troppau immediately preceded the regulations against German liberty. At Laybach the subjugation of Italy was resolved upon; and the congress of Verona, although it did not cause, yet permitted the French invasion of Spain.

The Veronese are supposed to be much attached to the ancient order of things: they were the last to yield to the French in 1797, after a sanguinary struggle, of which there were signs in 1822. The French troops were in possession of the Castle of St. Pietro; the citizens were masters of the town. The consequence was that the shot from the castle injured several buildings, which were not repaired when we saw them. Since that time the population has much decreased, and the silk trade, which used to employ 10,000 hands, is also on the decline. Maffei says of the silk, “Che la gran quantità d’ un così prezioso prodotto si è resa da gran tempo il primo sangue di questo corpo civile; poichè per 5, 6, e fino a settecento mila ducati di denaro forestiero si può tirar con la seta annualmente in Verona.” \*

Verona is built on the side and on the area of a

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\* VERONA ILLUSTRATA, *parte terza, capo primo*. Edit. Milan, 1826.

natural theatre of hills, the base of the high Alps; and, what with its old battlements above, its dilapidated bridge, and its great Roman ruin in the centre below, has itself the air of an antiquity. The Adige flows circuitously through the town, and before the peace of Presburg (1805) was the boundary between the Lombard and Venetian states. The Veronese were always proud of their old bridge,\* whose largest arch, not in the centre, but on one side, they boast is larger than that of the Rialto. The modern part of it was the work of Can Grande the Second. Five centuries have spared the tombs of the three Scaliger princes, which, although not in any church, but in what was once a church-yard, the old cemetery of Sta. Maria Antica, now an open street, and protected only by iron trellis-work, have received no injury. The elegant fretwork and the small statues of these shrines are fresh and unfaded.

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\* Hist. lib. ii. cap. xi. Liutprand calls it "*ingens marmoreus novi operis miræque magnitudinis pons*," and says nothing of the amphitheatre. This eleventh chapter of Liutprand affords a curious specimen of the learning of the ecclesiastics of the tenth century. The good bishop puts into the mouth of the traitor who betrayed King Lewis to Berengarius the words of our Saviour:—"Estote misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est. Nolite judicare et non judicabimini," &c. And Berengarius addresses his captive with the first words of Cicero's Catilinarian Oration:—"Quousque tandem abutere, Ludovice, patientiâ nostrâ?" for which abuse of his patience the ferocious conqueror condemns the King to lose his eyes, saying to him,—"Vitam tibi, sicut ei qui te mihi prodidit promiseram concedo, oculos vero tibi auferri non solum jubeo sed compello."

The stone coffins are in the air; and in 1816 my fellow-traveller, naturally enough, remarked that such a sepulchre renders the contemplation of death less dreadful than our dreary deep-sunk underground vaults. In Italy this custom is very general; and even in the churches the sarcophagus is usually above-ground. With us the monument is a cenotaph. There is no memorial which recalls the lives of our great predecessors so vividly as that which records their deaths; but when we find ourselves surrounded by their mortal remains, the feeling is still stronger, and we almost fancy ourselves their contemporaries. In Italy the great men are to be sought for amongst the tombs.

The style of the tombs of the Scaligers is a mixture of the pointed and the Romanesque. Cansignorio,\* the

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\* This magnificent Lord Cansignorius, three days before his death, killed his brother Paulus Albuinus, in order that his own bastards, Bartholomew and Anthony, might succeed him. They did succeed him, and then Bartholomew killed his brother Anthony; shortly after which murder Verona fell into the hands of Franciscus Novellus, of Carrara; and, says the chronicler:—"Et sic finivit dominium illorum de la Scala qui mutuo se interfecerunt, etc. Et sic finis ipsorum est." "And so ended the dynasty of the De la Scalas, who killed one another; and so there was an end of them." (*Chronicon Veronense*, ab an. 1117 ad an. usque 1278; *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. viii. p. 660, ed. Milan, 1726.) But it appears by the story that the chronicler is wrong — Bartholomew did not kill Anthony, but Anthony killed Bartholomew. Anthony himself was poisoned in Ravenna by order of John Galeazzo Visconti, to whom the final overthrow of the Scala family must be ascribed.—(See *Hallam's Middle Ages*, chap. iii. part ii.) The Scaligers were lords of Verona about 113 years. The last, who reigned for a few days, was Guglielmo de la Scala, who was a bastard of Can Grande II. He

worst of the three princes, has by far the largest monument.\*

The shrines of the Scaliger princes are not, however, so much the object of curiosity for Englishmen as the stone coffin called the Tomb of Juliet, which may be equally authentic with the Shakspearian relics at Stratford-on-Avon, for there is the same proof for it, namely, the positive assertion of the local authorities. The sarcophagus lies above-ground in a garden without the city, where stood the Franciscan convent of Friar Lawrence. A tradition tells that it had been originally in a church, and sceptics assert that the old tomb has been lost; but, between my first and third visit, in 1845, to Verona, a picture of the church and tomb had been

and his sons were supported by Francisco Novello de Carrara; and in the quarrels between that Prince and the Venetians, Verona was taken by the latter, who held it until their downfall in 1797.

The Carrara family were masters of Padua about eighty-seven years, from Giacomo Grande, in 1318, to Francesco II., who was strangled in the prisons of Venice with his two sons—a tragical story, but disposed of very summarily by Sannudo, the biographer of the Doges:—"A 17 di Gennajo, a ora di vespro, s' intese per la terra, che il Signor Francesco da Carrara di Padova era stato in prigione strangolato per deliberazione del Consiglio de' Dieci, e fu detto esser morto di catarro. Il suo corpo fu portato a sepolire a Santo Stefano in un arca. Sicchè si dice *uom morto non fa guerra*."—*Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*; ap. *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xxii. p. 832, edit. 1733. The historians Daru and Sismondi give to this cruelty its proper stigma. The man chosen for the ignoble office of executioner was Bernard di Priuli, a patrician.

\* See Mr. Gally Knight's splendid work, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in Italy*, vol. i. plate 34.



happily imagined, to satisfy the inquiries and silence the doubts of strangers.

For one English traveller who has read Dante or thinks anything of Can Grande on entering this city, ten thousand call to mind that Romeo and Juliet, according to their historian-poet, lived, and loved, and died in Verona; and I may add that Lord Byron and myself talked a great deal more of Shakspeare than of Catullus, or Claudian, or Dante, and listened attentively to the guide, who told us the true story, out of the tragedy, and added, that, although Juliet died so long ago as 1303, the Montecchi and Capuletti families were not yet quite extinct. But this was long before the days of handbooks. We carried off a chip of the red marble from the tomb itself, like true believers.\*

The so-called tomb of King Pepin, although partly underground, has been less respected than that of the Scaligers. The vault was opened, and the body, whose ever it was, carried away—some said by the French. The Germans had as little respect for the church and cemetery and tomb of St. Zeno, the patron saint of Verona,† for they converted the cloisters into a cavalry barrack. The sexton, showing the place, remarked that the said French and Germans were “*dui bovi*”—a true impartial Italian contempt for all Transalpines. Both

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\* See Lord Byron's Letter of Nov. 17, 1816, in Moore's *Life*, quarto, vol. ii. p. 50. See also Murray's *Handbook*, which laughs at the sentimental young and elderly ladies who do as we did.

† See the ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF ITALY, vol. i. plate v.

these oxen had spared a beautiful fresco in the cloisters—an infant Jesus. The Martyrdom of St. George, in the church of that name, by Paul Veronese, and the famous Assumption, by Titian, in the cathedral, had not gained admirers by their return from Paris; for they were in positions where it was very difficult to see them distinctly, and were, moreover, exposed to injury from damp, and candle-smoke, and incense.

Verona has been fortunate in producing a writer who devoted much of his life and learning to illustrate his native city, and whose partiality, fond as it is, seldom betrays him into exaggeration. Maffei's great work, '*Verona Illustrata*,' has been abridged for the use of strangers, who might find it inconvenient to travel with the five volumes of the last Milan edition of 1826; but, in truth, the curiosity of foreigners is generally monopolized by the amphitheatre, and is contented with a glance at the other Roman remains. The double gateway of Gallienus is much of the same merit as his arch at Rome; but I cannot say that it struck me as being overloaded with ornament.\* Being the first I had seen in Italy, I read the inscription with the interest with which any record of the masters of the Roman world inspired me in those days; and when I saw the "Coss" felt some awe, without much considering who the con-

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\* "L' architettura di questa porta benchè viziosa per l' eccesso degli ornamenti e per licenze in essa usate mostra l' arte già guasta ma non perduta."—*VERONA ILLUSTR.* P. III. cap. 2, vol. iv. p. 72, edit. Milan, 1826.

suls were and what the emperor was. The Arco di Gavi, which Palladio called "most beautiful," the work of a period of art superior to that of Vitruvius, according to Scammozzi, was taken down by the French at their first conquest of Lombardy. Maffei, however, terms it part of the skeleton of an arch.\*

Two of the arches of the Ponte di Pietra, which abut upon the Castello Vecchio, are a Roman work; all that remains of the ancient theatre can only be seen inside a house in the Piazzetta del Redentore. These and some fragments of the old wall of Gallienus are, so far as I am aware, the only ancient remains of a city which, for relics of Roman magnificence, has been ranked next to Rome.† But the Lapidario of Maffei, the successor of the Philharmonic Museum, which attracted the attention of Mabillon,‡ has been much increased since the death of its illustrious founder; and the Athenian Will, which the French carried to Paris, has been restored to the collection.

Verona, from the days of Constantine, has been the great bulwark of Upper Italy. That conqueror, in his struggle for empire, fought his first important battle under its walls; and here it was that, in 1848, the fate

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\* "Parte dello scheletro d' un arco, celebratissimo parimente dagli architetti."—VERON. ILLUS. vol. iv. p. 83.

† "E poichè Verona in maggior copia ne ha conservato di qualunque altra città eccettuando Roma."—VERON. ILLUS. vol. iv. cap. 11, p. 62.

‡ ITER ITALIC., tom. i. cap. 16. He travelled in 1685.

of the peninsula was decided; so that, in one sense, Verona might in these days be called, as she was in the time of the Scaligers,—

“Città ricca e nobile,  
Donna e Reina delle terre Italiane.”\*

When I passed some days there in 1845, every height appeared to me crowned by a battery commanding the city; and I was told that the Austrians were still adding to the defences of the citadel.

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\* Canzone diretta a Mastin della Scala.—(VERON. ILLUS. tom. iv. cap. prim. p. 61.) Of all the recorded follies of very learned men, perhaps no one is quite equal to that of the two l'Escales, father and son, who made themselves ridiculous and miserable by a futile attempt to prove that they were descended from these Veronese princes. The worthy offspring of the miniature painter, Bordoni, were indeed not content with the antiquity of the Scaligers, but the younger of them, Joseph, carried his pedigree up to Alain.



## CHAPTER VI.

Verona to Montebello — Vicenza — Palladian villa of Count Capra — Olympic Theatre — Effect of political condition on dramatic writing — Goldoni — Modern melodramas — Condition of Italian actors — The Sette Comuni — Padua — The University — The Bo — Tomb of Antenor — Livy — Famous natives of Padua — St. Anthony — St. Giustina — Dondi.

THE country between Verona and Montebello appeared to Burnett, nearly two centuries ago, to be better cultivated than any other part of Italy. The merit of the culture is not easily determined by a passing traveller, but nothing can exceed the beauty of it, nor the apparent richness. The vines hang in festoons from rows of mulberry-trees, in fields of clover, and millet, and maize, and other grains. The neighbouring hills are clothed with vineyards and gardens to their summits, and are studded with white villages and villas, with, here and there, an old castle, or a walled town, upon a distant height. The country, on the day we passed (1816), seemed to have poured forth all its population into the roads. All classes, gaily or neatly dressed, were hurrying to the fair at Verona; groups of children were playing in the fields by the road-side, and one little girl was swinging on a festoon of vine-tendrils between the mulberry-trees. There was nothing in the scene to remind

us that this country had been a battlefield over and over again, and, only a little more than two years ago, had been the theatre of war.

From this place to the neighbourhood of Vicenza the country is less populous and less enclosed. The Euganean range appears on the south, whilst the dark shadowy forms of the Trentine Alps bound the northern horizon. Near Vicenza the white villages, and gaudy summer-houses, and battlemented walls of gardens, crown the summits of vine-covered, conical eminences, hardly to be called hills. The immediate approach to the city is through a suburb of detached villas; but the general effect is much more pleasing than the individual examination of these Palladian abodes, where mansions of porticoes and pediments, with an approach between sculptured pilasters, surmounted by statues of gods and heroes, are frequently found to be in a cabbage-garden, enclosed by four dead walls.

### VICENZA,

The author of 'Letters from the North of Italy' says of this place, "I saw more beggars and more palaces"

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\* Vicenza seems to have overflowed with nobles and powerful families. At the end of the 'Chronicles' of Godi, who is thought to have written about the year 1313, three lists are given: the first, of fifty-six families, settled in Vicenza; the second, of twelve noble families, all of them counts, who were extinct, and scarcely remembered, when the list was copied from the MSS.; the third, of ninety-nine powerful families, many of them noble and very ancient. Yet

here than in any other town in Italy." We did not find beggars in much greater force here than in other Italian cities of 30,000 inhabitants. The architectural merit of the palaces, which it requires an architectural eye to understand, is not set off by the narrowness of the streets, made still narrower by arcades, nor by the multitude of white tin pipes projecting from the eaves, nor by the number of these buildings, which diminishes the effect of each of them.\* But the Palazzo Pubblico (or Prefettizio), the Gothic basilica, with Palladian loggie, the two columns, between which, as at Venice, criminals were executed, and other structures of the Piazza de' Signori, are grand and imposing. I am not aware of any Roman remains at Vicenza, but Mabillon was shown some fragments of an ancient amphitheatre.† Strangers are taken to see the villa Capra, the prototype of Palladian Chiswick. It is worth a walk, and so also is the Monte Berico, with its arcaded stations, and the sanctuary at the summit, if it were only to enjoy the prospect of the lovely country, and the city, and the winding river, Bacchiglione, below. The Letters from

Vicenza seems to have been pre-eminently miserable in these dark days. The chronicler, a noble native of the city, begins his *Prologium* in these terms :—"Enarrare deliberanti miserias, afflictiones, oppressiones, clades, depopulationes, stupra, incendia, calamitates, et cædes quas civitas Vicentia, ejusque districtus hactenus passa est," &c.—*RER. ITAL. SCRIP.* t. viii. p. 69, edit. Milan, 1726.

\* The Handbook calls them Venetian Gothic.

† *ITER ITALIC.*, tom. i. p. 25, cap. 17.—"Voracissimâ temporis injuriâ Vicentina monumenta adeo attrita sunt ut nunc prisce decoris perexigua supersit notitia," said a learned Vicentine to Mabillon.

the North of Italy have given due praise to this charming scene.

### THE OLIMPIC THEATRE.

This copy of an ancient playhouse received its name from the Society of the Olimpici, at whose expense it was built. It is not only without a rival, but without an imitation, for Scammozzi's theatre, at Sabbionetta, has long ceased to exist; yet every other Palladian structure has been copied in every country in Europe, and such a wooden building, with its stuccoed statues and decorations, would cost but little, and would be a useful appendage to classical schools, and even our own universities. The theatre was not finished until 1584, four years after the death of Palladio, when Vincenzo Scammozzi completed it, and it was opened with the 'Œdipus' of Giustiniani. The 'Sofonisba' of Trissino was twice performed there; but in later times it has been used only for balls and concerts given in honour of the succeeding sovereigns of Italy;—Joseph II., Napoleon, and Francis, enjoyed that distinction. The records of loyalty towards the first of these Emperors still disfigured, in 1822, the bases of some of the statues. The theatre is capable of holding 2400 spectators.

Italy was, and still is, famous for the magnificence of her theatres; and dramatic writing was, and still is, her comparatively inferior accomplishment. Her political condition has generally been adduced as the sufficing



cause of this deficiency—it appears to me without reason, for Corneille and Molière were not the citizens of a free state, nor did our own greatest dramatists live under such institutions as we now enjoy. Indeed, even in our own times, the stage licenser has had something more than nominal authority. Besides, the many communities of Italy were not always governed despotically. Macchiavelli could expose hypocrisy in Florence; and, in the worst times, the writers of one state might display their humour at the expense of follies notoriously prevalent in another. It may be added that the best comedies may be produced without giving offence to the most sensitive government. The ‘School for Scandal,’ or the ‘Suspicious Husband,’ would have encountered no opposition from any Italian authority, had any Italian genius been equal to the production of them. The same may be said of tragedy, except where, in times of excitement, the representation of certain exploits, and the expression of particular sentiments, may bear too directly upon existing circumstances, and awaken feelings which a prudent government would wish to lie dormant. It is no wonder that the ‘Congiura de’ Pazzi’ should be a forbidden play; but the ‘Mirra,’ and other of Alfieri’s tragedies, which are daily performed, show that, where great dramatic genius really exists, it can easily find means for the display of all its powers, even within the limits prescribed by despotism. Except ‘Julius Cæsar,’ all Shakspeare’s plays might be performed at Vienna. The early tragic writers chose many

of the same subjects as were afterwards adopted with so much success in England and in France. ‘*Mariamne*,’ ‘*Tancredi*,’ ‘*Merope*,’ ‘*Cæsar*,’ ‘*Semiramis*,’ had appeared in Italy before they had triumphed beyond the Alps. In truth, if freedom from restraint were the chief incentive to dramatic talent, the Italians would excel as much in dramatic composition as in other branches of literature, for their comedy abounds in satire and sarcasm capable of personal application more than the dramas of France or England; indeed, the *Commedia dell’ arte*, on which it is founded, is little else than satirical drollery. The chief merit of it, as Lord Byron observed to me, consists in telling home truths; but the plots are flimsy and insignificant, the characters are individual and local, not specific and general. The manners and sentiments resulting from such plots and characters are not so much those of nature, nor of European society, as they are artificial and provincial, intelligible only to one sort of audience, and in one community. The language partakes, in some degree, of the same defect; and like inferior English comedies, much of the humour consists in the dialect. The half extemporaneous farces, now banished from the regular stage, the masked Pantaloon of Venice, the pasteboard *Girolamos* of Milan, might be adduced to prove that the Italian genius is not averse to merriment; far from it, since the broad humour of these buffooneries, which are frequently announced as “*TUTTO DA RIDERE*,” is really very laughable. I saw *Vestri*

in the 'Trumpeter,' at Venice; Liston was never better.

But Goldoni, who aspired to the real honours of the sock, and who is generally thought to have obtained them—he, as it appears to me, may be quoted as proof that comedy, in the modern sense of the word, as distinct from farce and tragedy, is not one of the productions of Italian genius. Ariosto, Bentivoglio, the comic writers of Florence, with the great Macchiavelli himself, have shown how far the art was understood by the classical dramatists of former times; yet no one but an Italian critic would compare the best of their productions with the masterpieces of the French or English school; nor would the Italians themselves now tolerate them on the stage. Are any of the Tuscan comedies, are even *Lasca's*, ever acted in these days? I believe not, any more than the *Aminta* or the *Canace*, or the *Calandria*, all of which, in their different styles, were the wonder and the delight of their day, and established the reputation of their respective authors. Cesarotti, in his letter to Denina, says of Speroni's play, that if *Canace* is now forgotten, her contemporary sisters have not survived her. Nor would Goldoni himself be popular even now, were it not that, with all his defects, he has not been surpassed by any native writer. But I contend that these defects are not to be attributed to the political condition of the people for whom he wrote. He fails in points totally unconnected with such a cause, and is tainted with those vices which I have already

described as characteristic of modern Italian comedy.\* Mr. Forsyth seems to attribute the inferiority of dramatic composition partly to the preference given to the opera, and partly to the degraded condition of the Italian actor. But how was it that music came to be preferred to the language of the stage; and how, in a country where dramatic imitation seems the delight of all classes, how was it that the professors of the histrionic art fell into contempt? Whatever may be the cause of the deficiency, the Italians themselves seem as sensible of it as foreigners; and most of the plays, not tragedies, which I have seen in Italy, were imitations or translations from the sentimental comedies, or tales, which have disgraced the literature and infested the stage of our own and other countries. The half-historical, patchwork piece, a monster on the stage, and which, even in romance, requires a master genius to make it tolerable, was attempted by Goldoni before it became so popular in the succeeding age; but it was seasoned with satirical allusions and mimicry, intelligible to natives but lost upon foreigners. Such is his *Torquato Tasso*, written to ridicule the Tuscans, in which Leonora is the mistress, not the sister, of Alphonso, in which the poet's madness is attributed to love, and after being sent to the hospital, not for seven years, but

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\* For the opinion given of Goldoni I would refer to a most competent authority, the late Stewart Rose. My friend, Di Breme, was of the same way of thinking, and gave mortal offence by calling him "Parron Venetico."



five minutes, he accepts an invitation to be crowned in the Capitol, and so concludes the drama. His Molière is another strange perversion of personal history. It is in rhyme, and, to say the truth, is no favourite with the Italians. I saw it performed at the St. Luca Theatre, at Venice, to an audience of just fifty-five souls. Since the days of Goldoni there have been numberless biographical dramas of a similar kind, and even contemporary heroes are occasionally introduced, not, as with us, to help out an exhibition of horsemanship, but as amusements of the regular stage. We saw Lord Exmouth bombarding Algiers to a very crowded audience at Venice, not long after the real admiral had triumphed on the coast of Barbary. His lordship was dressed in a jacket, with a feather in his cap.\* Mythological dramas, like operas without music, or ballets without dancing, are very popular with them; to us they would be intolerable. I have before said that the actor is held in no honour in Italy; in fact, he is treated like a stroller of the lowest order—his supplications to the audience, his showman's picture, playhouse-placard, his dress, his scenery, his benefit begging-tray—all bespeak the meanness of his condition. The whole expenses of one of the principal theatres at Venice, including the salaries of the actors, amounted

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\* Our friends, the French, put up with this miserable mock drama. A thing, called 'Edmond Kean,' represents that great actor as rival for some woman with the Prince of Wales, and boxing with him.

in one season only to three hundred pounds; yet the company Vestri e Venier addressed the most benevolent public in strains of pathetic gratitude for past favours and solicitation for future patronage. "If there is a happy moment in the life of man," said one of these placarded addresses, "it is when he revisits friends dear to him by the recollection of past benefits;" but, like true Italians, they frequently choose these occasions for moralizing, and convert an advertisement into a political lesson. One of the companies began their play-bill thus: "When Europe was divided into factions."

The favours of the audience are divided between the actors, the author, and the scene-painter, each of whom is now and then called for at the end of the play. On one occasion, an ape, who had it is true been the principal personage in the drama, was obliged to appear, and received the applause of the spectators. My valet de place, who was standing behind me at the time, seemed ashamed of his fellow-countrymen, and exclaimed, "Oh, Popolo!"

The Olympic Theatre, which no pains were taken to preserve when we saw it, is hidden in an obscure lane. The façade of Palladio's own house may be easily overlooked near the Verona gate; and the famous Rotunda, before mentioned, of Count Capra, has a little pot-herb garden before one of the fronts, and is flanked by dead walls, balustraded, as it were, with dirty statues. The Palladian Triumphal Arch is preserved with somewhat

more care, as it bestrides the base of the long flight of steps leading to the Madonna of Monte Berico. Yet Palladio is more frequently in the mouth of the Vicentine guide than any other native; and even at Padua he divides the palm with Livy.

To neglect the objects, and even the men, of whom they are proud, has long been one of the vices of the Italians, although much has been said of the splendid patronage of early times. The governments of the peninsula have seldom shown much anxiety to save either the one or the other from premature decay; and few individuals have had both the will and the means to become patrons of living artists or guardians of their masterpieces. The latter, like many good books that are more often praised than read, are generally left to the care of a hireling, who farms them as a show, and who, to secure his daily subsistence, only provides that they shall last his time, and not fall to pieces before his eyes. If Palladio in his lifetime received no more substantial encouragement than another great Vicentine artist, he was as much neglected as some of his works. Sansovino was proto-architect to the empire of St. Mark, and his pay was just nine Venetian lire a-week.\*

#### THE SETTE COMUNI.

A friend of mine, whom I met on the road from Vicenza to Padua, endeavoured to induce me to turn

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\* From the *Pisani Papers*.

back with him and visit the "Sette Comuni," a mountainous district of the Vicentine territory, inhabited by certain Cimbrians, who talk something like German—indeed, a very polite Teutonic dialect, if credit is to be given to a Danish sovereign, who was delighted with his reception by them. But these Cimbrians and this king of Denmark have fallen into abler hands, and Mr. Stewart Rose has made good sport with his Majesty Frederick the Fourth and his Teutonic cousins,\* and I do not much regret that I did not "seek out these savages in their huts and hired farms."

#### PADUA.

We entered Padua by a neglected gateway, in the midst of ruined houses. The walls were "a world too wide" for its shrunk population. Excepting Ferrara, it had an air of desolation and desertion more striking than that of any Italian city. Without going back to the old times, when the Antenorea Athenæ sent 110,000 fighting men into the field, Padua was very flourishing when she was the head of an independent state. This was the case with most of the Italian cities so long as they were governed by "detestable little tyrants of their own," under different denominations, whether princes, or lords of a council, or popular assemblies. The spoils of one of the last lords of Padua, at the arsenal of

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\* Letter xxiv. *from the North of Italy.*



Venice, show what happiness might be expected under his rule—a spiked collar for his captives, and a padlock for his wife. Yet Padua long continued to be very populous. She had, in 1816, only 25,000 inhabitants.\* The conversion of the tyrant's tower (Ezzelino) into an observatory, has not saved either the city or the university from decay. The students of this most celebrated university have dwindled with the population. They were once 18,000; we found them 400; but the staff was kept up at its full complement—there were no less than fifty-four professors. A residence of three years is required for a law degree, and of seven for a medical graduate. The public examinations take place in June, when from 60 to 70 students take their degrees. On this occasion Padua is plastered with sonnets. A student, with whom we were acquainted, informed us that he attended three lectures in the forenoon of several days in the week—one on political economy, one on civil law, and a third on general polity or government. What use or application could be the result of the last lecture we did not ask him. The lectures are not compulsory. We attended one on experimental philosophy in the Palladian Bo—the Academical Palace. The students clapped their hands at the conclusion of the lecture. We did not think the inner

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\* In 1842 reckoned at 42,000 by *Murray's Handbook*. This authority states the students at a number fluctuating from 1500 to 2000. They must have increased greatly since our visit.

cortile, in itself a beautiful building, improved by the escutcheons of the former members of the university, which are hung round the walls and on the ceiling.

Our student showed me the tomb of Antenor, the Trojan founder of Padua, without the slightest indication of want of faith. The sarcophagus is Gothic all over. The sepulchral slab ascribed to the patron heathen saint of Padua does, in fact, belong to a freedman of Livy's fourth daughter; but tradition has given authenticity to the bust of the great historian; and one of the arms belonging to the skeleton discovered in 1413, and recognised as being the mortal remains of Titus Livius, was presented by the city to Alphonso IV. of Naples, at the suggestion of Panormita, the Venetian ambassador; so records an inscription over the tomb in the great public hall called the Palazzo della Razione, a noble structure. We asked who built it; our guide said "Livio." \*

But Livy and Antenor are not the only boasts of Padua. Contiguous to the church of St. Giustina, round an oval cavity, the site of an ancient amphitheatre, are placed a series of freestone statues, many of them representing Paduans, from Livy downwards, all well known in their native territory, but many never heard of beyond the terra firma provinces of the Most Serene Republic. When Denina, in 1795, published his discourse, ad-

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\* See *Murray's Handbook* for a description of this hall, the work of Frate Giovanni.

dressed to the Berlin Academy in 1793, in which he confined the merits of the Paduans to the probity of the men and the chastity of the women, "a sort of bonhommie, the effect of a fat soil and a heavy air," Cesarotti indignantly repelled the slander, and in a long letter to the Abate endeavoured to show that the wealth of his fellow citizens had not made them more stupid nor less valiant than their neighbours, and the poet produced a formidable list of Patavinian heroes, such as Giannino di Peragra, "riguardato come l'Achille di Padova," and Arquano Buzzacarino, "ancor più famoso," whom Denina had shamefully overlooked. The letter is found in the fourth volume of Cesarotti's collected works,\* and is an amusing specimen of Italian provinciality: but, in truth, Denina was unjust—he had no right to forget that Davila was a Paduan.

If the students of this once famed university could be made restless by the images of their forefathers, they might, in the Prato della Valle, pass many hours of sleepless meditation on the several roads to human glory. But example is lost where imitation is dangerous; and even under the Venetian republic distinction could very seldom be gained, except by a Patrician. At this day the statues of the Prato would be scarcely noticed, were not two of them the work of Canova. Eight years had elapsed between the first production of this great sculptor, the Basket of Fruit, on the Staircase of the Farsetti Palace, at Venice, and the statue of the Mar-

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\* P. 349, edit. Milan.

chese Poleni (the correspondent of Newton), which adorns the Prato; and the interval had been employed on works, one of which, at least, gave promise of his future fame. Indeed, the Pisani Dædalus and Icarus, produced in 1779, had already received the applause of Rome. The Poleni was sculptured in 1780. Cicognara, in his funeral oration on Canova, calls it a juvenile work. It does not seem the work of the same hand that had, the year before, produced the Dædalus.

The great excellence of Canova is not, perhaps, to be sought for in his representations of the real human figure. There he was surpassed by many who were infinitely inferior to him in the higher efforts of the art. When his originals reminded him of the nymph-like voluptuous forms which were congenial to his imagination, his portraits were masterpieces of elegance and beauty; and where his living subjects, as with Napoleon and his august mother, enabled him to copy the antique, he was eminently successful; but, with these exceptions, I know of no bust, and there are many of them, nor full-length figure of this renowned artist, not even his Popes of the Vatican, in which he showed himself to be at the head of his profession in portraiture.\* In this branch of sculpture he was occasionally below the ordinary run of artists. Witness his hideous Ferdinand, in the Studii at Naples; an unhappy subject, it is true, but something better might have been made even of this monstrous monarch.

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\* Cicognara, indeed, extols the Rezzonico of St. Peter's as a perfect imitation of real nature; but the sleeping lion is generally preferred to the supplicating Pope.



The celebrated adopted saint of Padua (il Santo, as he is called) has maintained his worship in the great church,\* where his chapel is rich in sculpture and in relics. Of the latter there are more than 700 in one case. His tongue and his hand-writing are kept apart, also the glass with which Anthony broke a stone, in proof of his miraculous power.

The great Benedictine establishment at the much admired Sta. Giustina, although it had lost the greater part of its wealth, still (in 1816) educated 300 young men for the priesthood. The library was still rich in first editions, and the librarian seemed well qualified for the care of such treasures. He dwelt with much delight on the detection of the surreptitious Pine's 'Horace,'† and of the false Delphin 'Cicero,' both of them more fatally correct than the faulty originals. In the pseudo Horace, on a medal of Cæsar, the mistake "post est" was corrected to "potest," and in the Cicero's philosophical treatises, page 76 was followed by page 77, and

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\* See the XXIST plate, representing San Antonio of Padua, in the ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF ITALY. The contiguous equestrian statue of Erasmo di Narni, the condottiere, by Donatello, is justly criticised by the *Handbook*, p. 312.

† A learned friend of mine sent to me the following comment on this passage:—"Bibliographers speak of the genuine and spurious editions of Pine's Horace, but, I think, not correctly. Three sets of impressions were taken from the same plates. The first set contained the error, 'Post est,' which distinguishes the best impressions. For the second impression the plates were retouched, and the error corrected. For the third, the plates were retouched again, and this set was, of course, very inferior to its immediate predecessor. But there was no copying—no piracy." (1860.)

not by page 78, as in the authentic copy. The librarian showed us an autograph letter from Petrarch to Dondi, in which the poet seems to have been singularly precise, not only in his style, but his hand-writing, which is elegant and accurate to the last degree. The margin contains a few corrections, for which he apologises in the opening sentence.

The great astronomical clock, which procured for Giacomo Dondi the correspondence of Petrarch, and gave him and his family a title, was removed from Padua to Bologna, and from Bologna to Madrid, but it has been restored to the tower in the Piazza de' Signori.

The Dondi family has produced merit of almost every description. Lucrezia Dondi dell' Orologio, wife of Piero Enea degli Obizzi, more than rivalled the fame of her Roman namesake, for she saved her chastity, though she lost her life. Cesarotti asks Denina whether there is not something more than "bonhomie" in this.\*

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\* The reader may not dislike to see a specimen of Cesarotti's Patavinity. The Abate Conti, a personage with whom the English literati of the early part of the last century were well acquainted, but whose renown has not been increased by time, is described by Cesarotti in the following terms:—"Quest' uomo poteva dirsi archivista, segretario e ministro dell' Enciclopedia, nato ad aprir un commercio libero fra le provincie le più disparate dello scibile, a illuminarle l' una per l' altra, e a formarne uno solo stato, animandolo del medesimo spirito. Fisico, matematico, metafisico, letterato nel senso più ampio e legittimo, egli possedea le viste del Verulamio, la erudizione ragionata di Bayle, la sottigliezza e profondità di Leibnizio, la scienza di Newton, il genio e la fantasia di Platone."—(*Cesarotti, Lett. all' Ab. Denina, Op.*, vol. iv. p. 400, edit. Milan.)

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE BANKS OF THE BRENTA—VENICE.

THE river looks like a canal between high banks, and is not easily distinguished from one or two artificial streams, equally large, that intersect the Paduan flats. Innumerable villas, and now and then a gondola, announce the approach to the capital. A little beyond the post town of Dolo, the road, a noble work of the French government,\* leaves the banks of the river, and leads to Mestre, the principal port on the Great Lagune. Here, late in a November evening (in 1816), we got into a large gondola, and pushed off for Venice. We had just light enough to see on our left the fortifications raised by Napoleon, and having delivered up our passports at a guard house, and after being stopped by a Custom House boat, we rowed on between low embankments, and long lines of stakes, for nearly an hour and a half, until we found ourselves amongst the lights which we had, for some time, seen at a distance; and, through the loopholes of our black cabin, we discerned

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\* I traversed, in 1845, this tract by the railroad, which has rendered this work useless—I mean the road, and perhaps might add the description of it.

that we were gliding under lofty buildings, by the side of long quays. The echoes of our oars told us we were under a bridge, and one of our boatmen exclaimed "THE RIALTO!" We soon landed. Our hotel was a palace in decay (Mr. Simond has given a plan of it), with a magnificent marble staircase, a vast saloon, and numerous apartments, with faded frescoes, dusky gilding, and silk hangings in tatters. Similar symptoms of the recent ruin of this extraordinary state were, as we afterwards found, to be seen in every quarter of the city.

The pictures of Venice which represent the Piazzetta or any of the great quays do not convey a correct idea of the details or even of the general appearance of this singular city. I found myself mistaken in supposing there were footways on the sides of all the canals. You may, from the back of most houses, and sometimes from the front, step from the hall door into your boat at once, and may row through the city almost the whole day without suspecting there are any streets in it; or you may wander through innumerable lanes and narrow alleys like the courts of communication between some of our great London thoroughfares, without coming upon a single canal or seeing the water once. The view from the great belfry does not show any of the water streets, for so they may be called—they are not canals.

The arcaded square of St. Mark, and the mosque-like cathedral, and the palace of the Doge, and the tall belfry, and the long red flag staffs stripped of the ensigns of the three tributary kingdoms, the Athenian



columns, and the Quay of the Piazzetta—these are known by a thousand pictures, which render them almost as familiar to our imagination as to a native resident. But no pencil can paint the scéne, which I have so often beheld from the shores of the Lido, when the sun pours his last rays upon innumerable domes, and palaces, and towers, floating, as it were, on the bosom of the water, and, long after he has sunk behind the cupola of St. George, leaves his cold purple light upon the distant snow-alps and far seen promontories of Istria.

#### VENICE.

I remained in Venice from November to December, 1816, rejoined Lord Byron at his villa of La Mira on the banks of the Brenta in July, 1817, and thence, after some weeks, removed to Venice, where I staid until February, 1818.

I revisited Venice in 1826 and 1845, and I subjoin some notices either collected during those visits, or suggested by references to authors who have treated of the same subject.

#### THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS.—THE POZZI.\*

The communication between the Ducal palace and the prisons of Venice is by a gloomy bridge, or covered

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\* Of this my account of the prisons, the contributor to Murray's 'Handbook of Northern Italy' is pleased to say that the Pozzi "correspond with the well-known and accurate description given by Lord Byron." The great poet did not write any of the notes to the 4th canto of *Childe Harold*, except a few short ones.

gallery, high above the water, and divided by a stone wall into a passage and a cell. The state dungeons, called "Pozzi," or wells, were sunk in the thick walls of the palace; and the prisoner when taken out to die was conducted across the gallery to the other side, and being then led back into the other compartment or cell, upon the bridge, was there strangled. The low portal through which the criminal was taken into this cell is now walled up; but the passage is still open, and is still known by the name of the Bridge of Sighs. The Pozzi are under the flooring of the chamber at the foot of the bridge. They were formerly twelve, but on the first arrival of the French, the Venetians hastily blocked or broke up the deeper of these dungeons. You may still, however, descend by a trap-door, and crawl down through holes, half choked by rubbish, to the depth of two stories below the first range. If you are in want of consolation for the extinction of patrician power, perhaps you may find it there; scarcely a ray of light glimmers into the narrow gallery which leads to the cells, and the places of confinement themselves are totally dark. A small hole in the wall admitted the damp air of the passages, and served for the introduction of the prisoner's food. A wooden pallet, raised a foot from the ground, was the only furniture. The conductors tell you that a light was not allowed. The cells are about five paces in length, two and a half in width, and seven feet in height. They are directly beneath one another, and respiration is somewhat difficult in the lower holes. Only one

prisoner was found when the republicans descended into these hideous recesses, and he is said to have been confined sixteen years.\* But the inmates of the dungeons beneath had left traces of their repentance, or of their despair, which are still visible, and may perhaps owe something to recent ingenuity. Some of the detained appear to have offended against, and others to have belonged to, the sacred body, not only from their signatures, but from the churches and belfries which they have scratched upon the walls. The reader may not object to see a specimen of the records prompted by so terrific a solitude. As nearly as they could be copied by more than one pencil, three of them are as follows:—

## 1.

NON TI FIDAR AD ALCUNO PENSA e TACI  
SE FUGIR VUOI DE SPIONI INSIDIE e LACCI  
IL PENTIRTI PENTIRTI NULLA GIOVA  
MA BEN DI VALOR TUO LA VERA PROVA

1607. ADI 2. GENARO. FUI RE-  
TENTO P' LA BESTIEMMA P' AVER DATO  
DA MANZAR A UN MORTO  
IACOMO . GRITTI. SCRISSE.

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\* He was a murderer. Mr. Simond, who was in Italy in 1817, but whose book was published only in 1828, tells a strange story of this man's liberation. He was alarmed, and, it seems, angry at his removal; was caressed by the French; paraded through the city; but endured his painful freedom only four days, for he then died of fresh air. This is very like the story told in Goldsmith's Essays. (1858.)

## 2.

UN PARLAR POCHO et  
 NEGARE PRONTO et  
 UN PENSAR AL FINE PUO DARE LA VITA  
 A NOI ALTRI MESCHINI

1605

EGO IOHN BAPTISTA AD  
 ECCLESIAM CORTELLARIUS.

## 3.

DE CHI MI FIDO GUARDAMI DIO  
 DE CHI NON MI FIDO MI GUARDARO IO.

$\frac{A}{V}$  la S<sup>ta</sup> C<sup>ra</sup>. K<sup>a</sup>. R<sup>na</sup>.

The copyist has followed, not corrected, the original letters, which were evidently scratched in the dark. I presume that *Bestemmia* and *Mangiar* may be read in the first inscription, which was probably written by some prisoner confined for an act of impiety at a funeral. Cortellarius is the name of a parish on the Terra Firma, and the last initials are evidently put for Viva la Santa Chiesa Kattolica Romana.

In a book called ‘*Medicina Forense*,’ of which an edition was published in 1801, I saw *Rules for Torturing*, which it would be supposed were put into practice up to the last days of the Republic. On inquiry, however, I found that torture had been discontinued for thirty years before that period. The monstrous codes of the Inquisitors of State, an organized system of social treachery and murder, which Daru first made public, had become a dead letter long before the downfall of Venice. It would be a libel on human nature to believe



that this famous Republic owed its long life to the observance of these maxims of blood—yet Paul Sarpi was evidently of that opinion.

### THE GONDOLIER'S SONG.

The well known song of the gondoliers, of alternate stanzas, from Tasso's 'Jerusalem,' has died with the independence of Venice. Editions of the poem, with the original on one column and the Venetian variations on the other, as sung by the boatmen, were once common, and are still to be found. The following extract will serve to show the difference between the Tuscan epic, and the 'Canta alla Barcariola.'

#### *Original.*

“Canto l' arme pietose, e 'l capitano  
Che 'l gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo.  
Molto egli oprò col senno, e con la mano  
Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto ;  
E in van l' Inferno a lui s' oppose, e in vano  
S' armò d' Asia, e di Libia il popol misto,  
Che il Ciel gli diè favore, e sotto ai Santi  
Segni ridusse i suoi compagni erranti.”

#### *Venetian.*

“L' arme pietose de cantar gho voglia,  
E de Goffredo la immortal braura  
Che al fin l' ha libera co strassia, e dogia  
Del nostro buon Gesù la Sepoltura  
De mezo mondo unito, e de quel Bogia  
Missier Pluton no l' ha bu mai paura :  
Dio l' ha agiutá, e i compagni sparpagnai  
Tutti 'l gh' i ha messi insieme i di del Dai.”

Some of the elder gondoliers will, however, take up and continue a stanza of their once familiar bard.

On the 7th of January, 1817, Lord Byron and I rowed to the Lido with two singers, one of whom was a carpenter, and the other a gondolier. The former placed himself at the prow, the latter at the stern of the boat. A little after leaving the quay of the Piazzetta, they began to sing, and continued their song until we arrived at the island. They gave us, amongst other essays, the Death of Clorinda and the Palace of Armida; and did not sing the Venetian, but the Tuscan verses. The carpenter, however, who was the cleverer of the two, and was frequently obliged to prompt his companion, told us that he could *translate* the original. He added, that he could sing almost three hundred stanzas, but had not spirits (*morbin* was the word he used) to learn any more, or to sing what he already knew: a man must have idle time on his hands to acquire, or to repeat, and, said the poor fellow, "look at my clothes and at me—I am starving." This speech was more affecting than his performance, which habit alone can make attractive. The recitative was shrill, screaming, and monotonous, and the gondolier behind assisted his voice by holding his hand to one side of his mouth. The carpenter used a quiet action, which he evidently endeavoured to restrain; but was too much interested in his subject altogether to repress. From these men we learned that singing is not confined to the gondoliers, and that, although the chant is seldom, if ever, volun-

tary, there are still several amongst the lower classes who are acquainted with a few stanzas.

It does not appear that it is usual for the performers to row and sing at the same time. Although the verses of the 'Jerusalem' are no longer casually heard, there is yet much music upon the Venetian canals; and on holidays, those strangers who are not near or informed enough to distinguish the words may fancy that many of the gondolas still resound with the strains of Tasso.

#### THE LION AND HORSES OF ST. MARK.

The lion has lost nothing by his journey to the Invalides, except the gospel which supported the paw that is now on a level with the other foot. The horses also, after no more serious accident than the breaking of a leg, are returned to the ill-chosen spot whence they set out, and are, as before, half hidden under the porch window of St. Mark's church.

Their history, after a desperate struggle, has been satisfactorily explored. The decisions and doubts of Erizzo and Zanetti, and lastly, of the Count Leopold Cicognara, would have given them a Roman extraction, and a pedigree not more ancient than the reign of Nero. But M. de Schlegel stepped in to teach the Venetians the value of their own treasures, and a Greek vindicated, at last and for ever, the pretension of his countrymen to this noble production.\* Mr. Mustoxidi has not been left

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\* Sui quattro cavalli della Basilica di S. Marco in Vinezia. Lettera di Andrea Mustoxidi Corcirese. Padua, per Bettoni e com-

without a reply ; but, as yet, he has received no answer. It should seem that the horses are irrevocably Chian, and were transferred to Constantinople by Theodosius.\* Lapidary writing is a favourite play of the Italians, and has conferred reputation on more than one of their literary characters. One of the best specimens of Bodoni's typography is a respectable volume of inscriptions, all written by his friend Pacciaudi. Several were prepared for the recovered horses. It is to be hoped the best was not selected, when the following words were ranged in gold letters above the cathedral porch.†

"QUATUOR . EQUORUM . SIGNA . A . VENETIS . BYZANTIO . CAPTA .  
AD . TEMP . D . MAR . A . R . S . MCCIV . POSITA . QUÆ . HOSTILIS .  
CUPIDITAS . A . MDCCHIC . ABSTULERAT . FRANC . I . IMP . PACIS . ORBI .  
DATE . TROPHÆUM . A . MDCCCXV . VICTOR . REDUXIT."

Nothing shall be said of the Latin, but it may be permitted to observe, that the injustice of the Venetians in transporting the horses from Constantinople was at least equal to that of the French in carrying them to Paris, and that it would have been more prudent to have avoided all allusions to either robbery. An apostolic

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pag. . . . 1816. I am surprised that so well-informed a writer as the contributor of the article on Venice to Murray's 'Handbook' should still adhere to the hypothesis of Cicognara.

\* Mr. Mustoxidi told me that he owed his discovery to a hint in Ducange's 'Glossary.'

† Canova endeavoured to persuade the Emperor to choose another site for the horses, but his Imperial Majesty, after eight days' consideration, and a visit to the belfry of St. Mark, decided upon restoring them to the porch, saying there was something in "an old position."



prince should, perhaps, have objected to affixing over the principal entrance of a metropolitan church an inscription having a reference to any other triumphs than those of religion. • Nothing less than the pacification of the world can excuse such a solecism.

We find from the following narrative that these horses were, in early times, the emblem, as it were, and the token of Venetian pride :—

After the loss of the battle of Pola, and the taking of Chiozza on the 16th of August, 1379, by the united armament of the Genoese and Francesco da Carrara, Signor of Padua, the Venetians were reduced to the utmost despair. An embassy was sent to the conquerors with a blank sheet of paper, praying them to prescribe what terms they pleased, and leave to Venice only her independence. The Prince of Padua was inclined to listen to these proposals, but the Genoese, who, after the victory at Pola, had shouted, “To Venice, to Venice, and long live St. George !” determined to annihilate their rival, and Peter Doria, their commander-in-chief, returned this answer to the suppliants: “On God’s faith, gentlemen of Venice, ye shall have no peace from the Signor of Padua, nor from our commune of Genoa, until we have first put a rein upon those unbridled horses of yours, that are upon the porch of your evangelist St. Mark. Wild as we may find them, we will soon make them stand still. And this is the pleasure of us and of our commune. As for these my brothers of Genoa, that you have brought with you to

give up to us, I will not have them: take them back; for, in a few days hence, I shall come and let them out of prison myself, both these and all the others.”\* In fact the Genoese did advance as far as Malamocco, within five miles of the capital; but their own danger and the pride of their enemies gave courage to the Venetians, who made prodigious efforts, and many individual sacrifices, all of them carefully recorded by their historians. Vettor Pisani was put at the head of thirty-four galleys. The Genoese broke up from Malamocco, and retired to Chiozza in October; but they again threatened Venice, which was reduced to extremities. At this time, the 1st of January, 1380, arrived Carlo Zeno, who had been cruising on the Genoese coast with fourteen galleys. The Venetians were now strong enough to besiege the Genoese. Doria was killed on the 22nd of January by a stone bullet 195 pounds weight, discharged from a bombard called the Trevisan. Chiozza was then closely invested: 5000 auxiliaries, amongst whom were some English Condottieri, commanded by one Captain Cecco, joined the Venetians.

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\* “Alla fè di Dio, Signori Veneziani, non havarete mai pace dal Signore di Padoua, nè dal nostro commune di Genova, se primieramente non mettemo le briglie a quelli vostri cavalli sfrenati, che sono su la Reza del Vostro Evangelista S. Marco. Imbrenati che gli havremo, li faremo stare in buona pace. E questa è la intenzione nostra, e del nostro commune. Questi miei fratelli Genovesi che havete menati con voi per donarci, non li voglio, rimanetegli in dietro perche io intendo da qui a pochi giorni venirgli a riscuoter dalle vostre prigioni, e loro e gli altri.”

The Genoese, in their turn, prayed for conditions, but none were granted, until, at last, they surrendered at discretion; and, on the 24th of June, 1380, the Doge Contarini made his triumphal entry into Chiozza. Four thousand prisoners, nineteen galleys, many smaller vessels and barks, with all the ammunition and arms, and outfit of the expedition, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who, had it not been for the inexorable answer of Doria, would have gladly reduced their own dominion to the city of Venice. An account of these transactions is found in a work called the ‘War of Chiozza,’ written by Daniel Chinazzo, who was in Venice at the time.\*

#### THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AND POPE ALEXANDER.

The porch of St. Mark’s church, surmounted by the horses, was the scene of the most extraordinary perhaps of all the events which have illustrated the early periods of Venetian history.

After many vain efforts on the part of the Italians entirely to throw off the yoke of Frederic Barbarossa, and as fruitless attempts of the Emperor to make himself absolute master throughout the whole of his Cisalpine dominions, the bloody struggles of four and twenty years were happily brought to a close in the city of

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\* *Chronaca della guerra di Chioza, &c.—Scrip. Rer. Ital.* tom. xv. pp. 699 to 804.

Venice. The articles of a treaty had been previously agreed upon between Pope Alexander III. and Barbarossa, and the former having received a safe-conduct, had already arrived at Venice from Ferrara, in company with the ambassadors of the King of Sicily and the Consuls of the Lombard league. There still remained, however, many points to adjust, and for several days the peace was believed to be impracticable. At this juncture it was suddenly reported that the Emperor had arrived at Chiozza, a town fifteen miles from the capital. The Venetians rose tumultuously, and insisted upon immediately conducting him to the city. The Lombards took the alarm, and departed towards Treviso. The Pope himself was apprehensive of some disaster if Frederic should suddenly advance upon him, but was reassured by the prudence and address of Sebastian Ziani, the doge. Several embassies passed between Chiozza and the capital, until, at last, the Emperor, relaxing somewhat of his pretensions, "laid aside his leonine ferocity, and put on the mildness of the lamb." \*

On Saturday, the 23rd of July, in the year 1177, six Venetian galleys transferred Frederic, in great pomp, from Chiozza to the island of Lido, a mile from Venice. Early the next morning the Pope, accompanied by the Sicilian ambassadors, and by the envoys of Lombardy,

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\* "Quibus auditis, imperator, operante eo, qui corda principum sicut vult et quando vult humiliter inclinat, leonina feritate deposita, ovinam mansuetudinem induit." — *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, apud *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. vii. p 229.



whom he had recalled from the main land, together with a great concourse of people, repaired from the patriarchal palace to St. Mark's church, and solemnly absolved the Emperor and his partisans from the excommunication pronounced against him. The Chancellor of the Empire, on the part of his master, renounced the antipopes and their schismatic adherents. Immediately the Doge, with a great suite both of the clergy and laity, got on board the galleys, and waiting on Frederic, rowed him in mighty state from the Lido to the capital. The Emperor descended from the galley at the quay of the Piazzetta. The Doge, the patriarch, his bishops and clergy, and the people of Venice with their crosses and their standards, marched in solemn procession before him to the church of St. Mark's. Alexander was seated before the vestibule of the basilica, attended by his bishops and cardinals, by the patriarch of Aquileja, by the archbishops and bishops of Lombardy, all of them in state, and clothed in their church robes. Frederic approached—"moved by the Holy Spirit, venerating the Almighty in the person of Alexander, laying aside his imperial dignity, and throwing off his mantle, he prostrated himself at full length at the feet of the Pope. Alexander, with tears in his eyes, raised him benignantly from the ground, kissed him, blessed him; and immediately the Germans of the train sang, with a loud voice, 'We praise thee, O Lord.' The Emperor then taking the Pope by the right hand, led him to the church, and having received his benediction, re-

turned to the ducal palace.”\* The ceremony of humiliation was repeated the next day. The Pope himself, at the request of Frederic, said mass at St. Mark’s. The Emperor again laid aside his imperial mantle, and, taking a wand in his hand, officiated as *verger*, driving the laity from the choir, and preceding the pontiff to the altar. Alexander, after reciting the gospel, preached to the people. The Emperor put himself close to the pulpit in the attitude of listening; and the pontiff, touched by this mark of his attention, for he knew that Frederic did not understand a word he said, commanded the patriarch of Aquileja to translate the Latin discourse into the German tongue. The creed was then chanted. Frederic made his oblation and kissed the Pope’s feet, and, mass being over, led him by the hand to his white horse. He held the stirrup, and would have led the horse’s rein to the water-side, had not the Pope accepted of the inclination for the performance, and affectionately dismissed him with his benediction. Such is the substance of the account left by the archbishop of Salerno, who was present at the ceremony, and whose story is confirmed by every subsequent narration. It would not be worth so minute a record, were it not the triumph of liberty as well as of superstition. The states of Lombardy owed to it the confirmation of their privileges; and Alexander had reason to thank the Almighty, who had enabled an infirm old man to subdue a terrible and potent sovereign.

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\* *Chronicon, etc.*, tom. vii. p. 231.

## DANDOLO.

From the trophies of the East which enrich through all its details the church of St. Mark's, we turn our reflections towards the hero whose name is identified with our earliest impressions of Venetian glory. Henry Dandolo, when elected doge in 1192, was eighty-five years of age. When he commanded the Venetians at the taking of Constantinople, he was, consequently, ninety-seven years old. At this age he annexed the fourth and a half of the whole empire of Romania,\* for so the Roman empire was then called, to the title and territories of the Venetian Doge; the three-eighths of this empire were preserved in the diplomas until the dogeship of Giovanni Dolfino, who made use of the above designation in the year 1357.

Dandolo led the attack on Constantinople in person: two ships, the "Paradise" and the "Pilgrim," were tied together, and a drawbridge or ladder let down from their higher yards to the walls. The doge was one of the first

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\* Gibbon has omitted the important *æ*, and has written *Romani* instead of *Romania*.—(*Decline and Fall*, cap. lxi. note 9.) But the title acquired by Dandolo runs thus, in the Chronicle of his namesake the Doge Andrew Dandolo:—"Ducali Titulo addidit—Quartæ partis et Dimidiæ totius Imperii Romania" (*And. Dand. Chron.* cap. iii. pars xxxvii. ; ap. *Scrip. Rer. Ital.* tom. xii. p. 331); and the *Romania* is observed in the subsequent acts of the Doge. Indeed, the continental possessions of the Greek empire in Europe were then generally known by the name of *Romania*, and that appellation is still seen in the maps of Turkey as applied to Thrace.

to rush into the city. Then was completed, said the Venetians, the prophecy of the Erythræan sibyl:—"A gathering together of the powerful shall be made amidst the waves of the Adriatic, under a blind leader; they shall beset the goat—they shall profane Byzantium—they shall blacken her buildings—her spoils shall be dispersed; a new goat shall bleat until they have measured out and run over fifty-four feet, nine inches, and a half." \*

Dandolo died on the first day of June, 1205, having reigned thirteen years, six months, and five days, and was buried in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Strangely enough it sounds that the name of the rebel apothecary who received the doge's sword, and played so conspicuous a part in the downfall of the ancient government in 1796-7, was Dandolo.

#### DECAY OF VENICE.

That a deliberate project should have been formed to hasten the ruin of such a city as Venice seems scarcely credible; but it was almost universally believed, in 1817, by the Venetians themselves, and some hints were given to us that means more speedy than mere neglect were

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\* "Fiet potentium in aquis Adriaticis congregatio, cæco præduce. Hircum ambigent. Byzantium prophanabunt, ædificia denigrabunt. Spolia dispergentur. Hircus novus balabit usque dum liv. pedes et ix. pollices et semis præmensurati discurrant."—*Chronicon*, ibid. pars xxxiv.



to be employed for this purpose. Two ships had been burnt in the arsenal; the great Cornaro Palace had been destroyed by fire; stores almost inflammable had been deposited in many government buildings; and it was remarked that when these fires took place, no effort was made to extinguish them—a neglect which, however, was accounted for by asserting that the Germans thought salt water inflammable,—and this they inferred from the Government having sunk a well in the island of St. George, an artificial bank of mud and stones.\*

Even after Venice had lost her independence, her commerce, if encouraged, might have served to prolong her existence; and a generous policy might have kept alive that spirit of enterprise which is sometimes to be found amongst the subjects of an enlightened despotism. But Trieste exhausted all the commercial genius of the Austrian cabinet. There was not enough and to spare for another great maritime possession; and the wise alternative seemed to be the impoverishment of the Venetian States. The old revenue of all these provinces, including the capital, was stated to be about 26,000,000 of francs. Austria, in 1822, drew twelve millions from Venice alone, and at the same time laid a heavy impost upon every article produced, even on the neighbouring terra firma. The commonest wines of Padua paid eighteen

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\* See *Letters from the North of Italy*.

francs a barrel. The taxation under the French was equally high; but the commercial regulations were so different, that there was more trade during the blockade by the English ships-of-war than afterwards, under that of the Custom-house officers. With less means for purchasing the most essential articles of life, the Venetians then paid, in many instances, more than double for those necessities; and even oil had risen one-half in price. The produce of the taxes in the time of the French was in great part expended in the city or in the state: four thousand workmen were employed in the arsenal alone. The number employed in that establishment in 1817 was one thousand, and in 1822 only two hundred and fifty. All the good money received as taxes was sent to Vienna, the salaries and wages of workmen employed by government were paid in base Austrian coin.

The population of Venice at the end of the seventeenth century amounted to nearly two hundred thousand souls; in 1788 it had declined to one hundred and fifty thousand. At the census taken in 1815 it was no more than about one hundred and three thousand, and it was diminishing daily. The commerce and the official employments, which were to be the unexhausted source of Venetian grandeur, had both expired.\* The Celsi, the Cornari,

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\* “Nonnullorum è nobilitate immensæ sunt opes, adeo ut vix æstimari possint: id quod tribus è rebus oritur, parsimonia, commercio, atque iis emolumentis, quæ è Repub. percipiunt, quæ hanc ob causam diuturna fore creditur.”—See *de Principatibus Italiæ, Tractatus*, edit. 1631.

the Marcelli, undoubted children of the Marii, the Cornelii, the Marcelli of Rome, were but vain names.\* Most of the patrician mansions were deserted, and would have gradually disappeared, had not the government, alarmed by the demolition of seventy-two during the last two years, expressly forbidden this sad resource of poverty. Many remnants of the Venetian nobility were scattered and confounded with the wealthier Jews upon the banks of the Brenta. Their Palladian palaces had sunk, or were sinking, in the general decay. Of the descendants of the families contemporary with the electors of the first dōge I heard only of one, and he enjoyed a ridiculous celebrity.† Of the “gentiluomo Veneto” the name was still known, and that was all. He was but the shadow of his former self, but he was polite and kind. It surely may be pardoned to him if he was querulous. Whatever may have been the vices of the republic, and although the natural term of its existence may be thought by foreigners to have arrived in the due course of mortality, only one sentiment can be expected from the Venetians themselves. At no time were the subjects of the republic so unanimous in their resolution to rally round the standard of St. Mark as when it was for

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\* “Celsi; dagli antichi Mari di Roma; . . . Cornaro; dagli antichi Corneli di Roma;—Marcelli, pare che non si possa mettere in dubbio che questa famiglia discenda dagli antichi Marcelli di Roma.”  
—See *Dizionario storico di tutte le Venete Patrizie Famiglie*.

† Gradenigo, a respectable gentleman, suffered more than the other patricians from the French, who could not resist playing on a name unhappily obnoxious to a pun.

the last time unfurled; and the cowardice and the treachery of the few patricians who recommended the fatal neutrality were confined to the persons of the traitors themselves. A Venetian remarked to me, with evident delight, that only two of these traitors had escaped an end of ignominy or wretchedness. The present race cannot be thought to regret the loss of their aristocratical forms, and too despotic government; they think only on their vanished independence. They pine away at the remembrance, and on this subject suspend for a moment their gay good humour. Venice may be said, in the words of the Scripture, "to die daily;" and so general and so apparent is the decline, as to become painful to a stranger, not reconciled to the sight of a whole nation expiring as it were before his eyes. So artificial a creation having lost that principle which called it into life and supported its existence, must fall to pieces at once, and sink more rapidly than it rose. The abhorrence of slavery which drove the Venetians to the sea, has, since their disaster, forced them to the land, where they may be at least overlooked amongst the crowd of dependants, and not present the humiliating spectacle of a whole nation loaded with recent chains. Their liveliness,\* their affability, and that happy indifference which constitution alone can give, for philosophy

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\* A worthy friend of mine, Count Rizzo Patarol, endeavoured to console himself for the downfall of the republic by saying that Venice had never been anything since the days of Charles V.



aspires to it in vain, have not sunk under circumstances ; but many peculiarities of costume and manner have by degrees been lost, and the nobles, with a pride common to all Italians who have been masters, have not been persuaded to parade their insignificance. That splendour which was a proof and a portion of their power, they would not degrade into the trappings of their subjection. They retired from the space which they had occupied in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, their continuance in which would have been a symptom of acquiescence, and an insult to those who suffered by the common misfortune. Those who remained in the degraded capital might be said rather to haunt the scenes of their departed power, than to live in them. No one can blame them for that air of sullen subjection which marks their intercourse with their Austrian lords ; for to those who have but lately lost their independence, any masters must be an object of detestation ; and it may be safely foretold that this unprofitable aversion will not have been corrected before Venice shall have sunk into the slime of her choked canals.\*

Many complaints have been made against Venetian society, even under the old government ; but there was, at least, a choice of company ; and in no Italian capital did the stranger find more “ *conversazioni*,” “ *casinos*,” and “ *accademie*,” than at Venice. At my first visit these had almost disappeared ; only two or three houses were

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\* Written in 1817.

open to respectable recommendations; and at my last visit only one. The coffee-houses and the arcades of St. Mark's Square were, indeed, at certain hours, crowded by noisy idlers, belonging to that inferior class of Italians whose last shilling, and whose last laugh, are invariably wasted upon bad company, away from home. Formerly the places of public resort were open all night, especially during the carnival: the amusements still begin late, but end long before the morning. This change may be called a reform, and those who recollect the old times will occasionally confess that the morals of Venice have been improved by her misfortunes. If nations or individuals were ever made wiser by example, it would be advisable to say something of that corruption and dissoluteness of manners, that feebleness of public and private character which had long marked the decline, and may by some, besides the conquerors, be thought to justify the ruin, of the republic. Bonaparte, who had promised them independence and glory, had already found the population "so stupid, so cowardly, so little made for liberty," that it appeared to him "quite natural" to leave them to those to whom the French gave the continent. But had the Venetians been the most ingenious, the bravest, the most patriotic of communities, though they might not have suffered themselves to be tricked out of their independence, nor have yielded to a paltry army of six thousand men, it is to be doubted whether they could have saved themselves in the shock of empires which crushed so many states far more powerful

than they were, or ever had been. Even as it was, their subjection to Austria was owing, as usual in such events, to an accident, arising not altogether from their own misconduct.

### THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

During my several visits to Venice, I collected materials for a short account of the last days of the Republic, but Daru, although he has done little more than follow the details contained in the "*Raccolta cronologica, ragionata di documenti inediti che formano la storia diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della Repubblica di Venezia*," published in 1799, has rendered such an attempt superfluous. I do not think that portion of Botta's History which relates to this catastrophe the most valuable of his work. It is more impassioned, more highly coloured, more laboured, perhaps, than other parts of his History; but it is less impartial, less clear, less instructive. He has a hundred pages for the violence and perfidy of France; a single line suffices for the cupidity and injustice of Austria. The Venetians themselves, it is true, would attribute their fall to a deep laid perfidious project of the French Directory, carried into effect with equal treachery and injustice by their victorious general;\* but the secret correspondence

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\* "Che non meno turpe e nefanda fu la condotta de' suoi generali in Italia, dediti a' latrocinj e alle depredazioni, sconoscenti ed isleali nel tempo in cui il generale in capite fingeva d'essere grato ai Veneziani, e prometteva ad essi ingrandimento di dominio, e, a fine di

of Bonaparte and a more impartial observation of events enable us to arrive at the more probable conclusion, that the exigences of the moment, rather than any long-settled arrangement, decided the fate of the unhappy Republic.

Bonaparte would not, it is most probable, have proceeded to extremities with Venice, had he not received intelligence of the appointment of a rival general to the chief command in Germany, which induced him to hasten the treaty with the Emperor, that the glory and the conclusion of the war might be all his own. Venice was the victim of private jealousy. It was the fear of Hoche that made her the prey, not of the conqueror, but of the conquered; \* otherwise she might have been spared for a season, and have recovered a precarious independence, which former experience might, perhaps,

poter senza ostacolo preordinare le cose alla totale rivoluzione e perditione di medesima." Such is one of the corollaries deduced from the details put together in the *Raccolta Cronologica*.

\* This anecdote, respecting the precipitate sacrifice of Venice, I had from a gentleman in the civil service of Bonaparte, employed by him during the transaction. The date of Bonaparte's promise to consolidate the liberties of Venice, and of his letter to the Directory in which he gave the above-quoted character of the Venetians and signed their perpetual subjection, is the same day, *i. e.* the 26th of May, 1797, just eleven days after the occupation of Venice by Baraguay d'Hilliers.

His letter to the municipality of Venice (Montebello, May 26, 1797) has these words:—" Dans toutes les circonstances je ferai tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour vous donner des preuves du désir que j'ai de voir se consolider votre liberté, et de voir la misérable Italie se placer enfin, avec gloire, libre et indépendante des étrangers," &c.—*Correspondance*, &c.



have taught her not to resign without an honourable struggle.

From the preliminaries of peace between France and the Emperor, signed at Leoben, from the treaty with Venice herself, no suspicion of the cession to Austria could have been formed ; nor was such a design at that moment, in all probability, entertained ; on the contrary, the incorporation of the Venetian States with the new Republic of Lombardy, or the formation of a new Venetian republic, seems to have been contemplated by the regenerating conqueror of Italy.\* Such a consummation would have been less disgraceful for France, but, perhaps, not much more acceptable to Venice than the Austrian yoke. Indeed, it appears that during the short-lived democracy, after the old government had been overthrown, on the fatal 12th of May, 1797, there were some politicians who preferred the latter as the least of all the evils that threatened the expiring Republic. Grimani at Vienna, and Querini at Paris, suspected and announced that Austria might be the future mistress of Venice ; and one of the patriotic party, who

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\* See *Napoleon's Letters to the Directory*, dated 13th May, 1797, from Milan, and 19th May from Montebello. It would seem from some words in the above-quoted corollary, "ingrandimento di dominio," promised by Bonaparte, that the Venetians hoped to gain something in the general scramble. The first of the secret articles (*Correspond. Ined.* i. p. 178), signed at Milan on the 16th of May by Bonaparte and Lallement and the Venetian deputies Doria, Justiniani, and Moncenigo, runs thus :—"La République Française et la République de Venise s'entendront entre elles pour l'échange des différens territoires."

had resigned himself to banishment in Switzerland, Pesaro, subsequently reappeared to perform the part of Imperial commissary, and receive the allegiance of his degraded fellow citizens. Villetard, writing to Bonaparte on the 30th June, when Venice had been more than a month occupied by French troops, uses these remarkable words : “Général, il ne faut vous rien déguiser—il existe des intrigues pour livrer ce pays à l’Empereur ; des intrigans dans la municipalité qui conduisent cette trame, et des hommes faibles qui la favorisent sans s’en apercevoir.” \*

Villetard, although much abused by the Patrician party, appears to have been a sincere republican, and Botta gives him credit for complete ignorance of any ulterior views entertained—if they were then entertained—by Bonaparte, for the transfer of Venice to the Austrians.

The first disgraceful deed, the origin of all their subsequent disasters, was the work of Venetians, whether deceived by the French general or not matters little. Andrew Spada, the coadjutor of the druggist Zorzi, awoke the patrician ex-Proveditor Battaglia in the middle of the night, and showed him a letter from one Haller, a corn-broker at Milan, a confidant of Bonaparte, conveying the conqueror’s wishes as to the dissolution of

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\* I extract from the *Correspondance de Napoleon*, &c., états de Venise, p. 417, from the very copy, in my possession, which Napoleon used at St. Helena when contemplating his own memoirs. It contains many pencil-notes in his own handwriting.

the old Venetian aristocracy, that is, the Republic. Battaglia, at daybreak, transmitted this letter to the Signoria. "Why," exclaims the indignant historian, "did they not throw this Spada into the canal, for violating one of the main laws of the state by corresponding with a foreign minister?" But their day was come; they were to fall by mean and ignoble hands, without the glory of a protracted struggle, or the happiness of a sudden death. A broker, an apothecary, and a petty French agent, without name, without authority, tricked the most potent, grave, and reverend signiors out of all their honours, and the power of a thousand years.\*

"La position locale de cette ville lui offrait des ressources formidables; elle pouvait résister." The French general wrote thus to Bonaparte, when informing him of the "arrêt bizarre, par lequel il (the Grand Council) se démettait de son pouvoir." A thousand pieces of cannon, eight thousand sailors, fourteen thousand regular troops, and an ardent population, might have offered an honourable resistance to the victorious French; but terror and treachery did their work, and the Great Council on the day before mentioned, the 12th of May (1797), adopted the proposal of the agent

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\* By a strange coincidence their ancient rival, Genoa, had come to a like end. A foreigner, a druggist, and the bearer of a noble name, had played the most conspicuous part in the destruction of that aristocracy. Vitaliani, Morando, and Doria were the Haller, the Zorzi, and the Dandolo of Genoa.

of France, Villetard, and put an end to the ancient Republic. A few musket shots, fired under the windows of their palaces, whether by friends or enemies no one inquired, so much augmented their alarms, that the formalities of deliberation seemed too tedious and perilous, and without waiting for the result of a deputation sent to Bonaparte at Milan, they pronounced sentence on themselves, in a tumult of terror and despair. Of 537 Patricians only twelve, or, at most, twenty, voted against this abdication; and five, such are the resources of shame mingled with fear, remained neuter, and were silent spectators of the last agonies of their country. The Great Council informed their ambassadors, nobles, and residents at foreign courts, by a circular that records their disgrace, of their suicidal decree: "Dall' unito *Species Facti* rileverete la determinazione presa dal Maggior Consiglio di adottare il proposto Provvisorio Rappresentativo Governo, anche prima di conoscere il risultato delle negoziazioni de' suoi deputati presso il generale in capite Buonaparte."

The destruction of the state was consummated in the name and for the sake of religion; so the people were told in a proclamation issued by the municipality, now become a provisional government; but this time the people were not deceived by the common delusion. They rose in favour of those who had abandoned them; paraded their patron saint to the old cry of Viva San Marco! sacked several houses, and made an attempt at counter revolution, which was not put down without



bloodshed, nor was tranquillity thought to be thoroughly secured without the aid of French troops, who, however, did not, as Mr. Simond asserts (vol. i. p. 61), arrive in the daytime, in open boats, and unopposed, but having been privately sent for by Doria and Battaglia, came in the night, on board of Venetian vessels. They landed on the 16th of May, the same day that the treaty between the Venetian Republic and Bonaparte was signed at Milan. It is no wonder that, after the pusillanimous desertion of the Doge and the Patricians generally, the people should have beheld with indifference the burning of the Golden Book,\* and the ducal ensigns, and the fraternizing feast of the French and those who invited them to Venice; nor is it surprising that they received their Austrian masters, subsequently, with symptoms of extravagant delight—it was the only mode left to them of showing their detestation of the recent revolution. Nevertheless, the deed itself, the transfer of Venice to Austria, was detestable. The first perfidy and duplicity which promised, as we have seen, independence to the Venetian municipality, and destined with the same hand on the same day, “*Venise à l’Empereur*,” are the exclusive

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\* The poet Arnault, writing from Venice to Bonaparte on the 5th of June (1797), says, of the *people* of Venice, “*Il ne prend aucune part active à ce qui se passe ici. Il a vu tomber ses Lions sans donner aucune marque de joie, et dans un peuple aussi mou, cela n’équivaut-il pas à des marques de tristesse? L’appareil de la fête, la destruction des attributs de l’ancien gouvernement, la combustion du livre d’or, et des ornemens ducaux, n’ont excité en lui aucune enthousiasme.*”

shame of Bonaparte,\* but the blame of the subsequent transactions must be divided between the contracting parties, who, "more than once during their negotiations, appear to have forgotten their mutual hatred, in order to apply themselves to the laudable object of settling their own differences at the expense of others, chiefly the innocent and the weak. The exchange, or, rather, the abandonment of territories, was proposed without shame, and accepted without remorse. Provinces to which neither party had the slightest claim were demanded, and were offered without scruple. The discussions turned chiefly upon mere statistical details, and the French and Austrian plenipotentiaries never inquired what right they had to give, but only what it might be desirable to receive."†

The French government of the day were, it now appears, unwilling accomplices in the ruin of Venice. It will be seen in the appendix of Daru's History that the Directory struggled hard for the independence of Venice against the demands of Austria, and against their favourite general, who almost resigned his command in consequence. On the 29th of September (1797) they wrote to him that they would continue the war to save Venice from the Emperor. On the 10th of October

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\* Daru, *Pièces Justif. Hist.*, tome vii. p. 363.

† This is a free translation of Daru (*Histoire de Venise*, liv. 38, p. 428). I cannot join in the censure of Daru, which I find in the *Handbook*.

Bonaparte wrote to them, and informed them that on that very night Venice would be signed away to Austria;\* that it was true she had 300 good patriots, but that a few hundred men were not to be saved at the expense of the 20,000 French whom the war would destroy; moreover, that the English people were well worth the Venetian people, and their *liberation* would consolidate for ever the liberties and happiness of France.† “Cependant,” says Daru, “plusieurs voix s’élevèrent dans le corps législatif de France contre les mesures qui venoient d’effacer la République de Venise du rang des puissances Européennes. Il n’étoit plus temps: l’œuvre étoit consommée.”‡

Between the 12th of May and the 18th of October the government was administered by an elected municipality of fifty persons, assisted by six French Commis-

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\* Daru, *Hist. de Venise, Pièces Just.*, tome vii. p. 429.—“Il ne me reste plus,” said Bonaparte to the Directory in this letter of 10th October, “qu’à rentrer dans la foule, reprendre le soc de Cincinnatus, et donner l’exemple du respect pour les magistrats et de l’aversion pour le service militaire,” &c.

† Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, tome vii. p. 431. It seems that, even then, Bonaparte looked towards Egypt; in fact, he proposed an expedition to that country in a despatch to the Directory, dated the 13th of September of that year; and the Directory, in reply, owned that his ideas were grand. This annihilates the fine plot which Botta, in his History, affirms to have been laid in England to bribe and cajole the French Government into the Egyptian expedition, and, by so doing, deprive them of their best army and their best general, and embroil them at the same time with Turkey, the only power with whom they had not hitherto been at war.

‡ Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. 38, p. 436.

saries; but their authority did not extend to the Venetian provinces of Terra Ferma, and, on the last-named day, Venice itself was handed over to the Austrians in virtue of the treaty of Campo Formio, in spite of the remonstrance of the municipality, which was answered by the cruel taunt of Bonaparte that "the Venetian people were little fitted for liberty; if they were capable of appreciating it, and had the virtue necessary for acquiring it, well and good: existing circumstances gave them an excellent opportunity of proving it: let them defend it."\* On the same day that the French troops quitted Venice, the Austrians entered it amidst the frantic shouts of the populace, and the congratulations of the patrician party. "From that moment," says the French historian, "the latter vicissitudes of this state, which had lasted for fourteen centuries, belong to the history of another people;"† but not always the same people, for at the peace of Presburg, Venice, which had belonged to Austria since 1797, was made a portion of the kingdom of Italy, that is of France, and again in 1814 became the property of Austria, as part of the Regno Lombardo Veneto.

#### AUSTRIAN ADMINISTRATION IN VENICE.

Since the return of the Austrians in 1814 the political administration of Venice has been neither better nor

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\* *Daru, Hist. de Venise*, liv. 38, p. 439.

† *Ib.* p. 442.



worse than that of Milan; but a little before my visit, in 1822, the square of St. Mark had been the scene of a punishment inflicted on others than the guilty or than the subjects of Austria. The Marquis Cannonici of Ferrara, having some pecuniary affairs to arrange in the Venetian states, applied to the authorities for a passport, which was granted to him in due form. When taking leave of his friend the papal legate, that prelate dissuaded him from the journey; but the Marquis, stating that he was a subject of the Pope, and not conscious of being in any way obnoxious to the ruler of Lombardy, rejected the advice of his friend, and crossed the Po. He was immediately seized, his papers were examined, and, although no charge was made against him, he underwent a temporary imprisonment. At his liberation, no imputation of improper designs and no threats of future punishment were conveyed to him, and he returned to Ferrara; but, some time afterwards, wishing to visit Verona, he again obtained a passport, and again crossed the Po. He observed, on setting foot on the Austrian side of the river, that a government messenger immediately started for Venice; but he continued his journey. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at Verona than the Commissary General of Police arrested him, together with a tradesman of the town, with whom he was transacting some business. Cannonici was transferred to the prisons of Murano, in the Lagune, and after having been detained there some time, he was brought into St. Mark's Square, and with thirty others exposed

there on a scaffold.\* His sentence was then read to him : it was ten years of close imprisonment. He had never been tried, scarcely even interrogated. When taken from the scaffold his head was shaved and the jail dress put upon him ; he was then ironed and thrown into a dungeon. He endeavoured to dash out his brains against the wall of the cell, but failing, was fettered more heavily and more carefully confined. The prison allowance of food, as he was in bad health, was unwholesome, and his family, who only by accident had heard of his distress, sent him some money to procure better subsistence. The money was taken from him and returned to them. His aged mother petitioned to be permitted to attend him. She was refused. Cardinal Consalvi claimed him as a subject of the Pope, but received for answer that the Marquis had been guilty of high treason against the Emperor of Austria, and his imprisonment was a mercy. At last a relation of the Marquis appealed to the Emperor in person, and received a consolatory reply ; but the consequence was only a relaxation of severity. Cannonici was relieved from rigorous captivity, but was not released. How long he continued a prisoner I never heard.

In these days of alarm (1820-21) examples of vigi-

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\* The circumstance was mentioned to me in 1822, in presence of a young Count in the Austrian service, who, when the narrator told of the scaffold in St. Mark's Square, corrected him, saying "*Pardonnez-moi ; c'étoit une loge.*" Probably the Count had heard the story from a Venetian, and was not aware that, in Italian, "*palco*" serves both for a scaffold and a box at a theatre.

lance and severity were thought necessary. An Austrian colonel proposed to a young man to become a Carbonaro. The Italian refused, but shortly afterwards he was arrested, charged with the crime of non-revelation of treason, and condemned to three years' close imprisonment. His father, an author and a man of considerable talent, well known to the Austrian court, went to Vienna and implored the Emperor, in person, to remit the sentence. Francis told the father that his son would profit by a seclusion of three years; and then, turning to another subject, complimented the suppliant upon his capacity, and lamented that so much genius should be so little employed. "Alas," replied the father, "your Majesty can only mean to mock me: the genius you are pleased to attribute to me has been given to me in vain, if it cannot save my innocent child." In such times the watchfulness of fear discovers conspiracy in actions the most insignificant. A young man had written in the album at Arquà some verses to this effect:—"O Petrarch, thou who didst reprove the follies of our ancestors, how much less wretched would their descendants be if they were to follow thy counsels!" For this reflection the versifier underwent an imprisonment of three days, and a severe examination of several hours. The old lady who showed me Petrarch's house at Arquà in 1822, told me that the album had been taken away because some one had written "*qualche sporcheria*" in it. I had no notion, at that time, to what sort of filth she alluded.

I found, as I have before mentioned, at Venice, a

certain fond recollection of their old system, which was endeared to them rather by its loss than by its real value. They considered themselves as having been deprived of more than any other Italians by the disasters of revolution. They lost an independent sovereignty, a loss for which a Lombardo Venetian kingdom, whether under French or Austrian protection, or even as a state standing alone, with Milan for its capital, would, in their eyes, be no compensation. Indeed the alliance of Milan was never courted; subjection to her would not have been endured. One of the first remarks of a very influential person at Venice in reply to a question respecting Milanese society and literature was of this kind:—"We know very little of Milan or of her squabbles, literary or otherwise, *fortunately for us*." Venice was the world of the Venetians. A friend, speaking to me of the old time, said, "You should have seen our carnival in those days; the square of St. Mark quite full; the coffee-houses all open all night; eight theatres in constant activity—a man of fashion roamed from one to another of them every evening; and then, to crown the whole, everything '*à si bon mercato*.'" "Well, but your aristocracy?" "Oh, the gentiluomo was a very inoffensive, gay man, kind to his inferiors; he never quarrelled except with a gentleman." "But your police was always very bad." "We did not want police—we were accustomed to do without them at Venice." "You had no good roads until the French made them for you." "We did not want roads; we never travelled farther than Brescia, and seldom so far; we had



canals." "But your government was, surely, as bad as possible?" "No, it was not; it was very good: moreover, '*non conviene imbarazzarsi del governo*,' " he added, "it was one of Alberoni's projects to divide the Milanese States, and give one half to Venice, the other to Savoy; but it was only in these latter days of crime and injustice that it was imagined possible for any Italian city to become the metropolis of Venice."

The horror of innovation seems to have been the characteristic of the Venetian government, as well as of the people. In the statutes of the Inquisition, embodying the genius of the nation, we find it laid down:—"If an orator at the Great Council wander from his subject, let him be stopped at once by one of the Ten. If he contests that authority, suffer him to continue his harangue; but arrest him immediately afterwards, try him for his offence, and if he escapes from that trial, put him to death secretly."

So attached were the Venetians to old usages that up to the last their year began in March, and consisted of eleven months of thirty-three days.

Even in 1822 there were occasions on which it would have been difficult for a stranger to guess at the depopulation and decline of Venice; such, for example, was the festival of the Madonna della Salute (November 21), the anniversary of the cessation of the great plague. St. Mark's Square was then crowded with well dressed people, and the procession which moved across the Bridge of Boats to the church which was dedicated to the Virgin

who performed that miracle, might recall some of the Ducal ceremonies of the old times. So great was the crowd in 1815 that the Emperor Francis was nearly pushed from the bridge into the water, whilst walking in the procession.

On such days the Venetians seem to recover some of their former animation. The very lamp-lighters associate to feast on the produce of their oil refuse, and parade the town with shouts. The gaining of a lawsuit often draws a crowd of congratulators to the house of the successful litigant, who seldom fails to repay their *vivats* with a trifling present.

In general, however, the thoroughfares of Venice, excepting always St. Mark's Square, are peaceable during the day, and during the night a profound stillness reigns through the canals and streets, interrupted only by the warning cry of the gondoliers, and the dip of their paddles, or by the tinkling of some solitary guitar.

#### CHANGE IN MANNERS DURING FRENCH OCCUPATION.

The French have left traces of their dominion in Venice, as in other parts of the Peninsula, which may, in some measure, atone for their spoliations, and their first abuse of the right of conquest.\* I do not allude to

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\* A contributor to the *Handbook, North of Italy*, p. 328, vindicates the Austrians at the expense of the French, who, he says, demolished 166 noble churches, broke the monuments in pieces, sold the marbles as rubbish, the bronzes as old metal, plundered the

their promenade, nor their large street, though very useful novelties, nor to the Government Palace, an ill assorted substitute for the old church of St. Geminiani. I refer rather to the improvements introduced, either by or with them, in the education of the higher classes of society. I was assured by persons not at all partial to their late masters, that, in former days, even well-born women were seldom able to write, and music and dancing were accomplishments rarely attained by them. They were taught to embroider a little, and to sing their psalter, and, having acquired these useful arts, were

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galleries and libraries, destroyed the archives, damaged and degraded and defaced the buildings, from mere wantonness, and reduced the city to what it now is—a mere shadow of its ancient splendour. “So far from the Austrians having acted as Huns towards Venice,” the writer continues, “the preservation of our wreck is owing to their endeavours,” &c. The quotation is from ‘A Letter from a Resident,’ who says that, in 1842, the trade of the city was rapidly increasing, the shops becoming vast dépôts of stores, and Venice beginning to recover from her depression; though, he adds, “it cannot be denied that a large proportion of her rich and fairy patrician palaces are still falling into dilapidation and decay.”

I was at Venice three years after this date, and had not the good fortune to fall in with the Resident, nor with any one who had a good word for the Austrians. The alacrity with which the Venetians rose, and the German garrison ran away, in 1848, and the prolonged resistance of the insurgents afterwards, show that the Venetian population generally did not agree with the Resident in his estimation of Austrian rule. The admission of the “Resident” as to the dilapidation and decay of a large proportion of the rich and fairy patrician palaces tells the story of Austrian domination. I looked in vain in 1845 for some of those noble buildings which I had seen in 1817 and 1822: one, indeed, I did see; it was the property of an opera dancer. Venice was declared a free port in 1829: “Sero—Hæc est fides”!!

taken from their convent, about the age of sixteen, to be married. The nobles of the other sex were nearly as ignorant. They were ashamed to be thought fond of reading, and scarcely condescended to learn the common accomplishments of good society. An union between two beings of such an order was so little expected to procure mutual happiness that some resource was not unfrequently provided by the marriage contract, stipulating for the interference of a third party, a privilege now and then extended, by special favour, to the female of an inferior "seto," with the express declaration, "come se fosse nobile." But the right of frequently changing this vicarious husband was jealously engrossed by the noble dame. The humbler imitators were confined to one cavalier, and, after his dismissal, could not adopt another, except after a reasonable interval ; yet in these times the outward observances of religion were much more strictly attended to than afterwards : for example, it was all but impossible to procure meat on a fast day. Such were the nobles, speaking generally, of the old time. The merchants, advocates, physicians, and, now and then, a very few members of the priesthood, were, with some rare exceptions, masters of all the human learning that Venice could boast. Under the French rule the nobility were sometimes well educated. The daughters of great families were instructed in the usual acquirements of their sex, and to write and read and know French was not uncommon amongst them. The men were ashamed to be thought ignorant, and the



clergy themselves assisted in reforming the old mode of private and public instruction. The French, also, introduced a mixture of society between classes formerly kept quite distinct; but we found still remaining some symptoms of the old patrician pride, for, although individuals of all ranks, and it must be added of no character, were found in the higher "accademie," yet their admittance was generally accompanied with the pretext that they could sing or dance well, or divert the company with some accomplishment not usually possessed by their superiors. A "Terra Ferma Countess" was a title of disrespect as belonging to something below the private citizen of the DOMINANTE. We found the Venetians in 1817, as might be expected, pretty much as the French left them, in regard to their social life.

## LITERATURE.

Venice, like all other great Italian cities, is seldom without some writer of real genius. Pindemonte and Foscolo, both of them, might in some respects be called her children, and her own Gritti \* had found a successor

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\* Gritti enjoyed a great reputation in his day, and was an object of curiosity to strangers. An absurd mistake happened in regard to him when Madame de Stäel visited Venice. It was intended that he should be shown to that celebrated lady; but the invitation was carried to a pastry-cook of the same name, who obeyed the summons. When Madame de Stäel saw the supposed poet she accosted him in terms highly complimentary to his *works*. The cook very modestly replied, "Si fa ciò che si può."

in another provincial poet of equal celebrity. Buratti, like Gritti, indulged his vein at the expense of his fellow-citizens ; but his satire was personal rather than general, and it spared no man, least of all his friend. In a poem, expressly directed against a nobleman with whom he was intimate, Buratti accused him, amongst other atrocities, of confining his brother in a madhouse. The charge was totally without foundation ; and yet this malicious extravagance was overlooked by the admirers of the poet, one of whom, in my presence, contended that Buratti was a good father, a considerate master, and a kind friend—in short, the best man in the world, but unable to resist the temptation to ridicule or expose any one, if he happened to be in the vein.

The same humourist having satirised a young Dalmatian just returned to Venice with the latest London fashions, the gentleman called on him and insisted on hearing the lines read, declaring that if they contained anything affecting his honour he should call the poet to account. Buratti read the poem to him, when the young man, probably pleased with the notoriety which he should gain, consented to the publication and took his leave. Such subjects might safely be chosen for his muse, but when, in a poem on the destruction of the mad elephant by soldiers at Geneva, he had a word or two for Francis the First, Buratti was admonished by the police, that the laws of German criticism admitted of no such episodes. That Emperor, indeed, like the Roman, did not court the notice, in any way, of his

literary subjects; when the representatives of certain academical bodies waited upon him at Verona with a complimentary address, he told them that "he did not want learned men, he wanted good subjects."

Much of Buratti's merit must have escaped a foreigner, for he wrote in the Venetian dialect; but his success serves to confirm the opinion already hazarded, that the humour of the Italians is rather personal than general, and that it is not for want of the utmost licence in the choice of their subjects that their comic dramatists, with one or two splendid exceptions, have been hitherto inferior to their other writers. Provided the government was spared, the poet might deal his blows around him with little danger and with the certainty of a favourable reception: the privileged classes had no privilege against him. I open Goldoni at hazard, and find, in the first scene of the '*Locandiera*,' a count and a marquis who make themselves and their titles mutually contemptible and ridiculous.

#### THE GREEKS IN VENICE—NATIONALITY.

There was a mixture of Greek blood in the veins of some of the better Venetians, which did not disgrace either race; and of the writers of our day, three belonged to Greece as much as to Venice. Ugo Foscolo was born in Zante; Mustoxidi belongs only by adoption to the Venetian states—he is an Ionian; Madame Albrizzi, née Theotoki, was also from the Ionian islands. Her pleas-

ing Portraits\* and her hospitality were equally useful to strangers, who were indebted to her house, and to two or three foreign residents, for almost all that was at that time to be seen of Venetian society. Petritini, the Censor of the press in 1817, was a Greek; he was an accomplished man, and deserved well of his adopted country. He informed me that he had transmitted a memorial to the Emperor Francis, requesting permission to print an edition of Botta's 'American Revolution,' and was refused. But though the historian of revolutions was not encouraged, the race of learned men is never extinct in any great Italian city; and when we first came to Venice the aged librarian, Morelli, still presided over his department in the magnificent saloon of the Great Council.

The contests and the triumphs of erudition exercise the ingenuity and indulge the vanity of those whose talents might, under other circumstances, be more nobly and more usefully employed. Those who might be historians of past times, or of their own, devote themselves to the safer discussion of some debated question in topography or archæology, or illustrate those arts which have always found favour with despotism.

In works of this description they are allowed to display their nationality at the expense of foreigners of all nations. Cicognara, whose great exploit in life has been the discovery of Titian's 'Assumption,' in his large work

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\* An essay, so called, by Madame Albrizzi.



on modern sculpture has not mentioned the name of Thorwaldsen, just as Frederick of Prussia, in his poem on the Art of War, does not say a word about Marlborough, and makes Eugene the hero and conqueror at Blenheim. I have alluded to a treatise by Mustoxidi on the Horses of St. Mark's. It settled the question of their parentage and history to the satisfaction of all impartial judges; but Mustoxidi was not a Venetian—he was not even an Italian: he was therefore to be refuted and exposed. Accordingly, a Dandolo, a pupil at the Lyceum, put his name to a dissertation restoring the horses to their Italian birthright; and the question was tauntingly put to the Greek and his partizans, “Why go to Chios for sculpture, or to Corfu for a critic, when Rome could supply the one, and a schoolboy answer the other?” Mustoxidi told me he strongly suspected Cicognara of being the author of the Dandolo Dissertation.

## CANOVA.

The greatest modern Venetian undoubtedly was Canova, for he was born and died in the Venetian states. His ‘Helen,’ and his ‘Hebe,’ and his ‘Emmo,’ were amongst the shows of Venice; and the productions of such a fellow-citizen almost consoled the fallen capital for all her disasters. Count Cicognara, in his funeral oration over the great artist, seems nearly to say as much when he calls Canova “uomo concesso dalla Provvidenza alla specie umana per dimostrare che qualche equilibrio han pur tra loro talvolta le interminabili

serie delle sventure e i fugaci sorrisi della fortuna." The master hand of this most distinguished and amiable man was at the service of the successive conquerors of his country. The Bonaparte family and the House of Hapsburgh were equally his employers and his patrons. He enjoyed his Venetian pension, in all changes, from the ruin of the republic to the last transfer to Austria. During his life he was overlaid with panegyric, and his death was bewailed as a calamity that had deprived Italy of her life and light. Ten thousand sequins were subscribed (and amongst the subscribers were most of the sovereigns of Europe) for his monument; and it was actually proposed that, if this great monument, which was to be erected in the church of the Frari, opposite to the tomb of Titian, should not exhaust the whole subscription, the remainder should be devoted to a little monument in honour of him whom they called the rival of Zeuxis and Apelles. Cicognara luckily saw the ridicule of such a project, and stopped it.

#### THE ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS.

To keep open the only road to fame which an Italian may safely pursue, no pains are spared, no incitement unemployed. The Academy of the Fine Arts, with all its schools, does its best to perpetuate the glory and continue the race of great Venetian painters. The number of students at my last visit was about 300, with seven professors and a president to direct their labours. There is no danger to be apprehended, either to church or state,

by fostering genius of that description—not even if Cagliari, Tintoret, Palma, Bassano, and the great Titian himself were rivalled by a new generation of artists. Nevertheless, it is equally certain that, in order to preserve the trophies of native genius, some portion of the population should be able and willing to wield the sword as well as the pencil. Fortunately, the large pictures of the Ducal Palace are part of the Great Council Chamber, and almost defy removal; but the Venetians can feel but little pride in pointing to the ‘St. Peter’ and the other recovered treasures of their academy. They lost them without a struggle, and recovered them without any efforts of their own—indeed, by the valour and generosity of the Transalpine barbarians whom they affect to despise.\*

### VENETIAN SIGHTS.

I have made the circuit of these sights several times since my first arrival and residence in Venice with Lord Byron. Perhaps a few notices may be pardoned, even after all that has been said and sung of them.

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\* The patriots of 1848 seem to have run into the opposite extreme, and to have looked upon the cultivation of the fine arts as one of the causes of Italian degeneracy. Both at Rome and at Venice some efforts were made to give a practical illustration of this belief, by selling the masterpieces of their collections for state purposes. If independence could have been obtained by that sacrifice, the loss would have been as nothing compared with the gain. Many lovers of art have deplored the dispersion of the collection made by our unfortunate Charles; but who would set that loss as a counter-balance to the benefits of the great struggle which occasioned it?

Mr. Forsyth calls St. Mark's Church a fortuitous jumble. It may be so; for it is all gilt mosaic and precious stones, stuck round, above, and underneath, upon architecture which seems made for Turks, Greeks, Goths, and Italians, according to the different points of view from which it is beheld. Nevertheless, the effect is very striking, and, if the word may be used, historical. Of the Palladian churches of Venice, I was most pleased with the Redentore, which, although the simplest and least decorated, was never finished. Contrast this with the grey and green church of the Jesuits, or with that of the Carmelitan Scalzi, the Patavinian Temple, said to have cost 300,000 sequins, all marble and gold and gaudy colouring, but cumbrous and fantastic without, and within broken into fifty little chapels; to perpetuate the piety and pride of the noble founder.

Amongst all the decorations of these highly ornamented churches, those which, at that time, most surprised me were the stone landscapes of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which are finished with a delicacy and nicety of detail more resembling waxen pictures, or cast models, than marble reliefs. Two of them are by Toretti, the master of Canova, and his 'Christ in the Temple' recalls to mind the lightness and elegance of his great pupil. The pictures in the Madonna della Salute appeared to me in better preservation, and shown in a more favourable light, than those of the other churches. The 'Nativity' of Luca Giordano contains some exquisite female figures.



## THE PALACES.

These are visited chiefly for the sake of their pictures; but the architects, as well as the founders of many of them, are great names, and their gigantic basements seem built for eternity. The same enormous blocks compose the great fourteen-mile dyke of Malamocco—a more than Roman work. The taste and luxury of the Venetian nobles survived to the last periods of independence. The charming collection of the Manfrini Palace\* was made only a few years before the fall of the republic, and the Viceroy Eugene offered ten thousand sequins for Titian's 'Deposition from the Cross,' and offered in vain. This collection does not abound with the hideous martyrdoms of church history. The Barberigo Titians, the famous 'Magdalen,' and the long series of doges; the Pisani Veronese (the family of Darius); the Grimani Cabinet of Antiques, were amongst the daily sights of Venice, although their owners, in our days, were never seen. The 'Vitellius,' in the Grimani collection, is exactly like what Napoleon was when I saw him in 1815. The group there, called 'Alcibiades and Socrates,' is a strange satire on the wisest of men; and the Boy carrying a basket on a stick over his shoulder is an admirable figure.

The confraternity of St. Roque have little left but the Tintorets of their magnificent saloon. Their revenues,

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\* This collection has been dispersed, and sold chiefly to Englishmen and Americans.

once amounting to sixty-four thousand sequins, have dwindled to a monthly pittance assigned for the care of the apartments. Their brotherhood, of seven hundred in former days, is reduced to the one keeper of the pictures. But even this great establishment designed more than it ever accomplished: the variegated marble flooring of their chapel was finished only at the altar; and, after two hundred years of preparation, their tardy labours were terminated by the French invasion.

#### THE ARMENIANS OF ST. LAZARO.

In the first days of our residence at Venice we rowed over to the island of St. Lazaro to see the establishment of Armenian priests. The fathers were at prayers when we entered the chapel, but one of them soon bowed from the altar, and accompanied us round the convent. The cells, the refectory, the school, all the apartments were preserved with a scrupulous neatness not often seen in Italy. The library we were unable to see on this occasion, as the same accident happened to us as befell Dr. Johnson in his Highland tour—the librarian was absent, and had the key in his pocket. The object of this institution was described to us in a single phrase by the attendant father—"the illumination of our people."

The establishment was founded, so we were told in 1816, about 120 years ago.\* The number of resident

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\* The *Handbook* says the beginning of the last century, by the abbot Mechitar.

monks was then forty ; but there are fifty others belonging to the convent in different parts of the world : the greater part of them natives of Constantinople—some few from Armenia. Their principal was a Transylvanian. The school was frequented by eighteen pupils, all of whom were instructed in the literal Armenian, in Latin, and in Italian ; some learnt Greek, and French, and German, and Turkish. English was about to be introduced by our conductor, who had been in London, and spoke our language tolerably well.\*

To promote their praiseworthy objects, this fraternity had a printing-press in constant activity, which had already printed twelve works from original manuscripts, and twenty other works. They were then employed upon a translation of Rollin, undertaken at the expense of a Mr. Raphael, a merchant from Madras, formerly settled at Thames Ditton, in Surrey. They also contrived, at the same time, to publish, once a fortnight, an Armenian newspaper.

Their library contained about 400 MSS., of which all but 130 were duplicates. The most esteemed, and the

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\* Mr. Simond describes this worthy brother as having made an exchange of his Armenian for Lord Byron's English—an heroic bargain ; but, alas ! the Armenian spoke English before he saw Lord Byron, and Lord Byron never spoke Armenian at all. He attempted to learn it, but found it lost time to master the thirty-six letters of the Ruaric alphabet, and very wisely and generously preferred contributing to the expense of a dictionary and grammar, which might enable the descendants of the sons of Nimrod to know something of English.

greater number of them, belong to the eighth century ; some few are of the fourth, when the literal language was first invented. Of these the most curious is an illuminated Life of Alexander the Great, which, although not differing in essential points from the ancient historians, contains, we were told, some details not to be found in Quintus Curtius or Arrian. The copy at St. Lazaro was torn, but there is a perfect one at Smyrna, of which it was intended to publish an Italian translation.\* We were shown also the Armenian translation of the 'Chronicles' of Eusebius, of the fifth century, of which Scaliger has published a fragment. Other MSS. of history, geography, and biblical learning, are by Armenian authors. Some treatises on the arts, two of which, on navigation and perspective, have been printed, are translated compilations from modern publications. The library, besides the books in their own language, contains a very useful collection of works of reference, in Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and German.

The funds which supported this establishment were drawn partly from landed property, and partly from occasional donations, contributed, in great measure, by their friends, the Armenians of Calcutta. Napoleon saved it from the fate of other monasteries, by a decree which made an honourable exception in favour of those "whose labours and whose revenues were devoted to the

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\* It has been published ; but, as I hear—for I have not seen it, adds little to our knowledge of "the great Emathian conqueror."



instruction of their fellow countrymen." Some sagacious persons have found in this exception a deep-laid scheme to open a channel of communication between certain subjects of France and the malcontents in our Indian empire.\* This may have been the motive, but I never heard it was proved to have been so. Moreover, the Armenians of Calcutta are the last persons likely to be the agents of treason.

### THE ARSENAL.

No one goes to Venice without visiting the Arsenal. The old jealousy which survived the Republic† no longer exists. An order from the naval commandant is easily procured. High and well-constructed battlemented stone walls, about two miles in circuit, enclose all the works. The great gate of entrance, an imposing archway, is guarded by the Athenian lions and the name of the Peloponnesian Morosini.

Much of the present appearance of the great docks is due to Napoleon, who built that part of them in which seven ships were constructed during his reign, and also opened the outlet which looks towards the sea. The smaller galleys of the Republic used to pass through the gate on the land side. Napoleon himself attended the launching of the 'Rivoli,' and the Venetians were called upon to prepare a similar spectacle for their next

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\* I find the suggestion in the *Handbook of Northern Italy*, p. 361.

† See Forsyth's *Italy*, p. 436, edit. 1816.

master, who, however, seemed more charmed with a much less magnificent operation, for he gazed for two hours at the twisting of a cord in the Palladian rope-house. The Emperor Francis, in the first fond moments of reconciliation with his Italian provinces, very good-humouredly endured all that was expected of his patience; and was, besides, so easy of access, and so prodigal of his word, that it was no wonder he did not fulfil all of the forty thousand promises which his Imperial Majesty was said to have made in Venice alone. He had no rebuffs to administer to learned men in that city.

Those who have seen the machinery in Portsmouth dockyard would think very little of the Block-house in the Arsenal, where most of the work seemed to be done by hand; but the covered docks themselves are superb; and when we recollect at what period the Arsenal was constructed, we can understand how it was that Venice was regarded in former days as one of the greatest of maritime powers.\*

The armoury in the land arsenal contained but a small number of muskets, and swords, and pikes, compared with the collection in the Tower of London, but there is room for a far more formidable array. We were shown some questionable curiosities, such as the helmet of Attila, found at Aquileja, and some instruments of torture, said to belong to Francesco di Carrara. Here

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\* Between 1307 and 1320 (*Handbook*, p. 350, where the above remark is made).

also we saw Canova's monumental bust of Emmo, who was fated to be the last of Venetian heroes; and whose exploits, at the time, were thought to secure him an immortality as durable as that of the Republic. Scarcely had the monument been completed when the Republic itself fell, to rise no more; and the admiral was to be no longer the favourite of fame, for the finger and the pen of the recording genius were broken off by some patriot of the short-lived democracy; but the word "IMMORTALITY" remains upon the tablet, as if in mockery of human praises and human hopes.

#### FERRARA. TASSO. ARIOSTO.

In the hospital of St. Anna, at Ferrara, they show a cell, over the door of which is the following inscription:—

"Rispettate, O Posterì, la celebrità di questa stanza, dove Torquato Tasso, infermo più di tristezza che delirio, ritenuto dimorò anni vii., mesi ii., scrisse versi e prose, e fu rimesso in libertà ad istanza della città di Bergamo, nel giorno vi. Luglio, 1596."

The dungeon is below the ground-floor of the hospital, and the light penetrates through its grated windows from a small yard, which seems to have been common to other cells. It is nine paces long, between five and six wide, and about seven feet high. The bedstead, so they tell, has been carried off piecemeal, and the door half cut away, by the devotion of those whom "the verse and prose" of the prisoner have brought to Ferrara.

The above address to posterity was inscribed at the instigation of General Miollis, who filled Italy with tributes to her great men, and was not always very solicitous as to the authentic application of his record. Common tradition had assigned the cell to Tasso long before the inscription: and we may recollect that, some years ago, a great German poet was much incensed, not at the sufferings of the prisoner, but at the pretensions of the prison. But the author of Werther need not have felt so insulted by the demand for his faith. The cell was assuredly one of the prisons of the hospital, and in one of those prisons we know that Tasso was confined.\* The present inscription, indeed, does exaggerate the attraction of the chamber, for the poet was a prisoner in the same room only from the middle of March 1579, to December 1580, when he was removed to a contiguous apartment much larger, in which, to use his own expressions, he could philosophize and walk about.† His imprisonment was, in the year 1584, again enlarged.‡ It is equally certain, also, that once, in 1581, he was per-

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\* Mr. Walker, in his historical memoir on Italian tragedy, saw this dungeon in 1792, and, in spite of some hints from Dr. Black, the biographer of Tasso, was inclined to believe it to have been the original place of the poet's confinement; (see 'Life of Tasso,' cap. xv. vol. ii. p. 97;) but the site will not correspond with what Tasso says of his being removed to a *neighbouring* apartment, "*assai più comoda*"—there is no such *commodious neighbouring* apartment on the same level.

† La Vita di Torquato Tasso, scritta dall' Abate Pierantonio Serassi, seconda edizione. . . . in Bergamo, 1790, pp. 34 and 64, tom. ii.

‡ La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 83, tom. ii.



mitted to leave the hospital for the greater part of a day,\* and that this favour was occasionally granted to him in the subsequent years of his confinement.† The inscription is incorrect, also, as to the immediate cause of his enlargement, which was promised to the city of Bergamo, but was carried into effect at the intercession of Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua, chiefly owing to the unwearied application of Antonio Constantino, a gentleman in the suite of the Florentine embassy.‡

But the address should not have confined itself to the respect due to the prison: one honest line might have been allotted to the condemnation of the gaoler. There seems in the Italian writers something like a disposition to excuse the Duke of Ferrara by extenuating the sufferings, or exaggerating the derangement, of the poet. He who contemplates the dungeon, or even the hospital of St. Anna, will be at a loss to reconcile either the one or the other with that “ample lodgment” which, according to the author of the ‘Antiquities of the House of Este,’ the partiality of Alfonso allotted to the man “whom he loved and esteemed much, and wished to keep near his person.”§ Muratori confesses himself unable to

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\* La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 63, tom. ii.

† Vide p. 83, ut sup.

‡ La Vita, &c., lib. iii. p. 142, tom. ii.

§ “Ma perciocchè questo principe l’amava e stimava forte, e non voleva privarsene elesse di alimentarlo in quell’ ampio luogo, con desiderio che ivi fosse curato anche il corpo suo.” *Antichità Estensi*, parte sec. cap. xiii. p. 405, ediz. fol. Mutin. 1740.

define the offence of the patient; and in a short letter devoted expressly to the subject, comes to no other general conclusion than that he could not be called insane,\* but was confined partly for chastisement, partly for cure, having probably spoken some indiscreet words of Alfonso. He makes no mention of any distemper in the prince; nor is it easy to discover that free exercise of his understanding for which Gibbon has somewhere praised this celebrated antiquary.† Indeed, in his notice of this injustice, the librarian of the Duke of Modena, so far from seeming to forget the interests of the princely house which pensioned his labours, suggests rather the obvious reflection, that, when a writer has to obtain or repay any other patronage than that of the

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\* Lettera ad Apostolo Zeno: see Tasso's Works, vol. x. p. 244. "Nè mentecatto nè pazzo," are Muratori's words. See also p. 242 and p. 243. He is a little freer spoken in this letter, but still says, "*the wise prince did not give way to his anger.*" Muratori's Annals were attacked on their first appearance, as "uno de' libri più fatali al principato Romano;" to which the librarian replied, that "Truth was neither Guelf nor Ghibelline." If he had thought that truth was neither Catholic nor Protestant, he would not have slurred over the massacre of St. Bartholomew as an event which gave rise to many exaggerations from the Hugonots. "Lascero io disputare ai gran Dottori intorno al giustificare o riprovare quel sì strepitoso fatto; bastando a me di dire, che per cagion d'esso immense esagerazioni fece il partito degli Ugonotti, e loro servì di stimolo e scusa per ripigliar l'armi contra del Re." Annali ad an. 1572, tom. x. p. 464. In page 469, *ibid.*, he talks of the great loss of France by the death of the murderer Charles IX., who, if he had lived, would have "extirpated the seed of heresy."

† For a fine and just character of Muratori, see, however, the *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, p. 641, vol. ii. quarto. Gibbon's *Misc. Works*.

public, his first and paramount object cannot be the establishment of truth. In fact, the subject of an absolute monarchy is an unsafe guide on almost every topic. La Bruyère, like a good Catholic, reckoned the dragooning of the Protestants amongst the most commendable actions of Louis XIV.\*

Manso, the friend and biographer of Tasso, might have been expected to throw some light upon so important a portion of his history, but the five chapters devoted to the subject only encumbered the question with inconclusive discussion. What is still more extraordinary, it appears, that of seven or eight contemporary Ferrarese annalists, only one has mentioned that Tasso was confined at all, and that one, Faustini, has assigned a cause more absurd than instructive.† The later librarian of Modena, Tiraboschi, was equally disingenuous with his predecessor, and had the assurance to declare, that by prescribing a seven years' confinement Alfonso consulted only the health, and honour, and advantage of Tasso, who evinced his continued obstinacy by considering himself a

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\* The same writer declares "homage to a king" to be the sole sufficing virtue of every good subject in a monarchy, "where there is no such thing as love of our country—the interest, the glory, and the service of the prince, supply its place." (*De la République*, chap. x.) For which sentiment our great poet has made honourable mention of him amongst his dunces (*The Dunciad*, book iv. v. 522), with whom he might be safely left, did he not belong rather to the flatterers than the fools.

† "Il Duca Alfonso II. il fece rinchiudere per curarlo di una fistola che lo travagliava." Vid. *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letter. Ital.*, lib. iii., part iii., tom. vii. p. 1210, edit. Venet. 1796.

prisoner.\* But, with the librarian's leave, the suspicion was justified by the apprehensions of the poet's Italian contemporaries, who, in their supplications for his release, seldom gave him any other name. The same writer announced, in the first edition of his 'History of Italian Literature,' that he had made the long-looked-for discovery as to the cause of Tasso's confinement, and had entrusted the documents found in the archives of the house of Este to the Abate Serassi. In his second edition he declared that his expectations, and those of all the learned world, had been answered by the Life of the poet published by the Abate in 1785:† but the

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\* "Credette egli perciò che e all' onore e alla salute del Tasso niuna cosa potesse esser più utile che il tenerlo non già prigioniero, ma custodito . . . . intanto procurava con rimedj di calmarne l'animo e la fantasia. Ma ciò che Alfonso operò al vantaggio del Tasso non servì che a renderne sempre peggiore la condizione—Gli parve esser prigioniero." *Tiraboschi, Storia, &c.*, lib. iii. tom. vii. par. iii. p. 1213, edit. Venet. 1796.

† *Storia, &c.*, p. 1212 *ut sup.*

The English author of the Life of Tasso seems half inclined to believe in the love of the poet for Leonora (*Black*, chap. viii. vol. i. p. 188, and chap. xiii. vol. ii. p. 2), and quotes a passage in a letter from Tasso to Gonzaga, omitted by Serassi, in which he talks of the princess having but little corresponded to his attachment (*Ib.* chap. xiv. vol. ii. p. 59). Mr. Walker, in his historical memoir, was bold enough to follow the old story even in the face of Serassi, who appears to me to have completely settled the question. Poetical gallantry will account for all the phenomena. Dr. Black himself wisely rejects the passion of love as the adequate cause of Torquato's insanity: but we may not perhaps subscribe to his opinion, that the poet lost his senses on account of the objections made to his *Jerusalem*. The biographer presumes him positively mad, and argues on his case out of Pinel, and Haslam, and others. On this ground he supposes the harsh conduct of the duke was



antiquary, still faithful to his patrons, did not mention that it appears, from every page of the biography, that the imprisonment must be attributed rather to the vengeance and mean apprehensions of the prince, than to the extravagance of the poet.

The Abate Serassi was acknowledged to be a perfect master of the "cinquecento," and he has spoken as freely as could be expected from a priest, an Italian, and a frequenter of the tables of the great. He shows that he is labouring with a secret, or, at least, a persuasion, which he is at a loss how, honestly, to conceal; and which, in spite of his natural respect for the best of princes, and the most illustrious of cardinals, is sufficiently apparent to confirm the suspicion of Alfonso's tyranny. The duke had not the excuse of Tasso's presumption in aspiring to the love of the princely Leonora. The far-famed kiss is certainly an invention, although not of a modern date. The English were taught by a contemporary writer to believe that the Lydian boy and the goddess of Antium had precipitated Torquato into his dungeon,\* and Manso hinted the same probability, but with much circumspection. The tale was at last

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adopted as necessary for the cure of Tasso (see chap. xv. p. 91, vol. ii.; chap. xii. vol. i. p. 808; chap. xv. vol. ii. p. 87; and chap. xvi. vol. ii. p. 113); and, if his meaning has not been mistaken, he almost apologises for the prescription of Alfonso.

\* Mutis abditus ac nigris tenebris  
In quas præcipitem dedere cæci  
Infans Lydius, Antique Diva.

See some Hendecasyllables of Scipio Gentilis. (*Serassi, la Vita del Tasso*, &c., lib. iii. p. 34, tom. ii.)

openly told in 'The Three Gondolas,' a little work, published in 1662, by Girolamo Brusoni, at Venice, and immediately suppressed.\* Leonora of Este was thirty years old when Tasso came to Ferrara; and this, perhaps, notwithstanding that serene brow, where Love all armed was wont to expatiate, reconciled him to the reverence and wonder which succeeded to the first feelings of admiration and delight.† It is true that neither her age, nor the vermilion cloud which obscured the eyes of her sister Lucretia,‡ rendered his muse less sensible to the pleasure of being patronized by the illustrious ladies; and perhaps his intercourse with them was not altogether free from that inclination which the charms of any attractive woman might readily excite in a temperament too warm to be a respecter of persons. But his heart was devoted to humbler and younger beauties; and more particularly to Lucretia Bendedio, who had also to rank

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\* Serassi calls it an *operacciu*. *La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 169, tom. i. Muratori, in his letter to Apostolo Zeno, p. 240, loc. cit., tells the story from Carretta, who had heard it from Tassoni; and though he hesitates about the kiss, seems to believe Tasso was in love with Leonora, p. 242. Gibbon (*Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, p. 693) turns the story to good account—he believes—and makes a period.

† E certo il primo dì che 'l bel sereno  
Della tua fronte agli occhi miei s' offerse,  
E vidi armato spaziarvi l' Amore,  
Se non che riverenza allor converse  
E meraviglia in fredda selce il seno  
Ivi peria con doppia morte il core.

*Canzone. La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 148, tom. i.

‡ Questa nebbia sì bella e sì vermiglia.

*Tass. Oper.* vol. vi. p. 27; *La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 150, tom. i.

the author of the 'Pastor Fido' amongst her immortal suitors.\* Of this passion the princess Leonora was the confidante, and aspired to the cure, by the singular expedient of persuading him to become the encomiast of one of his rivals.† Leonora San Vitali, Countess of Scandiano, was the second of the three Leonoras, who, whether they all existed or not, have rendered that name dear to the lovers of Italian poetry. But even the passion for the countess is reduced to a *perhaps* by the author of the 'Literary History of Italy.' ‡ It appears then that the biographer is justified in exclaiming against the scandal, which is incompatible with the rank and piety of a princess who was a temple of honour and chastity, and a single prayer of whom rescued Ferrara from the anger of Heaven and the inundation of the Po.§ It is, also, but too certain that Leonora deserted the poet in the first days of his distress; and it is equally known that Tasso, who would not have forgotten an early flame, did not hang a single garland on the bier of his supposed mistress.

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\* La Vita, &c., lib. ii. p. 157, tom. i.

† La Vita, ut sup. Pigna was this rival.

‡ Il était combattu d'un côté par son attachement pour le Duc Alphonse, pour ses sœurs, peut-être pour la jeune Comtesse de Scandiano. (*Guingéné*, part ii. chap. xiv. p. 200.) In another place Guingené declares "mais cette passion fut toute poétique." How could he know?

§ Quando del Pò tremar l' altere sponde  
 Ferrara danneggiando e dentro, e fuori;  
 Un sol prego di te, casta Leonora,  
 Spense l' ire del ciel giuste e profonde.

*Sonetto di Filippo Binaschi.* See *La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 170, tom. i.

The biographer has left it without doubt\* that the first cause of the punishment of Tasso was his desire to be occasionally, or altogether, free from his servitude at the court of Alfonso, and that the immediate pretext of his imprisonment was no other than disrespectful mention of the Duke and his court. In 1575 he resolved, notwithstanding the advice of the Duchess of Urbino, to visit Rome, and enjoy the indulgence of the jubilee, and this "error increasing the suspicion already entertained at court, that he was in search of another service," was the origin of his misfortunes.† Alfonso detained him at Ferrara by the expectation of unrealized favours,‡ and also by withholding his 'Jerusalem,' which he would not allow the author to carry with him to Venice, nor, although he had promised the delivery of the MS. to Cardinal Albano, would consent to restore after the flight of Tasso to Rome.§ An habitual melancholy, which, it appears, made him tremble for his spiritual condition, a morbid sensibility irritated by the injuries

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\* *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. pp. 12, 48, 50, tom. ii.

† "Perciocchè da un sì fatto errore si può dir che avessero origine le sue disavventure, essendosi con ciò accresciuto a dimisura il sospetto, che già si aveva alla corte, ch' egli cercasse altro servizio."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. pp. 232, 233, tom. i.

‡ "Il Duca m' ha fatto molti favori, ma io vorrei frutti e non fiori." In a letter from Tasso to Scalabrino.—*La Vita*, &c., lib. ii. p. 245, tom. i.

§ "Forse perchè cresceva al duca e alle principesse il perdere dopo la persona del poeta anche i suoi pregiati componimenti." An innocent observation of the Abate's.—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 7, tom. i.



of his rivals and the treachery of his friends, had driven him into an excess against an individual of the court: but Alfonso did not punish him for drawing his knife: he was merely confined to his apartment, from which the Duke soon released him, and carried him to the villa of Belriguarda. Finally, however, when Tasso was still discontented, the Duke transferred him to the Franciscan Convent at Ferrara, with strict orders that the concerns of his soul, and the diseases of his body, should be submitted to the treatment of the Holy Fraternity. The repeated complaints of the poet formed some pretext for the prohibition which he soon received commanding him to write no more, either to the Duke, or the Princess his daughter. This, however, drove Tasso to despair, and from the confinement, and the medicine of the Convent which he equally dreaded, he found means at last to escape.\* He wandered, first, to his sister at Sorrento, and thence to Rome; but he felt an anxiety to recover his MS., and, although the Cardinal Albano and Scipio Gonzaga dissuaded him from trusting himself at the court of Alfonso, returned to Ferrara. He there found that the 'Jerusalem' had been put into other hands, and that the Duke, after refusing to hear him

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\* "Intanto il Tasso cominciò a lasciarsi purgare, ma di malissimo animo." (La Vita, &c., lib. ii. p. 283, tom. i.) Poor Tasso thought the excellence of a physician consisted in prescribing medicines not only salutiferous but agreeable: "Perchè come V. S. sa, l'eccellenza de' medici consiste in buona parte in dar le medicine non solo salutifere, ma piacevoli."—*Tass. Oper.* vol. x. p. 360. Lettera a Biaggio Bernardi. *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 81, tom. ii.

mention the subject, denied him, at last, all access to himself and the princesses. Serassi presumes that this treatment is to be partly charged upon the poet, who, instead of putting himself into a course of medicine, ate and drank to excess; but he candidly owns that Tasso had a right to his own property, the fruits of his own genius.\* He again retired from Ferrara, and remained absent for some time; but he again returned, in opposition to the entreaties of the Marquis Philip of Este, and others, who were better acquainted than himself with the character of Alfonso.† The Duke now refused to admit him to an audience. He was repulsed from the houses of all the dependants of the court; and not one of the promises which the Cardinal Albano had obtained for him was carried into effect. Then it was that Tasso, “after having suffered these hardships with patience for some time, seeing himself constantly discountenanced by the Duke and the princesses, abandoned by his friends, and derided by his enemies, could no longer contain himself within the bounds of moderation, but, giving vent to his choler, publicly broke forth into the most injurious expressions imaginable, both against the Duke and all the house of Este, as well as against the principal lords of the court, cursing his past service, and retracting all

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\* “Per altro sebbene sia da credersi che molte di sì fatte cose fossero soltanto effetto della sua imaginazione, e ch’ egli anzi avesse irritato quell’ ottimo principe col non aver voluto prestarsi ad una purga rigorosa . . . ad ogni modo sembra, che se gli dovesse almeno restituire il suo poema.”—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 13, tom. ii.

† *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 31, tom. ii.

the praises he had ever given in his verses to those princes, or to any individual connected with them, declaring that they were all a “gang of poltroons, ingrates, and scoundrels.” These are the words of Serassi;\* and for this offence was Tasso arrested, and instead of being punished, such is the hint of his biographer, was, by his “generous and magnanimous” sovereign, conducted to the hospital of St. Anna, and confined in a solitary cell as a madman. From repeated passages in his letters, from the intercessions made in his favour by so many of the Italian potentates,† from the condition annexed to his release, by which the Duke of Mantua stipulated that he would be guarantee against any literary reprisals from the poet against his persecutor,‡ there can be no doubt but that these injurious expressions, and these alone, were the cause of the confinement of Tasso: so that, as the unwillingly convinced biographer is obliged to exclaim, it appears extraordinary that so many fables should have been dreamt of to

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\* “Che tutti in quel momento spacciò per una ciurma di poltroni, ingrati, e ribaldi.”—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 33, tom. ii.

† *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 128, tom. ii. Bergamo tempted Alfonso by the present of an antique fragment, p. 128, *ut supra*.

‡ “Ma riflettendo, che i poeti sono di loro natura *genus irritabile*, e temendo perciò che Torquato, trovandosi libero, non volesse coll’ armi formidabili della sua penna vendicarsi della lunga prigionia, e de’ mali trattamenti ricevuti a quella corte, non sapea risolversi a lasciarlo uscire da’ suoi stati, senza prima essere assicurato, ch’ ei non tenterebbe cosa alcuna contro l’ onore e la riverenza dovuta a un sì gran principe com’ egli era.”—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 128, tom. ii.

account for the motive of his long imprisonment.\* Had that which Montaigne called "his fatal vivacity" directed itself against any others than the Duke and court of Ferrara, or had it preyed, as the Frenchman thought, upon himself alone,† a prison would not have been the prescription for such harmless extravagance.

It has been before mentioned that he was only nine months in the first dungeon allotted to his crime, or, as his tyrant called it, his cure; but to one whose disease was a dread of solitude, and whose offence was a love of liberty, the hospital of St. Anna was, of itself, a dungeon.‡ It is certain that for nearly the first year he endured all the horrors of a solitary sordid cell, and that he was under the care of a gaoler whose chief virtue, although he was a poet and a man of letters, was a cruel obedience to the commands of his prince.§ Whatever occa-

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\* "Cosicchè sembra cosa strana, come altri abbia potuto sognare tante favole, come si è fatto intorno al motivo della sua lunga prigionia."—*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 34, tom. ii.

† "N'a-t-il pas de quoi savoir gré à cette sienne vivacité meurtrière," &c. &c.—*Essais*, &c., liv. ii. cap. xii. p. 214, tom. ii. edit. stereot. 1811.

‡ "E' l timor di continua prigionia molto accresce la mia mestizia; e l' accresce l' indegnità, che mi conviene usare; e lo squallore della barba, e delle chiome, e degli abiti, e la sordidezza, e' l succidume fieramente m' annojano: e sovra tutto m' affligge la solitudine, mia crudele e natural nemica, dalla quale anco nel mio buono stato era talvolta così molestato che in ore intempestive m' andava cercando, o andava ritrovando compagnia."—Letter from Tasso to Scipio Gonzaga. *Oper.*, vol. x. p. 386; *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 35, tom. ii.

§ "Sed neque cui parvo est virtus in corpore major

Mustius, obsequiis intentus principis usque."

His name was Agostino Mosti.—See *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 38, tom.



sional alleviations were allowed to his distress, he was a prisoner to the last day of his abode in the hospital, and he felt that there was perpetually a door barred between him and the relief of his body and his soul.\* His misfortune was rather aggravated than diminished by the repeated expectations held out to him of approaching liberation. His calamities gathered upon him with his confinement, and at no time was his condition more deplorable than in the last months of his detention.† Amongst the diseases of his body and his mind, the desire and despair of freedom so constantly preyed upon him, that, when the order for his departure had been obtained, his friends were cautious not to communicate

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ii. Tasso says of him, in a letter to his sister, “ed usa meco ogni sorte di rigore ed inumanità.”—See *Opera*, vol. ix. p. 183, and *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii., p. 40, tom. ii. Baruffaldi tries to defend him by saying that Tasso was guilty of high treason, and Mosti was only doing his duty.—*Vita di M. L. Ariosto*, lib. iii. p. 244. This avowal is everything for the point wished to be proved.

\* “O Signor Maurizio, quando sarà quel giorno ch'io possa respirar sotto il cielo aperto, e che non mi veda sempre un uscio serrato davanti, quando mi pare di aver bisogno del medico o del confessore.” This pathetic letter was written to his friend Cataneo a few months before his release.—*Opera*, vol. ix. p. 367; *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 139, tom. ii.

† “Sappia che per l'infermità di molti anni sono smemoratissimo e per questa cagione dolentissimo, benchè non sia questa sola, c'è la debolezza di tutti i sensi e di tutte le membra, e quasi la vecchiezza venuta innanzi agli anni, e la prigionia, e l'ignoranza delle cose del mondo, e la solitudine, la quale è misera e noiosa oltre l'altre, massimamente s'ella non è d'uomini, ma d'amici.” A solitude to which all the unhappy are condemned.—Letter to Monsigr. Papio, dated Sept. 1585. *Opera*, vol. x. p. 313; *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 133.

the glad tidings to him too abruptly, for fear of some fatal revulsion. We must then deduct something from the harmonious praise which our eloquent and courtly Gibbon claims for the splendid patronage of the house of Este. The liberality, the taste, the gratitude of Cardinal Hippolyto, may be inferred from the poet whom he degraded into a courier, whose Orlando he derided, and whose services he requited with disdainful neglect.\* The magnificence of his brother, the duke, assigned to Ariosto a pension of 21 *lire* a month, and food for three servants and two horses; a salary with which the poet would have been contented had it been paid.† But our historian has stepped beyond the bounds of panegyric in ascribing the Orlando to the favour of the first Alfonso.‡ The immortal poem

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\* Non mi lasciò fermar molto in un luogo

E di poeta cavallar mi feo.—*Ariost.*, Sat. vi.

*Messer Ludovico dove avete mai trovate tante fanfaluche?* was the famous speech of the Cardinal to Ariosto on first reading the Orlando. Hippolyto dismissed him from his service without any recompense: he had before encouraged the composition of the Orlando, by telling the author, “che sarebbegli stato assai più caro che avesse atteso a servirlo.” See the before-cited *La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto, scritta dall' Abate Girolamo Baruffaldi Giuniore: Ferrara*, MDCCCVIII. lib. ii. pp. 119, 120; lib. iii. pp. 174, 177. The Abate, under the French Government, could afford to give an honest character of this *Purple Macenas*—and has done it.

† See Ariosto Satir. ad Annibale Malaguzzo, and *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 184.

‡ “Ferrara may boast that in her classic ground Ariosto and Tasso lived and sung; that the lines of the Orlando Furioso, and of the Jerusalem Delivered, were inscribed in everlasting characters under the eye of the first and second Alfonso.”—Gibbon’s *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, edit. cit. p. 694.

struggled into life under the barren shade of the Cardinal Hippolyto, and the author derived no other benefit from its second appearance, under the auspices of the court of Ferrara, than the sale of a hundred copies for eight-and-twenty crowns.\* The obligations of the *Jerusalem Delivered* to the second Alfonso, may have been already appreciated. They consisted in the seven years' imprisonment of the author, and the surreptitious publication of a mutilated MS. The princes of Italy were not deficient in a fruitless deference to the claims of literature: this was the taste of the age, and they divided that merit with the accomplished highwaymen of the day.† They regarded a man of letters as a necessary appendage to their dignity, and a poet was the more cherished as he was the oftener employed in recording the triumphs of his protecting court. The muse was encouraged and confined to her laureate duties; and so carefully was her gratitude secured, and her recompense so exactly weighed, that, the day before the Prince of Mantua obtained the liberation of Tasso, he commanded the captive to compose a copy of verses, as an earnest, it should seem, of more elaborate efforts.‡ The same prince imitated the example of Alfonso in retaining the MSS. of our poet, as a pledge for his future attachment

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\* *La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto*, &c., lib. iii. p. 136.

† See the adventure of Ariosto with Filippo Pachione—*La Vita di M. L. Ariosto*, &c., lib. iii. p. 187; and that of Tasso with Marco di Sciarra—*La Vita del Tasso*, &c., lib. iii. p. 229, tom. ii.

‡ *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 144, tom. ii.

to the house of Gonzaga; and having assigned him a small sum for his immediate exigencies, would not allow him to purchase clothes unless he would consent to wear them out in the duties of the Mantuan court. A thousand traits in the life of Tasso serve to show that genius was considered the property, not of the individual, but his patron; and that the reward allotted for this appropriation was dealt out with jealous avarice. The author of the Jerusalem, when he was at the height of his favour at the court of Ferrara, could not redeem the covering of his body and bed, which he was obliged to leave in pledge for 13 crowns and 45 lire, on accompanying the cardinal of Este to France. This circumstance appears from a testamentary document preserved in manuscript in the public library of Ferrara, which is imperfectly copied into the Life of Tasso,\* and the following letter † is extracted from the same collection of autographs as a singular exemplification of what has been before said of princely patronage.

MY VERY MAGNIFICENT SIGNOR,

I send your worship *five* shirts, all of which want mending. Give them to your relation; and let him

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\* Lib. ii. p. 171, tom. i. Serassi had not seen the original, but copied from a copy—the list of goods in pawn is left out.

† Dr. Black has followed some incorrect writer in saying that Tasso's handwriting "was small and almost illegible." (Chap. xxiv. vol. ii. pp. 344, 345.) That it was large and very legible will be seen from a facsimile of an autograph in my possession, also subjoined.



know that I do not wish them to be mixed with the others ; and that he will gratify me by coming one day with you to see me. In the mean while I wait for that answer which your lordship promised to solicit for me. Put your friend in mind of it. I kiss your worship's hand.

Your very faithful servant,

TORQUATO TASSO.

*From S. Anna, the 4th of Jan. 1585.*

If you cannot come with your relation, come alone. I want to speak to you. And get the cloth washed in which the shirts are wrapped up.

*To the very Magnificent Signor,  
The Signor Luca Scalabrino.\**

Such was the condition of him who thought that, besides God, to the poet alone belonged the name of creator, and who was also persuaded that he himself was the first Italian of that divine race.† Those who indulge in the dreams of earthly retribution will ob-

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\* No inquiry has been able to discover who this Luca Scalabrino was.

† “ Il Tasso si levò in collera, e disse . . . . chè il poeta era cosa divina, e i Greci il chiamano con un' attributo che si da a Dio, quasi volendo inferire, che nel mondo non ci è chi meriti il nome di creatore, che Dio e il Poeta.” (See *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 262.) Monsignor de Nores asked him who he thought deserved the first place, “ fra i nostri poeti . . . . mi rispose, ‘ al mio giudizio all' Ariosto si deve il secondo :’ e soggiungendogli io subito, ‘ e il primo ?’ Sorrise, e mi voltò le spalle, volendo credo io che intendessi, che il primo lo riserbava a sè.”—See *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 262, tom. ii.

serve that the cruelty of Alfonso was not left without its recompense, even in his own person. He survived the affection of his subjects and of his dependants, who deserted him at his death, and suffered his body to be interred without princely or decent honours. His last wishes were neglected; his testament cancelled. His kinsman Don Cæsar shrank from the excommunication of the Vatican, and after a short struggle, or rather suspense, Ferrara passed away for ever from the dominion of the house of Este.\*

Alfonso was the chief delinquent, but he was not the only contriver, of Tasso's misfortunes. It appears that the poet was in part the victim of a household conspiracy,† formed by those who were totally incapable of appreciating either his virtues or his failings; and who thought themselves interested, if they did not find, to prove, him insane. For this purpose every little extravagance of action was carefully watched and noted down. Not only his words were submitted to the same charitable interpretation, but his thoughts were scrutinized, and, in pursuit of the same evidence of his derangement and disaffection to his duties, his books, his papers, and his correspondence were explored in those repositories which are safe against all but domestic treachery;‡ affection for his person, and admiration

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\* *Antichità Estensi*, par. ii. cap. 13 and 14.

† *La Vita*, &c., p. 277.

‡ *Ibid.* lib. ii. p. 258, tom. i. Plutarch tells us that Romulus allowed only three causes of divorce—drunkenness, adultery, and false keys.

for his talents, were the pretext for every proceeding against his liberty and his fame; and so far did this insulting hypocrisy proceed, that a report was industriously spread, that it was the kind resource of pity to pronounce him not guilty but mad. This rumour caused and excused the desertion of one whose relief seemed hopeless. Remonstrance was an aggravation, concession a proof, of his delinquency. Both were unavailing, and the voice of friendship could give no other counsel than to be silent and to submit. His disaster was considered as his decease; and his contemporaries usurped and abused the rights of posterity. Compositions, some unfinished, and none of them intended for the light, were devoted to the greedy gains of literary pirates; and on such documents, no less garbled than the representation of his actions, did his enemies proceed to judgment. These calamities would have overwhelmed guilt, and might confound innocence. But the tried affection of an only sister, the unshaken though unserviceable regard of former associates, and, more than all, his own unconquerable mind, supplied the motive and the means of resistance. He had lost the hope of mercy, he cherished the expectation of justice. This confidence preserved the principle of life; and the sensibility of misfortune gave an irresistible edge and temper to his faculties whenever his spirit emerged from distress. The rays of his genius could not dissipate, but they burst, at intervals, through the gloom of his seclusion, and his countrymen soon found that their

poet, although hidden from their sight, was still high above the horizon.

### THE 'JERUSALEM DELIVERED.'

The opposition which the Jerusalem encountered from the Cruscan academy, who degraded Tasso from all competition with Ariosto, below Bojardo and Pulci, must also in some measure be laid to the charge of Alfonso and the court of Ferrara. For Leonard Salviati, the principal and nearly the sole origin of this attack, was, there can be no doubt,\* influenced by a hope to acquire the favour of the House of Este: an object which he thought attainable by exalting the reputation of a native poet at the expense of a rival, then a *prisoner of state*. The hopes and efforts of Salviati must serve to show the contemporary opinion as to the nature of the poet's imprisonment; and will fill up the measure of our indignation at the tyrant jailer. In fact, the antagonist of Tasso was not disappointed in the reception given to his criticism; he was called to the court of Ferrara, where, having endeavoured to heighten his claims to favour, by panegyrics on the family of his sovereign,† he was in his turn abandoned,

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\* *La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 90, tom. ii. The English reader may see an account of the opposition of the Crusca to Tasso, in *Dr. Black, Life*, &c., cap. xvii. vol. ii.

† *Orazioni funebri . . . . delle lodi di Don Luigi Cardinal d'Este . . . . delle lodi di Donno Alfonso d'Este*.—See *La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 117.



and expired in neglected poverty. The opposition of the Cruscans was brought to a close in six years after the commencement of the controversy; and if the academy owed its first renown to having almost opened with such a paradox,\* it is probable that, on the other hand, the care of his reputation alleviated rather than aggravated the imprisonment of the injured poet. The defence of his father and of himself, for both were involved in the censure of Salviati, found employment for many of his solitary hours, and the captive could have been but little embarrassed to reply to accusations where, amongst other delinquencies, he was charged with invidiously omitting, in his comparison between France and Italy, to make any mention of the cupola of St. Maria del Fiore at Florence.† The late biographer of Ariosto seems as if willing to renew the controversy by doubting the interpretation of Tasso's self-estimation‡ related in Serassi's Life of the poet. But Tiraboschi had before laid that rivalry at rest,§ by showing that between Ariosto and Tasso it is not a question of comparison, but of preference.

The opposition to Tasso was not confined to the Italians, nor to his own age. Every one must remem-

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\* It was founded in 1582, and the Crusean answer to Pellegrino's *Caraffa* or *Epica Poesia* was published in 1584.

† "Cotanto potè sempre in lui il veleno della sua pessima volontà contro alla nazione Fiorentina."—*La Vita*, lib. iii. p. 96, 98, tom. ii.

‡ *La Vita* di M. L. Ariosto, scritta dall' Abate Girolamo Baruffaldi Giuniore, &c., Ferrara, 1807, lib. iii. p. 262.

§ *Storia della Lett.*, &c., lib. iii. tom. vii. par. iii. p. 1220, sect. 4.

ber the famous lines in which Boileau makes an invidious comparison between the gold of the *Æneid* and the tinsel of the Jerusalem :—

A Malerbe, à Racan, préférer Théophile,  
Et le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile.

*Sat. ix. v. 176.*

The biographer Serassi,\* out of tenderness to the reputation either of the Italian or the French poet, is eager to observe that the satirist recanted or explained away this censure, and subsequently allowed the author of the Jerusalem to be a “genius, sublime, vast, and happily born for the higher flights of poetry.” To this we must however add, that the recantation is far from satisfactory, when we examine the whole anecdote as reported by Olivet.† The sentence pronounced against him by Bouhours‡ is recorded only to the confusion of

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\* *La Vita del Tasso*, lib. iii. p. 284, tom. ii., edit. Bergamo, 1790.

† *Histoire de l'Académie Française depuis 1652 jusqu'à 1700*, par l'Abbé d'Olivet, p. 181, edit. Amsterdam, 1730. “Mais ensuite, venant à l'usage qu'il a fait de ses talens, j'aurois montré que le bon sens n'est pas toujours ce qui domine chez lui,” p. 182. Boileau said he had not changed his opinion. “J'en ai si peu changé, dit-il,” &c., p. 181.

‡ See *La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit*, sec. dial. p. 89, edit. 1692. Philanthes is for Tasso, and says in the outset, “De tous les beaux esprits que l'Italie a portés, le Tasse est peut-être celui qui pense le plus noblement.” But Bouhours seems to speak in Eudoxus, who closes with the absurd comparison, “Faites valoir le Tasse tout ce qu'il vous plaira, je m'en tiens, pour moi, à Virgile.”—*Ib.*, p. 102.

Voltaire censured the injustice of this attack (*La Loi Naturelle*, exorde, *Œuvres*, tom. xii. p. 76, edit. 1784).

“Que Boileau, repandant plus de sel que de grâce,  
Veuille outrager Quinault, pense avilir le Tasse.”

the critic, whose palinodia the Italian makes no effort to discover, and, perhaps, would not accept.\*

### FERRARA.

When Tasso arrived in Ferrara in 1565, he found the city one brilliant theatre.† The largest streets which he saw thronged with all the forms of gaiety and splendour were in 1817 almost untrodden, and supported a few paupers in the fruitless attempt to eradicate the grass and weeds. The cutting the canal from the Reno to the Po, and the saltpetre manufactories, during the French rule, had begun to revive and augment the languid population. The return of the legate to the castle confirmed the curse on the streets of Ferrara. The Ferrarese subjects of Alfonso II. must share in the disgrace attached to the imprisonment, for they contributed to the persecution, of Tasso.‡ To many names

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And Marmontel avenged the great Italian in the following lines :—

“J’entends Boileau qui s’écrie : O blasphême,  
Louer le Tasse !—oui, le Tasse lui-même.  
Laissons Boileau tacher d’être amusant,  
Et pour raison donner un mot plaisant.”

\* Addison agrees with Boileau, and says,—“And as for the poet himself, from whom the dreams of this opera are taken, I must entirely agree with Mons. Boileau, that one verse of Virgil is worth all the *cliquant* or tinsel of Tasso.”—*Spectator*, No. 3, March 6, 1710-11.

† See Il Gianluca, Oper. del Tasso, edit. Ven. 1738, vol. viii. pp. 13, 14.

‡ “Ciò che è certo è, che in Ferrara per la malvagia invidia cortigiana venne a formarsi contro il povero Tasso una specie di congiura,” &c.—*La Vita del Tasso*, &c., dell’ Abate Pierantonio Serassi, sec. ediz. in Bergamo, 1790, lib. ii. p. 259, tom. i.

now scarcely known except as having been joined in this base design, must be added those of Horatio Ariosto, great nephew of the poet, and of the more celebrated Guarini. The disordered fancies of Tasso furnished them with the excuse and with the means for his ruin. The toleration of the eccentricities of genius is more frequently found in the language than the practice of mankind: and the natural inclination to repel any assumption or supposition of exemption from the common rules of life, is not more likely to be found in the saloons of princes, which are made up of forms and precedents, than in the lower independent classes of society. The Ferrarese appear to have carried their complaisance to their sovereigns to an unusual excess; for on the tower of the cathedral we read the following inscription.

“DIVO HERCVLE SECVN DVCE IMPERANTE.”

An apotheosis for which, if their god was still alive, there is some doubt whether the slavery of Imperial Rome can furnish them with an example.\* Now it was one of the extravagancies of Tasso to discover that haughty spirit of a gentleman and a scholar, which made him averse to flattery, and to that self-annihilation

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\* Julius Cæsar, Caligula, and Domitian, were deified during their lifetime. See the question argued in Donatus, who gives it against the DIVVS. Roma Vetus, lib. iii. cap. iv. Classical authority excused even irreligion. Bembo rejected that unity of the Deity which was repugnant to his Ciceronian Latinity; and when writing in the name of the Pope, ascribed his election to the chair of St. Peter to the favour of the “*immortal gods*,” *deorum immortalium beneficiis*.



which is the most acceptable quality in a dependant. To this ignorance of the arts of courtly dissimulation his biographer does not hesitate to attribute his misfortunes, and the inference must be discreditable to his Ferrarese competitors.\*

#### TASSO'S LETTERS AND WILL.

I shall conclude my notice of the great author of the 'Jerusalem Delivered' by a transcript of eight letters, written by Tasso when in the Hospital of Sta. Anna, and of a testamentary memoir written when he undertook his journey to France.

The letters, with the exception of one which appeared in the 'Poligrafo,' a periodical work, edited at Milan during the reign of Napoleon, were, it is believed, published for the first time in the Historical Illustrations to the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold.' They do not establish any new facts, but are not altogether devoid of interest. A translation of one of them has been already inserted amongst these Notices. There is also a copy of verses, beginning

"Gentilezza di sangue e gloria antica,"

which has been before published. Serassi mentions the will as having been in the possession of Baruffaldi of Cento, and as being no longer in the library belonging

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\* "Quanto egli è piuttosto di sua natura altiero ed alieno da ogni termine di adulazione, che acconcio alle scurrilità cortigiane." —*La Vita*, &c., lib. iii. p. 261, tom. ii., quoted from a letter of Monsignor. de Nores, who knew Tasso well.

to the nephew of that learned person. It thus appears that the biographer had never seen the original, and it is certain that he followed an imperfect copy, for he has omitted the postscript or reference, which is interesting so far as it illustrates the scanty wardrobe of the poet, and consequently the mean patronage of the house of Este. On this account the reader may not object to see an exact copy of the memorial, notwithstanding the translation of an imperfect one has been already presented to him by a late English author.

A difficulty has suggested itself to Serassi respecting the date of the will, which he contends cannot be that of the copy which he followed, for Tasso had left Ferrara before 1573, the year marked in the printed document : the date preferred by the biographer is 1570. The fact is, that the manuscript is written on a doubled sheet of paper, of which the will itself occupies the two sides of the first half-sheet, and the epitaph on his father, and the reference to the goods in pawn, are on the third opposite page. The date is at the bottom of the second page, and, having been worn away from the doubling of the sheet, the fourth figure cannot be deciphered.

#### THE WILL.

Benchè la vita è frale, se piacesse al S<sup>r</sup> Iddio disporre altro di me in questo viaggio di francia, sia pregato il Sig<sup>or</sup> Hercole Rondinelli a prender cura d' alcune mie cose ; e prima in quanto alle mie compositioni procuri di

raccogliere i miei sonetti amorosi, e i madrigali, e gli mandi in luce ; gli altri o amorosi o in altra materia, c' ho fatti per servizio d' alcuno amico, desidero che restino sepolti con esso meco, fuor che quel solo. “Hor che l' aura mia dolce altrove spira.” L' oratione ch' io feci in ferrara nel principio dell' academia havrei caro che fosse vista, et similmente quattro libri del poema heroico. Del Gottifredo i sei ultimi canti, e de' due primi quelle stanze che saranno giudicate men ree, sì veramente che tutte queste cose siano reviste et considerate, prima dal Sig<sup>r</sup>. Scip. Gonzaga, dal Sig<sup>or</sup>. Domenico Veniero, e dal Sig<sup>or</sup>. Batt<sup>ta</sup>. Guarino, i quali per l' amicitia e servitù ch' io ho con loro, mi persuado che non ricuseranno questo fastidio. Sappiano però che mia intentione sarebbe che troncassero e risecassero, senza risparmiar tutte le cose ch' o men buone o soperchie giudicassero ; ma nel aggiungere o nel mutare andassero più ritenuti, non potendosi questo poema vedere se non imperfetto . . . . Dell' altre mie compositioni se al suddetto Sig<sup>or</sup>. Rondinelli, et a prefati sig<sup>l</sup>. alcuna ne parebbe non indegna d' essere vista, sia loro libero l' arbitrio di disporne ; le mie robbe che sono in pegno presso Abram ———, per xxv lire, et sette pezzi di razzi che sono in pegno per 13 scudi appresso il Sig<sup>or</sup>. Ascanio, e quelle che sono in questa casa, desidero che si vendino e del sopravanzo de dinari se ne faccia uno epitafio a mio padre, il cui corpo è in San Polo ; et l' epitafio sarà l' infrascritto ; et s' in alcuna cosa nascesse qualche impedimento, ricorra il

Sig.<sup>or</sup>. Hercole al favor dell' Ecc<sup>ma</sup>. Mad<sup>a</sup>. Leonora, la qual confido che p' amor mio gliene sarà liberale.

Io torq tasso scrissi      fer<sup>a</sup>.

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Bernardo taxo (Principum nego<sup>lis\*</sup>) Musarum ocio et Principum negotiis suma ingenii ubertate atque excellentia pari fortunæ varietate ac inconstantia relictis utriusque industriæ monumentis clariss<sup>o</sup>. torquat<sup>s</sup>. filius posuit. vixit an septuaginta et sex. obi an. 1569. die 4<sup>o</sup> Septemb.

Robbe che son presso Abram in via Cussa.

Due padiglioni.

Due colore turchesche guarnite di xendallo,

Un tornaletto di Razzo.

Due anteporti.

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The eight letters, a translation of one of which has been already given, are as follows:—

#### TASSO'S LETTERS.

##### 1.

M. R<sup>do</sup>. MIO OSS<sup>mo</sup>.

Nel foglio giunto temo che vi sia corso un' error di penna, ma non ne sono ben sicuro: comunque sia, avvertite che si legga così, e che non esca altramente.

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\* *Principum nego<sup>lis</sup>*. These words are struck out in the MSS. Tasso thought better of the Muses than the Princes, and changed the precedence.



Se la felicità è premio, l'infelicità è pena: Ma la felicità è premio intrinseco della virtù. Dunque l'infelicità è pena interiore del vizio. E mi vi raccomando. Di S. Anna il xxvi. di Giugno.

Di V. S. Ser<sup>e</sup>. il TASSO.

*Al M<sup>to</sup>. R<sup>o</sup>. mio Col<sup>mo</sup>.*

*Don Gio. Bat<sup>ta</sup>. Licinio.*

2.

M. MAG<sup>co</sup>. SIG<sup>a</sup>. MIO OSSM<sup>o</sup>.

Non posso acquetar l' animo, s' io non sono certo del vostro buono stato: però vi prego che me ne diate avviso, e se come io credo siete risanato, mi farete piacere a venire a vedermi: così piaccia a la Provvidenza del Sig<sup>re</sup>. Iddio, d' averci in protezione.

Di S. Anna il x di Sett<sup>re</sup>. del 1584.

Di V. S.

Aff<sup>mo</sup>. Ser<sup>e</sup>. TORQ<sup>to</sup>. TASSO.

*Al M<sup>to</sup>. Magn<sup>co</sup>. Sig<sup>r</sup>. mio*

*Oss<sup>mo</sup>. il Sig<sup>r</sup>. Luca Scalabrino.*

3.

M. MAG<sup>co</sup>. SIG<sup>re</sup>.

Mando à V. S. cinque camice le quali hanno tutte bisogno d'essere racconcie: Le dia al suo parente: e l' avertisca, che non vorrei che fosser mescolate con l' altre: e mi verrà\* fare piacere di venire un giorno seco à

\* Thus in the MS.

parlarmi: frattanto aspetto quella risposta, che V. S. mi promise di sollecitare, ne dia ricordo a l' amico, e le bacio le mani. Di S. Anna il 4 di Gen<sup>ro</sup>. del 1585.

Di V. S.

Sr. certiss<sup>mo</sup>. TORQ<sup>to</sup>. TASSO.

Se non può venir col parente venga solo, c'  
ho bisogno di parlarle: e faccia lavare il  
drappo nel quale sono inviluppate le  
cammice.

*Al M<sup>ro</sup>. Magn<sup>co</sup>. Sig<sup>re</sup>.*

*Il Sig<sup>e</sup>. Luca Scalabrino.*

4.

MOLTO MAG<sup>co</sup>. SIG<sup>re</sup>. COME FRATELLO.

Scrivo a l' Illmo Sig<sup>e</sup>. nostro padrone: e gli raccomando il negotio de la mia vita, però credo che non abbia alcun bisogno di ricordo: il ricordo nondimeno a voi medesimo: e mi vi raccomando. Da Ferrara il xi d' Aprile del 1585.

Di V. S.

come Fratello P. Ser<sup>la</sup>. TORQ<sup>to</sup>. TASSO.

*Al molto Mag<sup>co</sup>. Sig<sup>r</sup>. Giorgio*

*Alessio mio Oss<sup>mo</sup>.*

5.

ILLMO. E RMO. SIG. E PRON. MIO COLMO.

Dopo la prigionia, e l' infermità di molti anni, se le mie pene non hanno purgato gli errori, almeno la

clemenza di V. S. Illmâ può facilmente perdonarli; laonde io stimo, che la sua benignità mi faccia più lecito di supplicare arditamente, che non suol fare la mia calamità. La suplico dunque che non consenta a sì lunga ostinazione de gli Uomini, nè voglia, che dia fine a la mia grave miseria la morte, ma la pietà: e quantunque ciò le fosse più facile ne lo stato de la Chiesa, che in alcuno altro: nondimeno in questo di Ferrara non le sarà difficile: perchè il Ser<sup>mo</sup>. Sig<sup>r</sup>. Duca non mi tiene in alcuna sua prigione, ma ne' lo Spedale di S. Anna: dove, i frati e i preti posson visitarmi a voglia loro, nè sono impediti di farmi giovamento. E'l cenno di V. S. Illma. potrebbe esser Legge a tutti non che ammonitione: Oltrediciò può giovarmi in diverse maniere co' suoi Bolognesi medesimi: et in ciascuna d' esse mostrarmi la sua bontà congiunta a l' autorità: et in ciascuna, obbligarmi alla sua Casa, et a se stessa perpetuamente. Ma forse io non la supplico arditamente come havea detto, e come dovrei: perchè non basta la sanità, senza la libertà; e l' una, scompagnata da l' altra, sarebbe assai piccol dono di così gran Cardinale. Adunque le chiedo insieme. E benchè sia quasi disperato di risanare, nondimeno i salutiferi medicamenti, e gli efficaci rimedii, e l' allegrezza di vedermi libero potrebbero ritornarmi nel primo stato: ma soprattutto la gratia di N. S<sup>re</sup>. e di V. S. Illma. e la quale non dico il modo come possa farlo: perchè la prudenza glie le manifesta e l' alto grado glie le agevola—ma le scopro il bisogno, e la necessità, e l' infelicità degna di ritrovar compassione ne

l' animo suo religiosiss<sup>mo</sup>. : e le bacio humiliss<sup>te</sup>. le mani.  
Di Ferrara il xii d' Aprile del 1585.

Di V. S. Illma.

Humiliss<sup>mo</sup>. Ser<sup>o</sup>. TORQUATO TASSO.

*All' Ill<sup>mo</sup>. et Rmo. Sig<sup>re</sup>. e Padron  
mio Colendiss<sup>o</sup>. il Sig<sup>r</sup>. Cardinal  
Bon Compagno, Roma.*

6.

M. MAG<sup>co</sup>. SIG<sup>r</sup>. MIO OSSMO.

Supplicai l' altro giorno al Ser<sup>mo</sup>. Sig<sup>r</sup>. Duca di Ferrara: che mi facesse gratia di molte cose, e particolarmente di rendermi le mie robe. Le quali fosser consegnate a Don Giovan B<sup>ta</sup>. et a voi: nè debbo dubitare, da S. Altezza la gratia, ch' è molto picciola a la sua clemenza, et a la mia calamità: però vi piaccia di parlarne al Sig<sup>e</sup>. Crispo, et al Sig<sup>r</sup>. Cole <sup>mo</sup>: hora vi mando per Don Giò: Batta. Licinio cinque lettere d' opp<sup>ni</sup>: e di risposte. Le quali vorrei, che si stampassero con l' Apologia—non vogliate vi prego mancarmi della vostra promessa: e questo vi scrivo non per dubbio, ch' io n' abbia; ma per desiderio d' un altro anello. Serbate per l' ultimo foglio la ded<sup>ne</sup>. et amatemi. Di S. Anna il vii di Maggio del 1585.

Di V.

Ser<sup>te</sup>. il TASSO.

Pos. mio nipote vorrebbe una beretta, fate che le sia fatta: che de l' anello parlerò poi.

*Al Molto Mag<sup>co</sup>. Sig<sup>e</sup>. mio Oss<sup>mo</sup>.  
Il Sig<sup>e</sup>. Luca Scalabrino.*



## 7.

M. MAG<sup>co</sup>. SIG<sup>re</sup>. MIO OSS<sup>mo</sup>.

Io diedi i Mesi passati a V. S. un libro del Sig<sup>e</sup>. Alessandro Gendaglia: nel quale erano alcuni miei concieti, hora ha mandato un suo a dimandarlomi. Laonde vi prego, che glie lo diate: et havendo qualche risposta de l' Illmo. Patriarca Gonzaga, mi farete piacere di portarlami senza indugio e vi bacio le mani. Di S. Anna il p<sup>mo</sup>. di Dicem<sup>re</sup>. del 1585.

Di V. S.

Ser<sup>e</sup>. TORQ<sup>to</sup>. TASSO.

*Al M<sup>to</sup>. Mag<sup>co</sup>. Sig. mio Oss<sup>mo</sup>.*

*Il Sig. Luca Scalabrino.*

## 8.

ILLMO. SIG<sup>re</sup>. E PADRON MIO OSS<sup>mo</sup>.

Mandai a V. S. Illma. queste settimane passate cinquanta scudi d'oro et moneta; perch' io non li posso tener sicuri: e credo, chè l' Sig<sup>e</sup>. Luca Scalabrino al quale io gli diedi, li manderà a buon ricapito: non dico altro, se non ch' in questa camera c' è un folletto ch' apre le Casse e toglie i danari: benchè non in gran quantità ma non così piccola, che non possa discomodare un povero come son io. Se V. S. Illma. vuol\* farmi questa gratia di serbarmeli, me ne dia avviso e frattanto

\* In the original MSS. the *u* and *v* are indifferently used.

ch' io provedo d' altro sia contenta, di pigliarli e le bacio le mani. Di S. Anna li 9 di Dic<sup>re</sup>. del 1585.

Di V. S. R<sup>mo</sup>.

Aff<sup>mo</sup>. Ser<sup>e</sup>. TORQ<sup>to</sup>. TASSO.

*All' Illmo. e Rmo. Sig<sup>e</sup>. e Pron mio Colmo.*

*Il Sig. Patriarca Gonzaga. Roma.*

These letters may be thus translated:—

1.

VERY REVEREND MY VERY RESPECTABLE,

In the sheet which is arrived I fear that there is an error of the pen, but I am not quite sure of it: however it may be, take care that it is read thus, and that it is not published otherwise.

“If happiness is a reward, unhappiness is a punishment: but happiness is the intrinsic reward of virtue; then unhappiness is the internal punishment of vice:” and I recommend myself to you.

From S<sup>t</sup>. Anna, the 26<sup>th</sup> of June.

From your servt.

TASSO.

*To the very reverend my very venerable*

*Don Giovanni Batt<sup>ta</sup>. Licinio.*

2.

VERY MAGNIF. AND MY RESPECTABLE SIGNOR.

I cannot set my mind at ease, if I am not sure of your well-being: therefore I pray you to give me information concerning it, and if, as I believe, you are recovered, that you will do me the pleasure to come and see me: may it please the Providence of the Lord God to keep you in his protection.

S<sup>t</sup>. Anna, the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, 1584.

Of your Worship

The most affect. serv<sup>t</sup>. TORQ. TASSO.

*For the very Magn. my Lord, the very respectable*

*Signor Luca Scalabrino.*

## 3.

The translation of this letter has already been given.

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## 4.

VERY MAG<sup>r</sup>. SIGNOR AND DEAR AS MY BROTHER.

I write to the Most Illustrious Lord our master: and I recommend to him the business of my life—however I believe that he has not any need of a remembrancer: nevertheless I remind you yourself of it: and I recommend myself to you.

From Ferrara, the 11th of April, 1585.

Of your Worship,

The Brother to serve you, TORQ<sup>uo</sup>. TASSO.

*To the very Mag. Sig<sup>r</sup>. George Alessio,  
my most respectable.*

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## 5.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REV. AND MY  
MOST RESPECTABLE LORD.

After my imprisonment, and the infirmity of many years, if my pains have not purged away my errors, at least the clemency of Your Most Illustrious Lordship may easily pardon them: therefore I think that your benignity will make it allowable to ask with more courage than my calamity is wont to assume. I supplicate you, then, that you will interpose against the long and cruel perseverance of some men, nor suffer that death alone should be the close of my heavy sufferings—let them rather be terminated by compassion; for although that might be more easy to you in the territory of the Church than in any other; nevertheless, in this of Ferrara it will not be very difficult: because the Most Serene Lord Duke does not detain me in any of his prisons, but in the Hospital of St. Anna, where the brothers and the priests may visit me at their pleasure, and are not prevented from administering to my wants. Besides, a hint from Your Most Illustrious Lordship would be not only an admonition, but a law to all: in addition to which,

you may assist me in different ways amongst your Bolognese themselves; and in each demonstration of kindness give me a proof both of your goodness and of your authority; and moreover lay me under perpetual obligations to yourself and to your house. But perhaps I do not ask you with courage, as I had said I would, and as I ought to do; for health is not enough without liberty, and the one unaccompanied by the other would be a very small gift from so great a Cardinal. I ask, then, for both at once. And though I almost despair of being cured, nevertheless, salutary medicines, efficacious remedies, and the joy of finding myself free, might restore me to my former condition; but I account above all the favour of our Lord (the Pope) and of your most Illustrious Lordship; although I do not tell you the manner in which you may perform it; because it will be suggested by your prudence, and made easy by your high rank. All that I venture to disclose is, those wants and that misfortune which are truly worthy of awakening the compassion of your most religious soul: and I most humbly kiss your hands.

Of your most Illust. Lordship,

The most humble servant,

TORQUATO TASSO.

Ferrara, the 12th of April, 1585.

*To the most Illust. and most Rev. and my  
very venerable Patron, the Lord Cardinal  
Bon Compagno. Rome.*

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6.

MY VERY MAGNIFICENT AND RESPECTABLE SIGNOR,

I intreated, the other day, the most Serene Lord Duke of Ferrara, that he would grant me sundry favours, and particularly that he would restore to me my goods, so that they might be consigned to Don Giovanni Battista and to you: nor ought I to doubt of receiving from his Highness this favour, which is but a very small one, both in proportion to his clemency and to my calamity; therefore be pleased to speak of it to Signor Crispo, and to the Signor my other respectable friend. I now send you for Don Giovanni Battista Licinio five letters of objections and of answers, which I should wish to be printed with the apology: do not, I pray you, fail in your promise to me: I write this to you, not from any



doubt, but from the desire of another ring. Keep the dedication for the last sheet, and love me.

From your servant,

TASSO.

St. Anna, the 7th of May, 1585.

Postscript.—My nephew wants a cap; get one made for him: I will speak to you about the ring afterwards.

*For my very magnificent and respectable Signor,  
the Signor Luca Scalabrino.*

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7.

VERY MAGNIF. AND RESPECT. SIGNOR.

I gave, during the last months, to your Worship a book of the Signor Alessandro Gendaglia, in which were some thoughts of my own: he has now sent a person to ask me for it. Therefore, I pray you that you will give it to him; and when you have any answer from the Most Illustrious Patriarch Gonzaga, you will do me a favour to bring it to me without delay, and I kiss your hands.

From your Worship's servant,

TORQ. TASSO.

St. Anna, the 1st of December, 1585.

*For the very magnificent my Sig<sup>ra</sup>. the respectable  
Sig<sup>ra</sup>. Luca Scalabrino.*

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8.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNOR AND MY VERY RESPECTABLE LORD,

I sent your most illustrious Lordship, these few weeks back, fifty crowns in gold, because I cannot keep them safely myself: and I presume that the Signor Luca Scalabrino, to whom I gave them, will see them conveyed safe to hand: I shall only say that in this room of mine there is a demon that opens the boxes and takes out the money: in no great quantity, indeed, but not so little as not to incommode a poor fellow such as I am. If your most illustrious Lordship will do me this favour to take care of them for me, let me have advice of it; and whilst I provide otherwise, perhaps

you will have no objection to take them into your keeping. I kiss your hands.

Of your very Rev. Lordship,

The affectionate servant,

TORQUATO TASSO.

From St. Anna, the 9th of December, of the year 1585.

*To the most Illustrious and most Rev. Lord, and  
my very respectable Patron, the Lord Patriarch  
Gonzaga. Rome.*

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Since the preceding notices were written I have reconsidered the interesting subject to which they refer, and I have again visited the scene of Tasso's misfortunes. After mature deliberation, and following several writers through a course of somewhat devious criticism, I have returned to my original position, and have concluded, as before, that the poet was a victim, first of the wounded pride, and afterwards of the jealous fears, of Alphonso; and that his attachment to the Princess Leonora, not only was not the cause of his imprisonment, but was not even a serious passion.

As to the question of his mental infirmities, I must repeat that Dr. Black, whom I have before noticed as believing in his actual insanity, has not at all made out that the poet was a maniac, for whose cure bodily restraint was an indispensable or a salutary prescription. Symptoms, indeed, he occasionally manifested of a distempered imagination. He was not free from the superstitious terrors which have often beset more sober minds; and a fond contemplation of the reveries of

Plato made him either believe, or feign, that he was favoured with that intercourse which Numa, and which Socrates, had held with more than human beings.\*

That the irritability of Tasso approached, sometimes, to madness, seems probable ; but we can hardly agree with a French critic, that a decisive proof of his insanity, after his confinement, was the persuasion that he should be finally able to obtain from Alphonso something like justice, something like pity.†

To return to the attachment of the poet for Leonora of Este : Serassi thought he had put an end to that controversy. I must confess I thought so too. But let no one flatter himself that he has laid at rest any disputed question. This has been revived by Guingené and others, and latterly by the author of a new translation of the Jerusalem. Guingené thinks he has shown that Tasso was really a passionate admirer of Leonora : but to what do his proofs amount ? that Tasso wrote many verses to a Leonora, who, on some occasions it is certain, and on others it is possible, was Leonora of Este, and that the Sophronia of the Jerusalem was a portrait, probably, of the princess, the poet being her Olindo ; that his sighs for Leonora San Vitali and Lucretia Bendidio, were meant to conceal his real passion for the sister of Alphonso ; that his occasional coolness was but a disguise for his love ; and that when he pretended to ask for a

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\* The sprite was sometimes malicious, as is seen by the immediately preceding letter.

† Guingené, *Hist. Lit. d'Italie*, part ii., chap. xiv. p. 227.

reconciliation in the name and on the behalf of a friend, that friend was in fact himself.

To the first conclusion it may be replied, in the words of Guingené himself, that "the gallantry of the manners of the age caused the homage of a poet, when addressed to ladies of the highest rank, to be regarded as inconsequential, leading to nothing, and flattering without compromising them."\* The youthful bard who maintained fifty "AMOROUS CONCLUSIONS" in public debate, at the court of Ferrara, would have been thought deficient, not only in spirit, but in respect, had he failed to celebrate, and even to sigh, at least in poetry, for the mature charms of the presiding princess.

Secondly, to the surmise that Tasso's professed admiration for other women was but a cloak for his more ambitious passion, no reply can be made except that it is merely a surmise. In one of his letters Tasso entertains Leonora with the account of his love for Lucretia Bendidio, and of the artifice by which he persuaded his powerful rival Pigna to allow of his competition for the smiles of "this glorious lady," "*questa gloriosa signora.*"† Now I would beg to inquire of the experienced in the passion, if this is one of the topics on which a lover is likely to enlarge when writing to the real object of his adoration. Ovid, and the other authorities, do, I believe, teach that to gain the mistress it is sometimes advisable

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\* Hist. Lit. ib. tom. v. p. 238.

† Tass. Op. vol. ix. p. 313.



to address the handmaid ; but I should doubt the expediency of making the lady herself a confidante of the pretended passion.

M. Guingené's other conjectures, as to the simulation and dissimulation by which Tasso concealed, under feigned names and feigned circumstances, his real love for the princess, are merely conjectures, equally incapable of proof and of reply ; and as a specimen of this unsatisfactory method of treating the point in dispute, I shall extract his remark on the concluding sentence of Tasso's Will, of which I have previously given a copy from the original manuscript :—

Rappelons-nous les dernières volontés que le Tasse déposa, en partant pour la France, entre les mains d'un ami, et ce sonnet qu'il voulait sauver seul de l'oubli, et qui offre un de ces déguisements du nom de Léonore, dont nous avons vu d'autres exemples, et surtout cet appel fait à la protection de la princesse, qui l'accordera, disait-il, *pour l'amour de lui*. N'y voyons-nous pas le vœu d'un jeune homme passionné, pour que, si le sort dispose de lui dans une contrée lointaine, ses intérêts et sa mémoire puissent occuper après lui celle dont il emporte l'image ? Mais le Tasse, amoureux comme un poète, était discret comme un chevalier. L'ami, dépositaire de ce testament, ignora sans doute lui-même la nature du sentiment qui l'avait dicté ; nul autre ne fut admis dans ce secret, et je crois toujours fermement que l'indiscrétion de cet autre ami qui occasiona dans le palais du Duc une affaire d'éclat n'avait aucun rapport à Léonore.\*

Now let us see what the French critic assumes and expects us to make articles of our belief. In the first place, he says that Tasso wished to save the sonnet beginning,

“ Hor che l' aura mia dolce altrove spira ;”

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\* Hist. Litt., *ibid.* p. 237-8.

because that sonnet was addressed to Leonora, and was a record of his passion for her. We are to take for granted that Laura meant Leonora, and we are also to take for granted that, when Tasso positively asserted in his Will that this sonnet was written for *the service of a friend*, he said this only to deceive his executors, and because, "though amorous as a poet, he was discreet as a cavalier," and would be for ever the sole depositary of his secret passion for the princess.

But what becomes of this discretion if we are to attach any importance to the words which M. Guingené has put in italics, and which it is clear that author considered as almost decisive of the truth of his hypothesis, namely, "*for the love of me*"? Certainly, if this phrase was to be taken in the literal sense, that the princess loved the poet, there was an end of all mystery, and Tasso need not have concealed the fact that the sonnet which he wished to save was addressed to Leonora. The inferences of the critic are really inconsistent one with another; and even if this were not the case, any one who reads the Will cannot fail to remark that it furnishes proofs only of his anxiety for his own fame, and for the memory of his father, and that the incidental mention which he makes of Leonora only shows that he hoped the princess would extend her patronage of him even beyond his life, and enable his executor to carry his last wishes into complete effect.

After all his conjectures Guingené is, however, obliged to confess that the passion of which he finds so many

tokens was as much in the imagination as in the heart,\* and he coincides with Serassi in rejecting the fable which assigned to that cause the imprisonment of the injured poet.†

•Ugo Foscolo has slightly touched upon this subject in a short essay on the lyric poetry of Tasso,‡ which, if his own digamma did not discover the secret, would betray its author by the vigour, the fancy, and the acuteness that invariably distinguish even the most trifling compositions of this accomplished writer. But he has added nothing to our previous knowledge in this respect, and, after seeming to credit the story of the poet's attachment to Leonora of Este, he dismisses the subject by leading us to suspect that the object of Tasso's passion was rather a mistress than a sister of the Duke. It is true that he declares that the misfortunes of Tasso were the effect of an unconquerable and unhappy passion; but as he has made the assertion without advancing a single argument in proof of it, and without even an allusion to the many details and deductions of Serassi, which prove just the contrary, Foscolo has only afforded another instance of the truth of his own position, "that historians will be ever embarrassed to explain the reasons of Tasso's imprisonment."

I cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to

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\* Hist. Litt., ib. p. 243.

† Ib. p. 241.

‡ See New Monthly Magazine for Oct. 1822, p. 373, signed F.

a Life of Tasso prefixed to the translation of the Jerusalem Delivered, by Mr. Wiffen. This gentleman is positive that "there is no real foundation for the hypothesis which ascribes the imprisonment of Tasso to his love of Leonora ;" \* and he agrees with the opinion expressed in the Illustrations of the 4th canto of Childe Harold, that the source of the poet's calamity was "a few unguarded expressions, uttered in the paroxysm of passion, and deplored almost as soon as uttered." But the translator is a firm believer in the love of Tasso for Leonora of Este, and he is almost a believer in the love of Leonora for Tasso. Before remarking shortly on the grounds of this faith, I must be permitted to observe that the translator has mistaken the meaning when quoting the following words of the Illustrations of Childe Harold: "*Serassi seems throughout to be labouring with a secret, or, at least, a persuasion, which he is at a loss in what manner honestly to conceal.*" From these words the translator infers the "secret" to have been the mutual love of Tasso and Leonora. No such thing; the secret which Serassi had discovered, and did not choose to tell plainly, though he left the reader to infer it from his details, was that Tasso was cruelly and unjustly punished by Alphonso, as a state criminal who had spoken, and who might write, injuriously against the vindictive duke.

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\* P. cxx. Life of Tasso, prefixed to Translation of Jerusalem Delivered, by J. H. Wiffen. 1826. 2nd edition. He was librarian at Woburn Abbey.



The translator was probably a very young man, and, as such, inclined to attribute to love a greater influence in human affairs than will be allowed by those who have travelled farther in the path of life. He gives to his poet an extremely erotic parentage, for, according to him, the youth of Bernardo, the father of Tasso, was "spent in the cultivation of letters, and the celebration of an unsuccessful attachment," so that to love, and to love in vain, was the fatal birthright of Torquato. The translator relies much on the inferences of Guingené, and on his own discernment, which enables him to discover when the amatory effusions of the poet are expressive of a real, and when of a poetic, passion. But, allowing this gentleman to be ever so deeply read in the learning of love, the critics will not, it is to be feared, permit him to decide this celebrated controversy merely by his skill in detecting the "real symptoms of the passion." That skill and the instructions of Guingené enabled Mr. Wiffen to discover that certain love poems, which have hitherto wanted a direction, were, in fact, addressed to Leonora of Este; that where Tasso mourns the death of a beautiful lady (she was forty-four years of age), that lady was Leonora of Este; that where he indulges in a pleasing melancholy on the memory of past love, the "*dolce animetta mia*," "my life, my dulcet little soul," as the translator renders it,\* was no other than the very mature and awful princess of Este; and that the lady who spoke the

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\* Life of Tasso, p. cv.

‘dear little love words’\* (they are Mr. Wiffen’s expressions) to him on a balcony, and chided him for withdrawing his arm from hers, was the same princely virgin. It will be seen, from this latter instance, that Mr. Wiffen does not believe that the poet was condemned altogether to sigh in vain. He is, indeed, prudent enough to confess that “how far Leonora corresponded to this ardent love must ever remain an inscrutable mystery;”† but in another place the translator’s travels and researches in the “royaume du tendre” make him competent to decide that she “indulged with him in the simple luxury of loving.”‡

Without stopping to inquire into the exact nature of this “simple luxury,” I shall subjoin Mr. Wiffen’s logic of love in his own words, and show the manner in which he would prove that the princess in some degree returned the passion of the poet.

“Little as it [the correspondence of attachment] might seem to poor Tasso at this crisis, it was doubtless greater in reality than he was at all aware of, it being the policy and perhaps the prudence of a woman conscious of her own deserts, and of the sacredness of her virgin feelings, to conceal from the aspirant to her heart the full strength of the emotions with which he may inspire her. But as love burns necessarily out without some ray of hope, however slight, to enliven it, we may safely conclude that there were many gracious tokens on her part shown from time to time to preserve in the soul of her admirer for seventeen years a passion fervent as at first.”§

Poor Tasso! how could he be aware of the attachment which left him to languish in a dungeon, not only

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\* Life of Tasso, p. ci.

‡ Ib. p. lxxxix.

† Ib. p. c.

§ Ib. p. ci.

without an attempt at his relief, but without reply to his most pathetic complaint?

One word more with Mr. Wiffen. I have before noticed the use which Guingené has made of some expressions in Tasso's Will, but the English biographer thinks his predecessor has not made half enough of that document, and he *reasons* thus:—"But what is most worthy of remark in this instrument is the appeal to the princess with which it closes. 'Should an impediment take place in any of these matters, I intreat Sig. Hercules to have recourse to the favour of the most excellent Madam Leonora, which, *for the love I bear her*, she will liberally grant.' Do we not most clearly perceive in this appeal the fond project of a lover to occupy, in case it were his fortune to perish in a distant country, the memory of her whose image was stamped upon his heart?"\*

Mr. Wiffen has not only printed his translation of the important phrase in italics, but has given the original in triumphant capitals below, PER AMOR MIO. This is a most singular mistake, and I fear disqualifies the translator for criticism, either in love or grammar. Where could that gentleman learn that the translation of "per amor mio" is "*for the love I bear her*"?

Tasso merely says that if his friend Rondinelli should meet with any difficulty, or, in other words, should not procure money enough from the sale of his goods to

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\* Wiffen, Life of Tasso, p. xcvi.

raise the monument to his father, he would have him recur to the favour of the most excellent Mad. Leonora, "who" (not "*which*," as Mr. Wiffen has it), he says, "I trust, *for my sake*, will be liberal to him for that purpose."

Having pointed out this most egregious perversion of a very simple phrase, I shall not say anything of Mr. Wiffen's "fond projects," and stern "images stamp't" upon hearts, except to observe that the deduction and the fine sentimental phraseology are both borrowed from Guingené,\* who, as he had been copied so closely, might as well have been followed throughout the whole sentence, and have saved the English biographer from the sins and sad consequences of mistranslation.

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Since this was written a most audacious attempt has been made to prove that which was previously conjectured by the writers above alluded to, namely, the mutual love of Tasso and the princess Leonora. In the year 1834 I received a letter from the late Captain Basil Hall, dated 25th of November, from Gratz in Styria, informing me that a certain Count Alberti had discovered in the Falconieri library, at Rome, a manuscript correspondence between Tasso and the Princess Leonora of Este, which, if published, would set the disputed question completely at rest; and adding that, as the owner of this treasure was coming to England, he

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\* See Hist. Litt., tom. v. p. 237, before quoted.



wished me to become acquainted with him, in order, as he was pleased to say, "that I might assist him in advancing the cause of letters, and of truth, and, if it might be added, of true love." The MSS. had marginal notes by Guarini upon them. I heard no more of this Count Alberti until the other day (1856), when I was informed that in the very year mentioned by Captain Basil Hall, 1834, Alberti was arrested at Rome, and brought before a military tribunal, charged with having stolen certain MSS. of Tasso from the Falconieri library. These MSS. had formerly belonged to Foppa,—at least so said Alberti,—who, in 1666, published three volumes in quarto of Tasso's posthumous works, and whose collection of Tasso's MSS. had become, by inheritance, the property of the Falconieri family. Alberti produced a declaration of Orazio Falconieri, dated June 1825, by which it was made to appear that Alberti had bought the MSS. of this Falconieri; but it was afterwards held that this declaration was a forgery. At that time, however (that is, November 1834), Alberti was acquitted; and in 1837 he began to publish his MSS., illustrated with fac-similes, notes, and portraits. Before the edition was completed, he was accused of having forged the MSS. in question, and he was condemned to the galleys. What has become of him since I have inquired, but cannot learn.

The article TASSO in the '*Biographie Universelle*' takes a just view of the cause and cruelty of his

imprisonment. Speaking of his return to Ferrara, the author, Mr. de Angelis, says,—

“ Il est d’abord repoussé par les courtisans, outragé par les domestiques. Mal disposé comme il était envers les gens d’Alphonse, il se répand en invectives contre le Duc, contre sa famille, et les principaux personnages de la cour ; il regrette tant d’années perdues à leur service, se reproche les éloges qu’il leur a prodigués dans ses vers, et finit en les traitant de lâches et d’ingrats. Le Duc, informé de ses emportemens, au lieu de les regarder comme les symptômes d’un esprit malade, résolut d’en tirer vengeance ; et celui que l’Italie révérait comme son plus beau génie fut ignominieusement enfermé dans un hôpital de fous (Mars, 1579.) ” \*

#### FERRARA. ARIOSTO.

Before the remains of Ariosto were removed from the Benedictine church to the library of Ferrara, his bust, which surmounted the tomb, was struck by lightning, and a crown of iron laurels melted away. The event, which is alluded to by Lord Byron in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold*, has been recorded by a writer of the last century.† The transfer of these sacred ashes on the 6th of June, 1801, was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the short-lived Italian Republic ; and to consecrate the memory of the ceremony, the once famous fallen “ *Intrepidi* ” were revived and re-formed into the Ariostean academy. The large public place through which the

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\* *Biog. Univ.*, tom. xlv. p. 20.

† “ Mi raccontarono che’ monaci, ch’ essendo caduto un fulmine nella loro chiesa schiantò esso dalle tempie la corona di lauro a quell’ immortale poeta.”—*Op. di Bianconi*, vol. iii. p. 176, ed. Milano, 1802 ; lettera al Signor Guido Savini Arcifisiocritico, sull’ indole di un fulmine caduto in Dresda l’ anno 1759.

procession paraded was then for the first time called Ariosto Square. The author of the 'Orlando' is jealously claimed as the Homer, not of Italy, but Ferrara.\* The mother of Ariosto was of Reggio, and the house in which he was born is carefully distinguished by a tablet with these words: "Qui nacque Ludovico Ariosto il giorno 8 di Settembre dell' anno 1474." But the Ferrarese make light of the accident by which their poet was born abroad, and claim him exclusively for their own. They possess his bones, they show his arm-chair, and his ink-stand, and his autographs.

" . . . . Hic illius arma  
Hic currus fuit . . . ."

The house where he lived, the room where he died, are designated by his own replaced memorial,† and by a recent inscription. The Ferrarese are more jealous of their claims since the animosity of Denina, arising from a cause which their apologists mysteriously hint is not unknown to them, ventured to degrade their soil and climate to a Boeotian incapacity for all spiritual productions. A quarto volume has been called forth by the detraction, and this supplement to Barotti's Memoirs of the illustrious Ferrarese has been considered a trium-

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\* "Appassionato ammiratore ed invitto apologista dell' *Omero Ferrarese*." The title was first given by Tasso, and is quoted to the confusion of the *Tassisti*, lib. iii. pp. 262, 265.—*La Vita di M. L. Ariosto*, &c.

† "Parva sed apta mihi, sed nulli obnoxia, sed non  
Sordida, parta meo sed tamen ære domus."

phant reply to the 'Quadro Storico Statistico dell' Alta Italia.'

### REGGIO.

There is no country which can contend with Italy in the honours heaped upon the great men of past ages ; and the present race accuse themselves of living upon the labours of their ancestors, and, as is the usual reproach of heirs, of finding in their transmitted wealth an inducement to inactivity. The territorial divisions and subdivisions which contributed to the emulation of the luminaries themselves have tended to the preservation of their fame, and the jealousy of each little district guards the altar of its individual divinity, not only as the shrine which is to attract the pilgrims of united Europe, but as the birthright which is to distinguish it amongst the children of the same mother, and exalt it to a preference above its immediate neighbours. Italian rivalry, in default of those contests which employed the arts and arms of the middle ages, now vents itself in the invidious comparison of individual *fasti*, and in the innocent, ostentatious display not of deeds but names. Thus it is that there is scarcely a village in which the traveller is not reminded of the birth, or the residence, or the death, or the actions of one or more of the offspring of a soil fruitful in every production, but more especially the land of famous men. The affection with which even the lower classes appropriate the renown of their departed fellow-countrymen is very striking to a foreigner ; and such



expressions as "our Correggio," and "our Ariosto," in the mouth of a peasant, revive, as it were, not only the memory of the man, but the man himself. When Napoleon made his progress through his Italian dominions, the inhabitants of Reggio received him with a fête the principal decoration of which was a Temple of Immortality, painted at the end of a gallery, adorned with a double range of tablets to the honour of those worthies for whose existence the world had been indebted to the duchy of Reggio. The pretensions of Reggio may exemplify those of the other provinces of Italy, and the reader may not object to survey the pompous list.

Boiardo, Signore di Scandiano, epico, del secolo xv.

Guido da Lazara, giureconsulto, del secolo xiii.

Ludovico Ariosto, nato a Reggio, da Daria Maleguzi, Reggiana, lirico, comico, satirico, epico, del secolo xvi.

Domenico Toschi, Cardinale, Reggiano, giureconsulto, del secolo xvi.

Filippo Caroli, Reggiano, giureconsulto, del secolo xiv.

Antonio Pacchioni, Reggiano, anatomico, del secolo xvii.

Cesare Magati, Scandianese, medico e chirurgo, del secolo xvii.

Gianantonio Rocca, Reggiano, matematico, del secolo xvii.

Antonio Allegri, detto il Correggio da Correggio, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Tomaso Cambiatori, Reggiano, giureconsulto, oratore, poeta, del secolo xvi.

Sebastiano Conradi di Arceto, grammatico e critico, del secolo xvi.

Lelio Orsi, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Vincenzo Cartari, Reggiano, filologo, del secolo xvi.

Rafaello Motta, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Guido Panciroli, Reggiano, giureconsulto, storico, filologo, del secolo xvi.

Ludovico Parisetti, Reggiano, poeta Latino, del secolo xvi.

Gasparo Scaroffi, Reggiano, economista, del secolo xvi.

Luca Ferrari, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvii.

Domenico Ceccati, da Stiano, scultore ed intagliatore, del secolo xvii.

Antonio Vallisnera da Scandiano, medico, naturalista, del secolo xvii.

Pellegrino Sallandri, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Agostino Paradisi, Reggiano, economista, oratore, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Francesco Fontanesi, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Jacopo Zannoni da Montecchio, botanico, del secolo xvii.

Lazzari Spalanzani da Scandiano, naturalista, del secolo xviii.

Laura Bassi di Scandiano, fisica, del secolo xviii.

Carlo Antonioli da Correggio, filologo, del secolo xviii.

Francesco Cassoli, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

\* Luigi Lamberti, Reggiano, filologo e poeta, del secolo xviii.

Antonio Gamborini, Reggiano, teologo, del secolo xviii.

Bonaventura Corti, Reggiano, fisico, del secolo xviii.

## PETRARCH AND LAURA. VAUCLUSE.

Thanks to the critical acumen of a Scotchman, we know as little of Laura as ever.\* The discoveries of the Abbé de Sade, his triumphs, his sneers, no longer

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\* See An Historical and Critical Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch, and a Dissertation on an Historical Hypothesis of the Abbé de Sade; the first appeared about the year 1784, the other is inserted in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and both have been incorporated into a work published, under the first title, by Ballantyne in 1810. Tiraboschi, after praising the Abbé de Sade very copiously, devotes a whole treatise of forty-two octavo pages to exposing his blunders, but gives him full credit for having decided the great question as to the family and condition of Laura, though he says it is no wonder that the discovery was not made before. "Ciò che tutto a lui deesi, si è l'aver finalmente decisa la gran questione intorno alla famiglia e alla condizione di Laura, che egli ha svolta tanto felicemente, e comprovata con sì autentici monumenti, che più non rimane luogo a disputarne."—See *Riflessioni sopra la Vita di Francesco Petrarca, scritta dall' Abate de Sade*, prefixed to the *Petrarch* of the Milan edition of 1805.

instruct or amuse.\* We must not, however, think that these memoirs are as much a romance as Belisarius or the Incas, although we are told so by Dr. Beattie, a great name but a little authority.† His “labour” has not been in vain, notwithstanding his “love” has, like most other passions, made him ridiculous.‡ The hypothesis which overpowered the struggling Italians, and carried along less interested critics in its current, is run out. We have another proof that we can be never sure that the paradox, the most singular, and therefore having the most agreeable and authentic air, will not give place to the re-established ancient prejudice.

It seems, then, first, that Laura was born, lived, died, and was buried, not in Avignon, but in the country. The fountains of the Sorga, the thickets of Cabrières, may resume their pretensions, and the exploded *de la Bastie* again be heard with complacency. The hypothesis of the Abbé had no stronger props than the parchment sonnet and medal found on the skeleton of the wife of Hugo de Sade, and the manuscript note to the Virgil of Petrarch, now in the Ambrosian library. If these proofs were both incontestable, the poetry was written, the medal composed, cast, and deposited within

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\* *Mémoires pour la Vie de Pétrarque.*

† Life of Beattie, by Sir S. Forbes, t. ii. p. 106.

‡ Gibbon called his *Memoirs* “*a labour of love*” (see *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx. note 1), and followed him with confidence and delight. The compiler of a very voluminous work must take much criticism upon trust; Gibbon has done so, though not so readily as some other authors.

the space of twelve hours ; and these deliberate duties were performed round the body of one who died of the plague, and was hurried to the grave on the day of her death. These documents, therefore, are too decisive : they prove not the fact, but the forgery. Either the sonnet or the Virgilian note must be a falsification. The Abbé cites both as incontestably true ; the consequent deduction was inevitable—they were both suspected of being false.\*

Secondly, the Scotch critic would make us believe that Laura was never married, and was a haughty virgin rather than that *tender and prudent* wife who honoured Avignon by making that town the theatre of an honest French passion, and played off for one-and-twenty years her *little machinery* of alternate favours and refusals †

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\* The sonnet had before awakened the suspicions of Horace Walpole : see his letter to Wharton in 1763. Foscolo quotes the Virgilian memorandum, as if there had been no doubt of its authenticity.—*Essay on the Love of Petrarch*, p. 35, edit. 1823. Tiraboschi had decided in favour of it ; but he was fair enough to own that it had been questioned by some “monumento di cui alcuni han voluto rinvocare in dubbio l' autorità.”—*Vita del Petrarca*, p. xcii. The chief sceptics were Vellutello, Gesvaldo, and Tassoni ; but Guingéné says that the doubts of these sceptics in this matter had been cleared up, and their objections refuted,—“mais leurs doutes ont été éclaircis, et leurs objections réfutées.”—*Hist. Lit.*, chap. xii. sect. 11, p. 440, note. A careful reperusal (1857) of de la Bastie's essays and of Lord Woodhouselee's essay has, however, convinced me that the probabilities are against the authenticity of the Virgilian note, and that the story of the discovery of the parchment sonnet in Laura's supposed coffin was a gross fiction. De la Bastie's essays are in the volumes xv. and xvii. of the Academy of Inscriptions.

† “Par ce petit manège, cette alternative de faveurs et de rigueurs



upon the first poet of the age. It seemed, indeed, rather too hard that a female should be made responsible for eleven children upon the faith of an abbreviation, and the decision of a librarian.\* It is, however, satisfactory to think that the love of Petrarch was not a fiction. The happiness which he prayed to possess but once, and for a moment,† was surely not of the mind, and something so very real as a marriage project, with one who has been idly called a shadowy nymph, may be, perhaps,

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bien ménagées, une femme tendre et sage amuse, pendant vingt et un ans, le plus grand poète de son siècle, sans faire la moindre brèche à son honneur.”—*Mém. pour la Vie de Pétrarque*, Préface aux François. The Italian editor of the London edition of Petrarch, who has translated Lord Woodhouselee, renders the “femme tendre et sage” “*raffinata civetta*.”—*Riflessioni intorno a Madonna Laura*, vol. iii. p. 234, ed. 1811.

\* In a dialogue with St. Augustin, Petrarch has described Laura as having a body exhausted with repeated *ptubs*. The old editors read and printed *perturbationibus*; but Mr. Capperonier, librarian to the French king in 1762, who saw the MS. in the Paris library, made an attestation that “*on lit, et qu'on doit lire, partubus exhaustum*.” De Sade joined the names of Messrs. Boudot and Bejot to that of Mr. Capperonier, and in the whole discussion on this *ptubs* showed himself a downright literary rogue.—See *Riflessioni*, &c., p. 267. Thomas Aquinas is called in to settle whether Petrarch's mistress was a *chaste* maid or a *continent* wife. Foscolo has given reasons for believing the word to have been “*partubus*,” but the context, which de Sade omitted to quote, gives authority to the other reading. Noticing these *ptubs*, Petrarch compares his own sufferings to those of Laura, which he is not likely to have done if they were those of childbirth.

† “Pigmalion, quanto lodar ti dei  
Dell' imagine tua, se mille volte  
N' avesti quel ch' i sol una vorrei.”

—*Sonetto* 58, p. 189, edit. Venet. 1756.

detected in at least six places of his own sonnets.\* The love of Petrarch was neither platonic nor poetical; and if in one passage of his works he calls it “amore vee-mentissimo, ma unico ed onesto,” he confesses in a letter to a friend that it was guilty and perverse, that it absorbed him quite, and mastered his heart.†

In this case, however, he was, perhaps, alarmed for the culpability of his wishes, for the Abbé de Sade himself, who certainly would not have been scrupulously delicate if he could have proved his descent from Petrarch as well as Laura, is forced into a stout defence of his virtuous grandmother. As far as relates to the poet, we have no security for the innocence, except, perhaps, in the constancy, of his pursuit. He assures us in his epistle to posterity that, when arrived at his fortieth year, he not only had in horror, but had lost all recollection and image of any “irregularity.”‡ But the birth of his natural daughter cannot be assigned earlier than his thirty-ninth year; and either the memory or the morality of the poet must have failed him, when he forgot or was guilty of this *slip*.§ The weakest argument for the

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\* See *Riflessioni*, &c., p. 291.

† “Quella rea e perversa passione che solo tutto mi occupava e mi regnava nel cuore.” Tiraboschi, and after him Ugo Foscolo, have set this question at rest. The passion of Petrarch for Laura was of the usual kind, no doubt; and that it was never gratified is equally clear.—See *Essay on the Love of Petrarch*, p. 219.

‡ *Azion disonesta* are his words.

§ “A questa confessione così sincera diede forse occasione una nuova caduta ch’ei fece.”—Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c., tom. v. lib. iv., par. ii. p. 492.

purity of this love has been drawn from the permanence of effects, which survived the object of his passion. The reflection of Mr. de la Bastie, so much approved by the amiable Scotchman,\* that virtue alone is capable of making impressions which death cannot efface, is one of those which everybody applauds, and everybody finds not to be true, the moment he examines his own breast or the records of human feeling.† Such apophthegms can do nothing for Petrarch or for the cause of morality, except with the very weak and the very young. He that has made even a little progress beyond ignorance and pupilage cannot be edified with anything but truth. What is called vindicating the honour of an individual or a nation is the most futile, tedious, and uninstruative of all writing; although it will always meet with more applause than that sober criticism which is attributed to the malicious desire of reducing a great man to the common standard of humanity. It is, after all, not unlikely that our historian was right in retaining his favourite hypothetic salvo, which secures the author, although it scarcely saves the honour of the mistress of Petrarch.‡

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\* Life and Character of Petrarch, p. 219, 2nd edit.

† “*Il n’y a que la vertu seule qui soit capable de faire des impressions que la mort n’efface pas.*”—M. de Bimard, Baron de la Bastie, in the *Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. xv. and xvii. See also *Riflessioni*, &c., p. 295.

‡ “And if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry.”—*Decline and Fall*, vol. xii. cap. lxx. p. 327, oct. Perhaps the *if* is here meant for *although*. I wrote the above sentence when very

Guingené contends for the purity of Petrarch's love.\* But it must be confessed that this candid author gives to the pure passion certain symptoms which may easily be confounded with that feeling which Petrarch himself avows was criminal.† Of all the very famous men that ever lived, Petrarch appears to have been more distin-

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young. Now that I have arrived (1857) at the opposite extremity of life, I have satisfied myself that there is conclusive evidence to be derived from the writings of Petrarch himself, to say nothing of other testimonies, that Laura deserved the praises and the complaints of her immortal lover, and never rewarded his poetry by any criminal compliance with his passion. The Scotch critic concludes that he has cited authorities sufficient to prove that the only object of the poet was a lawful marriage with his virgin mistress—a consummation disappointed by death.

Tranquillo porto avea mostrato amore  
A la mia lunga e turbida tempesta,  
Già traduceva a' begli ochi 'l mio core,  
E l' alta fede non più lor molesta,  
Ahi morte ria, come à schiantar se' presta  
Il frutto di molt' anni in sì poche hore.

—*Sen.* 49, part ii.

\* “La pureté d'un sentiment que ni le temps, ni l'âge, ni la mort même de celle qui en étoit l'objet ne purent éteindre, a trouvé beaucoup d'incrédules; mais on est aujourd'hui forcé de reconnoître, d'une part, que ce sentiment fut très réel et très profond dans le cœur de Pétrarque; de l'autre, que si Pétrarque toucha celui de Laure, il n'obtint jamais d'elle rien de contraire à son devoir.”—*Hist. Lit. d'Italie*, chap. xii. sect. i. tom. ii. p. 242, edit. 1824.

† “Pétrarque, de retour dans sa solitude, livré à des agitations toujours plus fortes, n'avait point de soulagement plus doux que d'épancher dans ses poésies touchantes les sentiments dont il étoit comme oppressé.”<sup>a</sup> Many similar passages might be quoted. “Un sentiment purement platonique ne donne point les agitations et le trouble où on le voit sans cesse plongé.”<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> *Hist. Lit.*, *ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382.



guished than others by a sort of supernatural renown. His love was believed to be of the angelic kind; his poetic genius made him, like Virgil, a magician in the eyes of the Pope and the people;\* and a false report of his death and funeral having been spread, he no sooner reappeared than he was taken for a spectre or shadow of the departed laureate, permitted to revisit earth; and some who saw him would not, without touching him, believe that he was a living man.† A blind man made a long journey merely to touch him.‡ If we look at the character of Petrarch under certain aspects, he must appear scarcely sane. The deferential homage with which he was treated by all men, from the throne to the cottage, from the Emperor Charles IV. to the goldsmith of Bergamo, may well have turned his head: nor can we wonder that, whilst he calls himself “a simple individual of the human flock,” he should compare himself indirectly to the most illustrious men in history, nor that he cannot inform posterity of the origin of his family without borrowing the words of Augustus.§

There was something crazy in the very temperament

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\* One of the proofs given to Pope Innocent VI. of Petrarch's dealing in the black art was his attachment to Virgil.—De la Bastie, *Mém.*, vol. xvii. p. 435.

† *Hist. Lit.*, chap. xii. sect. i. tom. ii. p. 369.

‡ De la Bastie gives a detailed account of this journey, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xvii.

§ On the Character of Petrarch, p. 126 :—“Vestro de grege unus : fui autem mortalis homuncio, nec magnæ admodum, sed nec vilis originis : familia, ut de se ait Augustus, antiqua.”—*Epist. ad Poster.*

that made him immortal, and in his remedies for it ; at one time writing a sonnet on seeing his cold mistress kissed on the forehead and eyes by a prince in a ball-room,\* and at another by whipping himself.†

Mr. Hallam, with an enthusiasm seldom to be found in his useful works, says that “Dante and Petrarch are, as it were, the morning stars of our modern literature ;” and adds, very truly, that Petrarch “gave purity, elegance, and even stability to the Italian language, which has been incomparably less changed during near five centuries since his time, than it was in one between the age of Guido Guinizzelli and his own ; and none have denied him the honour of having restored a true feeling of classical antiquity in Italy, and consequently in Europe.”—(‘Literature of Europe,’ &c., vol. i., pp. 56, 57, chap. i.)

The only modern contemporary writer who has somewhat questioned the merits of Petrarch’s love, and Petrarch’s love-poetry, is Sismondi. “J’aurais voulu,” says he, “pour comprendre l’amour de Pétrarque, et m’y

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\* The note of Soave to the Milan edition of Petrarch, 1805 (p. 265), ascribes this celebrated salute to a prince of Anjou ; De la Bastie and Guingené to Charles of Luxembourg, afterwards the Emperor Charles IV., with greater probability.

† “La mia sanità è sì forte, sì robusto il mio corpo, che nè un’ età più matura, nè occupazioni più serie, nè l’astinenza, nè i flagelli non potrebbero domar del tutto questo ricalcitante giumento, a cui fo continua guerra.”—*Extract from a Letter to Guido da Settimo.* Tiraboschi, *Vita del Petrarca*, p. xlix. His “kicking jade” was, however, the glory as well as the torment of his illustrious life.

intéresser, que les deux amans s'entendissent un peu" . . . "je suis fatigué de ce voile toujours baissé, non seulement sur la figure, mais sur l'esprit et sur le cœur de cette femme, éternellement célébrée par des vers toujours semblables." But the worthy Swiss-Tuscan shrinks from his own criticism, and adds, "Cependant, mettant de côté, autant qu'il dépendra de moi, une pré-vention contre Pétrarque, dont je rougis, puisqu'elle est en opposition avec le goût universel," \* &c. &c.

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\* Littérature Italienne, xiv. siècle, tom. i., pp. 408, 410, edit. 1813.

In a letter from Hurd to Warburton (ccix. of edit. 1809, p. 425 *et seq.*) I find a strange attempt to compare Petrarch with Rousseau. "Were ever two men," says he, "so like each other as this citizen of Rome and the citizen of Geneva?" How the Bishop of Worcester came to call Petrarch a citizen of Rome, especially as he had been just reading, so he tells Warburton, a Life of Petrarch, I cannot understand. His connexion with Rome and Romans, popes and patriots, is sufficiently notorious, and previously to his coronation in the Capitol he may have been presented with the freedom of the city; but the Bishop is the first writer, so far as I am aware, that ever called him a citizen of Rome. In one of Hurd's conjectures I agree, namely, that Petrarch was hardly sane. I hazarded this opinion before I was aware that Hurd had arrived at the same conclusion. The whole of his parallel may be worth quoting.

"Great elegance of mind and susceptibility of temper in our two citizens—the same pride of virtue and love of liberty in each, but these principles easily overpowered by the ruling passion, an immoderate vanity and self importance—one sees in both the same inconstancy and restlessness of humour, the same caprice, and spleen and delicacy. Both ingenious and eloquent in a high degree; both impelled by an equal enthusiasm, though directed towards different objects; Petrarch's towards the glory of the Roman name, Rousseau's towards his idol of a state of nature. Both querulous, impatient, unhappy; the one religious indeed, and the other an *esprit fort*; but may not Petrarch's spite to Babylon be considered, in his time, as a

## BOLOGNA. MEZZOFANTI. SIGNORA TAMBRONI.

At Bologna I had on two occasions the opportunity of witnessing instances of the extraordinary faculty of Mezzofanti. In 1817 I visited the great library of that city, of which he was principal librarian, in company with a near relation of mine, who had for some time been resident at Calcutta. We were received by Mezzofanti with the utmost courtesy, and conversed with him in our own language, with which he seemed almost as familiar as ourselves. On my mentioning that my relation had just returned from Calcutta, the librarian addressed him in the common colloquial vernacular of that capital, and I was assured by my companion that he spoke with a fluency and accuracy scarcely to be distinguished from the talk of a native Hindoo.

At my second visit to Bologna, in 1822, I was conversing with him in the library, when a stranger entered, and, addressing him in Italian, asked him for a book. Mezzofanti informed him that the book was in the library, and that, if he would call the next day, it would

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species of *free thinking*? Both susceptible of high passions in love and friendship; but of the two the Italian more constant, and less umbrageous. In a word, both mad; but Rousseau's madness of a darker vein; Petrarch's, the finer and more amiable phrenzy."

Warburton says of this, "Your parallel is a charming thing" (Letter cex.), and exhorts his friend to compose a Book of Parallels, and adding, "You have a peculiar talent for this enchanting sort of composition."—1860.



be placed before him. When the stranger withdrew I asked who he was. Mezzofanti replied that he had never seen the stranger before, but that he had asked for a book which it was most improbable would ever be asked for except by one person, and that he was an Englishman, the book being a Chinese work; "and," said Mezzofanti, "unless I am much mistaken, that gentleman is Mr. Manning, who, you know, has lived several years in China." Mezzofanti was right. I came the next day, and found that Mr. Manning had been to the library and consulted the volume in question, conversing with Mezzofanti in Chinese.

I was indebted to the courtesy of Mezzofanti for an introduction to the Signora Tambroni, Professor of Greek in the University of Bologna. He took me to see that celebrated lady. She received us in a small apartment, up several pair of stairs: the room was strewn with books; her professional cap and gown were on a chair, materials for writing, and a cup of coffee, on a small table, beside her. She rose as we entered, and the noble expression of her features, her majestic figure, and graceful air and manner, reminded me much of Mrs. Siddons. She was not young, but was still beautiful. Her voice was solemn but sweet, and there was a modest dignity in her address most becoming her noble employment. When informed that I had visited the plain of Troy, she seemed pleased with our visit; but when Mezzofanti alluded to some Greek poems which she had recently published, she would not accept the

professor's compliments. "They are nothing," said she, smiling, and changed the subject. At my next visit to Bologna she was dead, but held in affectionate remembrance; and her portrait, with cap and gown, was seen amongst those of the professors who had conferred honour on the famous university.

The subsequent career of Mezzofanti was more honourable to those who placed him amongst the Princes of the Church, than advantageous to his own renown. As member of the College of Cardinals, he added little or nothing to his former fame; but he will be always recollected as possessed of the most prodigious memory that a country abounding in such marvels ever produced.\*

#### FLORENCE. THE TRIBUNE.

What a sagacious observer, who travelled when I was first in Italy, remarks, is quite true. Mr. Bell says, "The statues of the Tribune, the most exquisite in the world, are lodged in a mean and gloomy chamber, a dull, tasteless, dreary, and melancholy apartment."† But that fact did not strike me so much as that which I witnessed in that famous room. A lady, an English-

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\* Fra. Pacifico, a peasant child, is mentioned by Cardinal Wiseman as being able, after hearing a sermon preached only once, to repeat it almost word for word. He became a most eloquent preacher, and used to dictate a sermon to a secretary, and then preach it without reading it over at all.—See Wiseman's *Four Popes*, p. 163, note.

† Observations on Italy, by John Bell, edit. 1834, p. 48, vol. i.

woman, was sitting with her back to the Venus de Medicis, with a young man flirting with her, so assiduously and earnestly that neither the one nor the other seemed to be aware that they were within a yard of "the statue that enchants the world." The man, however, had some excuse for his indifference to high art, for the living object of his attention was exceedingly beautiful.

The Venus has all the characteristics indispensable to beauty. "She is comparatively small, measuring only four feet, eleven inches, and four lines; she is smooth; she is varied in the direction of component parts, and these parts are not angular, but moulded, as it were, into each other." She seems the prototype of Burke's ideal model; and so exquisite are all her proportions, that any observer can detect at once that portion of the statue which did not belong to the original figure.\* There is an affectation in the manner of the restored hands, and especially in the curve of the right hand, that is most unpleasing—so says the high authority before quoted; † and Mr. Bell adds to this criticism on the Venus a less obvious remark on the Dancing Faun, "the most exquisite piece of art of all that remains of the ancients;" for he hazards the conjecture that

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\* She suffered most, as we are told by Richardson, in her conveyance from Rome to Florence.—"*An Account of some of the Statues*," London, 1722, p. 128.

† Observations, &c., p. 56. A work of surpassing merit in every respect. Some of the descriptions are most vivid, and, to those who recollect the early death of the author, most affecting.

Michael Angelo, in restoring the head and arms, perhaps from an antique gem, mistook the limbs of a drunken old Faun, balancing from inebriety, for those of a youngster "dancing with glee." This may be so; but the restoration is a wonderful work, and no one but an anatomist would see the alleged incongruity of the parts.

### THE WHETTER.

It seems strange that the character of that disputed statue, the Whetter, should not be entirely decided, at least in the mind of any one who has seen a sarcophagus in the vestibule of the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls, at Rome, where the whole group of the fable of Marsyas is seen in tolerable preservation; and the Scythian slave whetting the knife is represented exactly in the same position as this celebrated masterpiece. The slave is not naked: but it is easier to get rid of this difficulty than to suppose the knife in the hand of the Florentine statue an instrument for shaving, which it must be, if, as Lanzi supposes, the man is no other than the barber of Julius Cæsar. Winckelmann, illustrating a bas-relief of the same subject, follows the opinion of Leonard Agostini, and his authority might have been thought conclusive, even if the resemblance did not strike the most careless observer.\*

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\* See Monim. Ant., ined., par. i. cap. xvii. n. xlii. p. 50; and Storia delle Arti, &c., lib. xi. cap. i. tom. ii. p. 314, note B.



The student who, from the four masterpieces of sculpture, turns to the glorious paintings of this wonderful little room, has an opportunity of testing the truth of Sir Joshua Reynolds's remarks on the "divine" master, the reformer and finisher of modern art, and in no peculiarity more distinct and specific than that he is not to be duly appreciated by the unlearned, nor at first sight. It was not until I had read the affecting farewell discourse of our great painter to the pupils of the Royal Academy, that I understood why, of all the pictures of the Tribune, I admired the Michael Angelo the least.\*

#### DANTE.

Dante was born in Florence in the year 1261. He fought in two battles, was fourteen times ambassador, and once prior of the republic. When the party of Charles of Anjou triumphed over the Bianchi, he was absent on an embassy to Pope Boniface VIII., and was condemned to two years' banishment, and to a fine of 8000 lire; on the non-payment of which he was further punished by the sequestration of all his property. The republic, however, was not content with this satisfaction, for in 1772 was discovered in the archives at Florence a sentence in which Dante is the eleventh of a list of fifteen condemned in 1302 to be burnt alive; *Talis*

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\* Said to be the only authenticated easel picture of Michael Angelo. See Duppa's *Life of M. Angelo* (1807), p. 282.

*pervenians igne comburatur sic quod moriatur.* The pretext for this judgment was a proof of unfair barter, extortions, and illicit gains. *Baracteriarum iniquarum, extorsionum, et illicitorum lucrorum,\** and after such an accusation it is not strange that Dante should have always protested his innocence, and the injustice of his fellow citizens. His appeal to Florence was accompanied by another to the Emperor Henry, and the death of that sovereign in 1313 was the signal for a sentence of irrevocable banishment.† He had before lingered near Tuscany with hopes of recall; then travelled into

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\* Storia della Lett. Ital., tom. v. lib. iii. p. 448. Tiraboschi's date is incorrect.

† From a letter of Dante's lately discovered (in the Laurentian Library), it appears that about the year 1316 his friends succeeded in obtaining his restitution to his country and possessions on condition that he compounded with his calumniators, avowed himself guilty, and asked pardon of the commonwealth.—See Foscolo's Essay, *A Parallel between Dante and Petrarch*, &c., pp. 202-3, where his glorious refusal is given, concluding thus:—"Quidni nonne solis astrorumque specula ubique conspiciam? nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub celo [sic] ni prius inglorium immo ignominiosum populo, florentinæ civitati me reddam? quippe panis non deficiet."—*Appendix*, p. 277. Dante could, however, at times indulge in feelings respecting his countrymen which might help to reconcile him to exile, *e. g.*, "E questa forse tu nol sai, Firenze? Questa crudel morte è chiamata: questa è la vipera volta nel ventre della madre: questa è la pecora inferma, la quale col suo appressamento contamina la grege del suo Signore: Questa è Mirra scelerata ed empia, la quale s' infiamma nel fuoco degli abbracciamenti del padre." Thus wrote Dante to the Emperor Henry VII.; and well might Foscolo add, "Firenze, 'bellissima, nel "Convito" famosissima figlia di Roma,' qui morde da vipera le viscere della madre; e il padre incestuoso era il Papa."—*Discorso sul Testo*, p. 222.

the north of Italy, where Verona had to boast of his longest residence, and he finally settled at Ravenna, which was his ordinary but not constant abode until his death. The refusal of the Venetians to grant him a public audience, at the prayer of Guido Novello da Polenta his protector, is said to have been the principal cause of this event, which happened in 1321. He was buried ("in sacra Minorum æde") at Ravenna, in a handsome tomb, which was erected by Guido, restored by Bernardo Bembo in 1483, Pretor for that republic which had refused to hear him, again restored by Cardinal Corsi in 1692, and replaced by a more magnificent sepulchre, constructed in 1780 at the expense of the Cardinal Luigi Valenti Gonzaga. The offence or misfortune of Dante was an attachment to a defeated party, and, as his least favourable biographers allege against him, too great a freedom of speech and haughtiness of manner. But the next age paid honours almost divine to the exile. The Florentines, having in vain and frequently attempted to recover his body, crowned his image in a church,\* and his picture is still one of the idols of their cathedral. They struck medals, they raised statues to him. The cities of Italy, not being able to dispute about his own birth, contended for that of his great poem, and the Florentines thought it for

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\* So says Ficino; but some think his coronation only an allegory.—*Storia*, ubi sup., p. 453. There is now a large monument to him in the Santa Croce at Florence, with this inscription, "Onorate l' altissimo Poeta"—from his own poem.

their honour to prove that he had finished the seventh canto before they drove him from his native city. Fifty-one years after his death they endowed a professorial chair for the expounding of his verses, and Boccacio was appointed to this patriotic employment. The example was imitated by Bologna and Pisa, and the commentators, if they performed but little service to literature, augmented the veneration which beheld a sacred or moral allegory in all the images of his mystic muse. His birth and his infancy were discovered to have been distinguished above those of ordinary men: the author of the *Decameron*, his earliest biographer, relates that his mother was warned in a dream of the importance of her pregnancy; and it was found, by others, that at ten years of age he had manifested his precocious passion for that wisdom, or theology, which, under the name of Beatrice, had been mistaken for a substantial mistress. When the *Divine Comedy* had been recognised as a mere mortal production, and at the distance of two centuries, when criticism and competition had sobered the judgment of Italians, Dante was seriously declared superior to Homer;\* and though the preference appeared to some casuists "an heretical blasphemy worthy of the flames," the contest was vigorously maintained for nearly fifty years. In later times it was made a question which of the Lords of Verona could

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\* By Varchi, in his *Ercolano*. The controversy continued from 1570 to 1616. See *Storia*, &c., tom. vii. lib. iii. par. iii. p. 1280.



boast of having patronised him,\* and the jealous scepticism of one writer would not allow Ravenna the undoubted possession of his bones. Even the critical Tiraboschi was inclined to believe that the poet had foreseen and foretold one of the discoveries of Galileo. Like the great originals of other nations, his popularity has not always maintained the same level. The last age seemed inclined to undervalue him as a model and a study; and Bettinelli one day rebuked his pupil Monti for poring over the harsh and obsolete extravagances of the *Commedia*. The present generation having recovered from the Gallic idolatries of Cesarotti, has returned to the ancient worship, and the *Danteggiare* of the northern Italians is thought even indiscreet by the more moderate Tuscans.†

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\* Gio. Jacopo Dionisi, canonico di Verona. Serie di Aneddoti, n. 2. See Storia, &c., tom. v. lib. i. par. i. p. 24.

† Foscolo, in the opening sentence of his 'Parallel between Dante and Petrarch,' writes thus:—"The excess of erudition in the age of Leo X. carried the refinements of criticism so far as even to prefer elegance of taste to boldness of genius. The laws of the Italian language were thus deduced, and the models selected, exclusively from the works of Petrarch, who being thus proclaimed superior to Dante, the sentence remained until our times unreversed. Petrarch himself mingles Dante indiscriminately with others eclipsed by his own fame:—

Ma ben ti prego, che in la terza spera  
Guitton salute, e messer Cino e Dante.

*Trionf.*, p. 164.

Whether Petrarch was really insensible to, or jealous of, the genius of Dante, may be a matter of speculation; but there is no

## FOSCOLO.

I would strongly recommend to every lover of Italy, of Italian literature, and especially of Dante, the careful perusal of the first of the volumes published, in 1842, by Rolandi, 'La Commedia di Dante Alighieri, illustrata da Ugo Foscolo.' The preface to this edition, by an Italian (Mazzini), is worthy of the work, and shows the fervour of that worship of which Foscolo himself was deemed scarcely worthy to be a priest, although he has doubtless done more to illustrate the great object of Italian veneration than any preceding writer. From

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doubt that Boccaccio suspected him of that defect.<sup>a</sup> This Parallel is very instructive, and is perhaps the most masterly and eloquent of all the critical essays produced by Foscolo during his last days in England. I doubt if a more interesting combination of characters and circumstances can be imagined than the earnest endeavour of Boccaccio to persuade Petrarch to read Dante.<sup>b</sup>

The 'Inferno' which Lord Byron, when residing at Ravenna, habitually carried about with him, is in my possession. He gave the volume to me at Pisa in 1822. I then took leave of him, to see him no more. In the fly-leaf is the following memorandum in his handwriting:—

“*Ravenna, June 12, 1819.*

“This edition,<sup>c</sup> in three volumes, of 'La Divina Commedia,' I placed with my own hands upon the tomb of Dante, in this city, at the hour of four in the afternoon, June 12th, 1819. Having thus brought the thoughts of Alighieri once more in contact with his ashes, I shall regard this work, not with higher veneration, but with greater affection, as something like '*a copy from the author.*'

“BYRON.”

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<sup>a</sup> Parallel, p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>c</sup> It is the edition of Pompeo Venturi, Livorno, 1817.

this preface a just conception may be formed of the character and merits of Foscolo, and also of the direful distresses of his latter days. I am afraid it is too true that his *Discorso sul Testo*, and other writings on Dante, which were his last, and were begun with the praise and encouragement of some of our first scholars, were concluded amidst the straits of poverty, the persecutions of creditors, and bodily sufferings, rendered more acute by assiduous study, and by the bitter consciousness that he would be unable, from want of means, of time, and of BREAD, to complete his labours in a manner equal to his own conception of the importance of his task, and to his veneration for Dante and love of Italy.\* The very last sentence of his address to the reader portrays the sad similitude of griefs by which the commentator mournfully but proudly associates himself with the poet, and is never read, by me, at least, who knew him well, without much pity and more regret. “Ne parmi chè “io potrò dire lietamente addio all’ Italia e all’ umane “cose, se non quando le avrò mandato il suo poeta “illustrato, per quanto io posso, da lunghi studj; e “sdebitarmi verso di lui che mi è maestro non solo di “lingua, e poesia, ma di amore di patria senza adularla, “di fortezza nell’ esiglio perpetuo, di lunganimità nelle “imprese, e di disprezzo alla plebe letteraria, patrizia, e “sacerdotale, della quale il genere umano ebbe, ed ha, “ed avrà sempre necessità.” †

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\* Prefazione, p. xix.

† Al Lettore, p. xxx.

## PETRARCH. ARQUÀ.

Whilst at La Mira, on the Brenta, I made, in company with Lord Byron, an excursion to Arquà, to visit Petrarch's tomb.\*

Arquà, for the last syllable is accented in pronunciation, is twelve miles from Padua, and about three miles on the right of the high road to Rovigo, in the bosom of the Euganean hills. After a walk of twenty minutes across a flat well-wooded meadow, you come to a little blue lake, clear, but fathomless, and to the foot of a succession of acclivities and hills, clothed with vineyards and orchards, rich with fir and pomegranate trees, and every sunny forest shrub. From the banks of the lake the road winds into the hills, and the church of Arquà is soon seen between a cleft where two ridges slope towards each other, and nearly inclose the village. The houses are scattered at intervals on the steep sides of these summits; and that of the poet is on the edge of a little knoll overlooking two descents, and commanding a view, not only of the glowing gardens in the dales immediately beneath, but of the wide plains, above whose low woods of mulberry and willow thickened into a dark mass by festoons of vines, tall single cypresses and the spires of towns are seen in the distance, which stretches to the mouths of the Po and the shores of the Adriatic. The climate of these volcanic hills is warmer, and the vintage begins a week sooner, than in the plains

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\* 10th Sept. 1817.



of Padua. Petrarch is laid, for he cannot be said to be buried, in a sarcophagus of red marble,\* raised on four pilasters on an elevated base, and preserved from an association with meaner tombs. It stands conspicuously alone, but will be soon overshadowed by four lately planted laurels. Petrarch's fountain, for here everything is Petrarch's, springs and expands itself beneath an artificial arch, a little below the church, and abounds plentifully, in the driest season, with that soft water which was the ancient wealth of the Euganean hills. It would be more attractive, were it not, in some seasons, beset with hornets and wasps. No other coincidence could assimilate the tombs of Petrarch and Archilochus. The revolutions of centuries have spared these sequestered valleys, and the only violence which has been offered to the ashes of Petrarch was prompted not by hate but veneration. An attempt was made to rob the sarcophagus of its treasure, and one of the arms was stolen by a Florentine, through a rent which is still visible. The injury is not forgotten, but has served to identify the poet with the country where he was born, but where he would not live. A peasant boy of Arquà, being asked by us who Petrarch was, replied that the people of the parsonage knew all about him, but he only knew that he was a Florentine.

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\* Chaucer (*Clerk's Prologue*) calls the tomb a chest, from the Latin *cista* :—

“He now is dede, and nailed in his chest—  
Fraunces Petrark.”

Petrarch retired to Arquà immediately on his return from the unsuccessful attempt to visit Urban V. at Rome in 1370; and with the exception of his celebrated journey to Venice, in company with Francesco Novello da Carrara, he appears to have passed the four last years of his life between that charming solitude and Padua. For four months previous to his death he was in a state of continual languor, and in the morning of July 19, in the year 1374, was found dead in his library chair, with his head resting upon a book. The chair is still shown amongst the precious relics of Arquà, which, from the uninterrupted veneration that has attached to everything connected with this great man, from the moment of his death to the present hour, have, it may be hoped, a better chance of authenticity than the Shakesperian relics of Stratford-upon-Avon.

Every footstep of Laura's lover has been anxiously traced and recorded. The house in which he lodged is shown in Venice. The inhabitants of Arezzo, in order to decide the ancient controversy between their city and the neighbouring Aversa, where Petrarch was carried when seven months old, and remained until his seventh year, have designated by a long inscription the spot where their great fellow citizen was born. A tablet has been raised to him at Parma,\* in the chapel of St.

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\* D. O. M.

Francisco Petrarchæ  
Parmensi Archidiacono.

Parentibus præclaris genere perantiquo

Agatha, at the cathedral, because he was archdeacon of that society, and was only snatched from his intended sepulture in their church by a *foreign* death. Another tablet with a bust has been erected to him at Pavia, on account of his having passed the autumn of 1368 in that city, with his son-in-law Brossano. The political condition which has for ages precluded the Italians from the criticism of the living, has concentrated their attention to the illustration of the dead.

Mr. Forsyth \* was not quite correct 'in saying that

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Ethices Christianæ scriptori eximio

Romanæ linguæ restitutori

Etruscæ principi

Africæ ob carmen hæc in urbe peractum regibus accito

S. P. Q. R. laurea donato.

Tanti Viri

Juvenilium juvenis senilium senex

Studiosissimus

Comes Nicolaus Canonicus Cicognarus

Marmorea proxima ara excitata.

Ibique condito

Divæ Januariæ cruento corpore

H. M. P.

Suffectum

Sed infra meritum Francisci sepulchro.

\* Remarks, &c., on Italy, p. 95, note, 2nd edit. A very striking instance of the ignorance of some, and those celebrated, English scholars, respecting Italian literature, may be seen in Denham's preface to his translation of a poem, whose author, Mancini, he says, "was contemporary to Petrarch and Mantouan, and not long before Torquato Tasso, which shows that the age they lived in was not so unlearned as that which preceded or that which followed." What could the author of 'Cooper's Hill' have meant by the chronology or the conclusion? Petrarch "*not long before*" Tasso! and what is it that shows the superior learning of the age of Petrarch over the preceding and the following times?

Petrarch never returned to Tuscany after he had once quitted it when a boy. It appears he did pass through Florence on his way from Parma to Rome, and on his return in the year 1350, and remained there long enough to form some acquaintance with its most distinguished inhabitants. A Florentine gentleman,\* ashamed of the aversion of the poet for his native country, was eager to point out this trivial error in our amiable traveller, whom he knew and respected for an extraordinary capacity, extensive erudition, and refined taste, joined to that engaging simplicity of manners which has been so frequently recognised as the surest, though it is certainly not an indispensable, trait of superior genius.

The Florentines did not take the opportunity of Petrarch's short visit to their city in 1350 to revoke the decree which confiscated the property of his father, who had been banished shortly after the exile of Dante. His crown did not dazzle them; but when in the next year they were in want of his assistance in the formation of their University, they repented of their injustice, and Boccacio was sent to Padua to entreat the laureate to conclude his wanderings in the bosom of his native country, where he might finish his *immortal Africa*, and enjoy, with his recovered possessions, the esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens. They gave him the option of the book and the science he might condescend to expound: they called him the glory of his country, who was dear, and would be dearer to them; and they

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\* The late Cavaliere Cosimo Buonarrotti.



added, that, if there was anything unpleasing in their letter, he ought to return amongst them, were it only to correct their style.\* Petrarch seemed at first to listen to the flattery and to the entreaties of his friend, but he did not return to Florence, and preferred a pilgrimage to the tomb of Laura and the shades of Vacluse.

## VAUCLUSE.

In October, 1826, being at Avignon, I devoted a day to visiting Vacluse. The road, for about four miles, passed over a very rich flat country of vines, olives, and mulberries, interspersed with meadows and corn-fields. It then ascended a chain of low hills, on which is the village of Châteauneuf, and afterwards crossed another rich plain by the villages of Thor and Lisle. Thence I came to a more barren and uncultivated country, and reached the foot of the rocky hills, from which issues the Sorgue, the river of Vacluse. The scenery here was very dreary and naked, the hills without a tree tall enough to be seen at any distance. On one of the bare peaks to the left there was a château belonging to the Noves family, the family to which Laura belonged. Here I found myself in the mouth of the valley of Vacluse, which, to say the truth, is indebted to poetry for all its charms. It is a sort of narrow pass, with

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\* “Accingiti inoltre, se ci è lecito ancor l' esortarti, a compire l' immortal tua Africa. . . . Se ti avviene d'incontrare nel nostro stile cosa che ti dispiaccia, ciò debb' essere un altro motivo ad esaudire i desiderj della tua patria.”—*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. v. par. i. lib. i. p. 76.

little more than room for the road between low stony hills and the stream of the Sorgue. Advancing up the valley, I saw a paper-mill, with a green meadow and a few poplars, on my right; and on the left, cut into the rock, was a house which an Englishman had hired for a fishing box—his name was Perry. Beyond were some stunted olive-trees on the sides of the rocks, and here and there ledges of scanty vines. I soon came in view of the village of Vacluse, and of the ruins of the castle on the rock under which it stands. This is called the *château* of Petrarch, and a house in the village is called the house of Laura. The whole scenery reminded me of a recess in the Apennines; not so mountainous, but quite as wild, and bare, and hot. The stream, however, is rapid and full; and if it did not turn paper-mills, might be romantic and poetical. I was taken to the inn of the ‘Two Lauras,’ which my driver preferred to the ‘Petrarch and Laura,’ a rival establishment. I went to the famous fountain; it is hardly ten minutes’ walk from the village, the path passing by the banks of the Sorgue at the side of dry hills, with a few olive trees, mulberry trees, and a large walnut tree or two. At the end of the village, on the right, under the rock with the ruined castle, there is another large paper-mill and manufactory; and here, looking upwards, I saw a little waterfall, and a column placed at the very mouth of Petrarch’s fountain of Vacluse, and looking like an artificial cascade in a park, except that a portion of the stream is turned off to work the paper-mill. About a

hundred and fifty yards, however, above this spot, I came to where the rocks close in upon the river, and, ascending a little by the side of a cataract falling over large stones, came to the fountain itself. This was indeed a most secluded and romantic pool of sea-green water, under a stupendous precipice of red rock, whose crags, cut, as it were, into regular shapes, like circular buttresses, bent forward on each side so as to clasp round and conceal the source below. A huge rugged peak, rising above the ledges on the right, and a steep declivity of loose fragments of rock on the other side, with a precipice cut sheer in front, made the fountain appear unapproachable. It was shaped like an irregular segment of a circle less than a semicircle, the chord of the arc being about thirty-five paces wide; two small wild fig-trees grew out of the rocks just above the water, and a few stunted beeches were also to be seen; but there were no banks where Laura might repose her lovely limbs, and the fair vision must have been seen, not in this hollow of the rocks, but in the meadow by the stream below. The fountain seemed perfectly still, but it overflowed the ledges of the rocks, and formed at once a considerable stream; and there were several springs gushing from the rocks lower down than the fountain itself, which is said to be fathomless, and to pour forth its river to its full height in four-and-twenty hours from the time when it is most dry. Climbing to a crag above the pool, I sat down in the shade, whilst the rocks above were glowing in sunshine: I then made the above

note, but, alas! "with no poetic ardour fired." If any one desires to behold this favoured retreat of the great Tuscan poet embellished by the hand of kindred genius, I commend him to the charming description in Foscolo's Essay.\*

### BOCCACIO.

Boccacio was buried in the church of St. Michael and St. John at "Certaldo," a small town in the Valdelsa, which was by some supposed the place of his birth. There he passed the latter part of his life in a course of laborious study which shortened his days, and there might his ashes have been secure, if not of honour, at least of repose; but "the hyæna bigots" of Certaldo, as Lord Byron calls them, tore up the tombstone of Boccacio and ejected it from the holy precincts of the saints. The occasion, and, it may be hoped, the excuse, of this ejectment was the making of a new floor for the church; but the fact is, that the tombstone was taken up and thrown aside at the bottom of the building. Ignorance may share the sin with bigotry. It would be painful to relate such an exception to the devotion of

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\* C. xi. p. 26. I prefer it to the verses of De Lisle, which, it may be observed, converted the recess in the rocks into something very like the cave into which Dido and Æneas retired, and asked a question, exceedingly pertinent indeed, but rather injurious to the fair fame of Laura:—

"Une grotte écartée avait frappé mes yeux :  
Grotte sombre, dis moi si tu les vis heureux,  
M'écriai-je."—*Les Jardins*, ch. iii.



the Italians for their great names, could it not be accompanied by a trait more honourably conformable to the general character of the nation. The principal person of the district, the last branch of the house of Medicis, afforded that protection to the memory of the insulted dead which her best ancestors had dispensed upon all contemporary merit. The Marchioness Lenzoni rescued the tombstone of Boccacio from the neglect in which it had some time lain, and found for it an honourable elevation in her own mansion. She has done more: the house in which the poet lived has been as little respected as his tomb, and is falling to ruin over the head of one indifferent to the name of its former tenant. It consists of two or three little chambers, and a low tower on which Cosmo II. affixed an inscription. This house she has taken measures to purchase, and proposes to devote to it that care and consideration which are attached to the cradle and to the roof of genius.

This is not the place to undertake the defence of Boccacio; but the man who exhausted his little patrimony in the acquirement of learning,—who was amongst the first, if not the first, to allure the science and the poetry of Greece to the bosom of Italy,—who not only invented a new style, but founded, or certainly fixed, a new language,\*—who, besides the esteem of every polite

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\* It is almost forgotten that Boccacio was a poet. His contemporaries and after-ages treated his verses as he treated them himself after reading Petrarch's productions; yet his 'Teseide' was probably the first poem in which the *ottava rima* was employed with

court of Europe, was thought worthy of employment by the predominant republic of his own country, and, what is more, of the friendship of Petrarch,—who, though not free from superstition, lived the life of a philosopher and a freeman, and who died in the pursuit of knowledge,—such a man might have found more consideration than he has met with from the priest of Certaldo, and from a late English traveller, who strikes off his portrait as an odious, contemptible, licentious writer, whose impure remains should be suffered to rot without a record.\* That English traveller, unfortunately for those who have to deplore the loss of a very amiable person, is beyond all criticism; but the mortality which did not

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success, and was the prototype of ‘Palamon and Arcite.’ He wrote another poem in *ottava rima*, called ‘Filostrato, or Love Conquered.’—For an account of these poems, and the plot of the ‘Teseide,’ see Mr. Panizzi’s *Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians*, pp. 159-163, edit. 1830.

\* Classical Tour, cap. ix. vol. ii. p. 355, 3rd edit. “Of Boccacio, the modern Petronius, we say nothing; the abuse of genius is more odious and more contemptible than its absence; and it imports little where the impure remains of a licentious author are consigned to their kindred dust. For the same reason the traveller may pass unnoticed the tomb of the malignant Aretino.”

This dubious phrase is hardly enough to save the tourist from the suspicion of another blunder respecting the burial-place of Aretine, whose tomb was in the church of St. Luke at Venice, and gave rise to the famous controversy of which some notice is taken in Bayle. Now, the words of Mr. Eustace would lead us to think the tomb was at Florence, or at least was to be somewhere recognised. Whether the inscription so much disputed was ever written on the tomb cannot now be decided, for all memorial of this author has disappeared from the church of St. Luke, which is now changed into a lamp warehouse.

protect Boccacio from Mr. Eustace, must not defend Mr. Eustace from the impartial judgment of his successors. Death may canonize his virtues, not his errors; and it may be modestly pronounced that he transgressed, not only as an author, but as a man, when he evoked the shade of Boccacio in company with that of Aretine, amidst the sepulchres of Santa Croce, merely to dismiss it with indignity. As far as respects

“ Il flagello de’ Principi,  
Il divin Pietro Aretino,”

it is of little import what censure is passed upon a coxcomb who owes his present existence to the above burlesque character given to him by the poet whose amber has preserved many other grubs and worms; but to classify Boccacio with such a person, and to excommunicate his very ashes, must of itself make us doubt the qualification of the classical tourist for writing upon Italian, or, indeed, upon any other literature; for ignorance on one point may incapacitate an author merely for that particular topic, but subjection to a professional prejudice must render him an unsafe director on all occasions. Any perversion and injustice may be made what is vulgarly called “a case of conscience,” and this poor excuse is all that can be offered for the priest of Certaldo, or the author of the ‘Classical Tour.’ It would have answered the purpose to confine the censure to the novels of Boccacio; and gratitude to that source

whence Chaucer drew some of his inspiration,\* and which supplied the muse of Dryden with her last and most harmonious numbers, might perhaps have restricted that censure to the objectionable qualities of the hundred tales. At any rate the repentance of Boccaccio might have arrested his exhumation, and it should have been recollected and told that in his old age he wrote a letter intreating his friend to discourage the reading of the ‘Decameron,’ for the sake of modesty, and for the sake of the author, who would not have an apologist always at hand to state in his excuse that he wrote it when young, and at the command of his superiors.† It is neither the licentiousness of the writer, nor the evil propensities of the reader, which have given to the ‘Decameron’ alone, of all the works of Boccaccio, a perpetual popularity. The establishment of a new and

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\* Dryden says that he had once thought that ‘Palamon and Arcite’ was of English growth, and Chaucer’s own; “but I was undeceived by Boccace, for, casually looking on the end of his seventh giornata, I found Dioneo (under which name he shadows himself) and Fiammetta (who represents his mistress, the natural daughter of Robert King of Naples), of whom these words are spoken:—*Dioneo e Fiammetta gran pezza Cantarono insieme di Arcita, e di Palamon,*” by which it appears that this story was written before the time of Boccace.—See *Preface to the Fables*, Dryden’s Works, vol. xi., Scott’s edition.

† “Non enim ubique est, qui in excusationem meam consurgens dicat, juvenis scripsit, et majori coactus imperio.” The letter was addressed to Maghinard of Cavalcanti, marshal of the kingdom of Sicily.—See Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c., tom. v. par. ii. lib. iii. p. 525, ed. Ven. 1795.



delightful dialect conferred an immortality on the works in which it was first fixed. The sonnets of Petrarch were, for the same reason, fated to survive his self-admired 'Africa,' the "*favourite of kings*." The invariable traits of nature and feeling with which the novels of the one, and the verses of the other, abound, have doubtless been the chief source of the foreign celebrity of both authors; but Boccacio, as a man, is no more to be estimated by the tales than Petrarch is to be regarded in no other light than the lover of Laura. Even, however, had the father of Tuscan prose been known only as the author of the 'Decameron,' a considerate writer would have been cautious to pronounce a sentence on him irreconcilable with the unerring voice of many ages and nations. An irrevocable value has never been stamped upon any work solely recommended by impurity.

The true source of the outcry against Boccacio, which began at a very early period, was the choice of his scandalous personages in cloisters as well as courts; but the princes only laughed at the gallant adventures so unjustly charged upon Queen Theodolinda, whilst the priesthood cried shame upon the debauches drawn from the convent and the hermitage, and, most probably, for the opposite reason, namely, that the picture was faithful to the life. Two of the novels are allowed to be facts usefully turned into tales, to deride the canonization of rogues and laymen. 'Ser Ciappelletto' and 'Marcellinus' are cited with applause even by the decent Mura-

tori.\* A new edition of the novels was published in 1573,† of which the expurgation consisted in omitting the words “monk” and “nun,” and tacking the immoralities to other names. But it was not long before the whole of Europe had but one opinion of the ‘Decameron;’ and the absolution of the author seems to have been a point settled at least a hundred years ago: “On se feroit siffler si l’on prétendoit convaincre Boccace de n’avoir pas été honnête homme, puisqu’il a fait le Decameron.” So said one of the best men, and perhaps the best critic, that ever lived—the very martyr to im-

\* Dissertazioni sopra le antichità Italiane. Diss. lviii. p. 253, tom. iii. edit. Milan, 1751.

† The title of this edition is as follows:—“Il Decamerone di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio Cittadino Fiorentino. Ricorretto in Roma ed emendato secondo l’ordine del Sacro Conc. di Trento. Et riscontrato in Firenze con testi antichi et alla sua vera lezione ridotto da’ Deputati di loro Alt. Ser. Nuovamente stampato—con privilegi del Sommo Pontefice, delle Maestadi del Re Christianissimo et Re Cattolico, delli Serenissimi Gran Duca et Principe di Toscana, dell’ Ill. et Ecc. Duca di Ferrara e d’ altri Sign. et Rep. In Fiorenza nella Stamperia de i Giunti. 1573.” A detailed account of this edition is given in the ‘Discorso Storico sul Testo,’ prefixed to the Decameron, published by Pickering, London, in 1825. Nothing can be more amusing than the controversy between the Master of the Sacred Palace and the Deputati, who undertook to defend the book in which they “saw all the treasures of human eloquence.” The sixth novel of the first day could not be altered so as to suit the Master of the Sacred Palace; it was, therefore, proposed to leave it out: but how could ninety-nine tales be called a hundred tales? As this could not be, the objectionable story was left out, but another tale was supplied from the ‘Fiammetta’ of Boccaccio himself. Yet this plan was not satisfactory, for the Florentine academicians objected that the author had written well and purely only in the Decameron.—*Discorso*, p. xliii.

partiality.\* But as this information, that in the beginning of the last century one would have been hooted at for pretending that Boccacio was not a good man, may seem to come from one of those enemies who are to be suspected, even when they make us a present of truth, a more acceptable contrast with the proscription of the body, soul, and muse of Boccacio may be found in a few words from the virtuous, the patriotic contemporary, who thought one of the tales of this impure writer worthy a Latin version from his own pen.

“I have remarked elsewhere,” says Petrarch, writing to Boccacio, “that the book itself has been worried by certain dogs, but stoutly defended by your staff and voice. Nor was I astonished, for I have had proof of the vigour of your mind, and I know you have fallen on that unaccommodating, incapable race of mortals, who, whatever they either like not, or know not, or cannot do, are sure to reprehend in others; and on those occasions only put on a show of learning and eloquence, but otherwise are entirely dumb.”†

It is satisfactory to find that all the priesthood do not resemble those of Certaldo, and that one of them who did not possess the bones of Boccacio would not lose the opportunity of raising a cenotaph to his memory. Bevius, canon of Padua, at the beginning of the 16th

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\* *Eclaircissement*, &c. &c., p. 638, edit. Basle, 1741, in the Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary.

† “Animadverti alicubi librum ipsum canum dentibus laceratum, tuo tamen baculo egregiè tuâque voce defensum. Nec miratus sum: nam et vires ingenii tui novi, et scio expertus esses hominum genus insolens et ignavum, qui quicquid ipsi vel nolunt vel nesciunt, vel non possunt, in aliis reprehendunt: ad hoc unum docti et arguti, sed elingues ad reliqua.”—*Epist. Joan. Boccatio*. Opp. tom. i. p. 540, edit. Basil.

century erected at Arquà, opposite to the tomb of the Laureate, a tablet, in which he associated Boccaccio to the equal honours of Dante and of Petrarch.\*

The treatment which the remains and the memory of Boccaccio received in late years is the more remarkable when it is known, as has been set forth in Foscolo's 'Discourse on the Text of the Decameron,' that, during the last year of his life, his "loving noble nature" was debased and saddened by the terrors of religion.† To such a degree, indeed, did these terrors affect him, that a monk having, on some pretended prophecy of a doubtful saint (Petroni), warned him to prepare for death, he communicated his fears to Petrarch, who endeavoured to reason him out of them, but in vain: for though he survived the prediction twelve years, not dying until 1376, he appears never to have recovered his former frame of mind; and the immortal novelist, the exposé of the frauds of the cloister, certified by his will, in his own handwriting, that he had "for a long time made search for holy relics in divers parts of the world," and bequeathed the fruits of his labours

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\* "Danti Aldigerio, Francisco Petrarchæ, et Joanni Bocatio, viris ingenio eloquentiaque clarissimis, Italicæ linguæ parentibus," &c. &c.—See Bernardini Scardeonii, &c., *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, &c.; edit. 1560, p. 435.

† "Verso la fine dell' età sua la povertà che è più grave nella vecchiaja, e lo stato turbolento di Firenze gli fecero rincrescere la vita sociale, e rifuggiva alla solitudine; ed allora l' anima sua generosa ed amabile era invilita e intristita da' terrori della religione."—*Discorso*, &c., tom. i. p. v., prefixed to the Decameron, 1825.



to a convent of monks. It is true that to a brother of this same convent he left all his books, on condition that the said Master Martin, of the order of the Frati Heremitani of St. Augustin and of the convent of Sto. Spirito of Florence, should pray for his soul, and allow any person who pleased to make extracts from his books; a condition which convinced Foscolo that the autographs of the Decameron had been destroyed previously by Boccacio himself, for how could the repentant author have left his Tales as a legacy to his confessor for the use of his convent and for the express purpose of future publication to the world? It is, in fact, incredible that he should have done so almost at the same time that he denounced the Tales as of a nature to make the readers of them think the author as “spurgidum, lenonem, incestuosum senem, impurum hominem, turpiloquem, maledicum, et aliorum scelerum avidum relatores;”<sup>\*</sup> and he then adds the excuse, “non enim ubique est qui in excusationem meam consurgens dicat: juvenis scripsit, et majori coactus imperio.” I repeat this excuse for the sake of noticing the conjecture of Foscolo, that the empire employed to force the author to write the indecent stories was that of a woman:† of which suggestion I shall only remark, that women are often made re-

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<sup>\*</sup> See the above-cited letter in Tiraboschi.

† “E diresti che le scrivesse indotto dal predominio d’una donna: forse quella ch’ei poco dopo rinnegò diffamandola nel LABERINTHO D’AMORE.”—*Discorso*, p. ciii.

sponsible for the follies of men when no other excuse is ready to be found. The woman made responsible for Boccacio's sin appears, under the name of Fiammetta, to have been Maria, a natural daughter of King Robert of Naples.\*

The Italians, and more particularly the Tuscans, regarded the Decameron with a sort of superstitious reverence, as containing in itself almost every word required for the complete mastery and use of their Tuscan, or rather Florentine,† language.

### MACHIAVELLI.

An Englishman was the first to attack the political writings of Machiavelli; an Englishman was the first to raise, after centuries of neglect, a monument over

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\* Panizzi, p. 160, note; and previous note, p. 245.

† “Da prima a levarsi invidia dalle città Toscane, gli Accademici tennero tre anni di consulte intorno al titolo del Vocabolario, e decretavano che si chiamasse *Della Lingua Toscana*. Poscia, affinché tutto l' onore si rimanesse co' Fiorentini, v' aggiunsero, *Cavato dagli scrittori e uso della Città di Firenze*. Finalmente con politico lo nominarono *Vocabolario dell' Accademia della Crusca*, senz' altro; così fu stampato, e la prima volta senz' altre voci se non che nel Decamerone e di pochi scrittori contemporanei del Boccacio.”—*Discorso*, p. xcix. Foscolo refers to Salviati's ‘Avvertimenti della Lingua sopra 'l Decamerone.’ It is in two octavo volumes,—at least, such is my edition of it, published at Milan, 1809; and the twelfth chapter of the second book, vol. i. p. 195, gives a detailed account of the authors who with Boccacio belonged to what Salviati calls the “buon secolo.” This is the title of it:—‘Scrittori del buon secolo, chi furono, e quali cose, e in che tempo scrisse ciascun di loro, e qual più e qual meno sia da pregiare, e perchè.’ Foscolo calls Salviati's work, somewhat ironically, a sort of evangelical preparation for the della Cruscan Vocabulary.

his ashes. The Anti-Machiavel of Cardinal Pole did not destroy his reputation, any more than the tablet of Lord Cowper has altogether cleared him from all reproach. Lord Bacon, not very long after the Cardinal denounced him, ranked him amongst the writers to whom the thanks of mankind were due;\* but the true estimate of this great writer was reserved for our own times, when Guingené, Sismondi, Hallam, Macaulay, and a writer in the *Biographie Universelle*, made it pretty clear that the great Florentine secretary, like most other very distinguished men, was not altogether to be condemned, nor to be extollèd as above all praise.

Guingené is right. It would have been more discreet to have omitted the first line of the epitaph in Sta. Croce.

“Nicholaus Machiavelli,  
Obiit A.D.V. MDXXII.”—

(had the date of his birth, 1469, been added) would

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\* Lord Bacon's praise of Machiavelli is couched in language which seems to allude only to narrative, and not to maxims or advice. His words are as follows:—"Nam sicut fabulose perhibetur de Basilisco si primus quisquam conspexerit, illico hominem perimit, siquis illum prior, Basiliscus perit: pari ratione, fraudes, imposturæ, et malæ artes, si quis eas prior detexerit nocendi facultate privantur, quod si illæ prevenerint, tum vero, non alias, periculum crearit. Est itaque quod gratias agamus Machiavello, et hujusmodi scriptoribus, qui aperte et indissimulanter proferunt quid homines facere soleant non quid debeant."—*De Aug. Scient.*, lib. vii. cap. ii., edit. Lond. 1826, vol. vi. p. 333. Is it presumption to ask to whom Lord Bacon alluded by the phrase, "Machiavello et scriptoribus hujusmodi"? What other writers were like Machiavelli?

have been enough, without the upper line. The "*Tanto nomini nullum par elogium*" is not true, and it did not set at rest the controversy as to the merits and motives of the illustrious dead. Roscoe, who is not quite so much esteemed now as in his own day, denied him the possession of a great capacity and an enlarged view of human nature,—a judgment worthy of no other answer than a smile, says a celebrated Florentine contemporary of ours,\* who, however, when he comes to the charges made against the morality of Machiavelli, only a few years after his death, by Varchi, merely remarks, "Non è qui loco di rabbattere queste accuse, e d' esaminare se nel Machiavelli le doti dell' animo andarono del pari con quelle della mente; solo dirò che nei pubblici affari si portò con tale integrità che ei morendo lasciava in somma povertà i suoi figli."† But no one ever accused Machiavelli of "robbing the Exchequer;" and, with Niccolini's pardon, it must be remarked, that it does not at all follow that a statesman has lived honestly because he has died poor. Indeed, Machiavelli was accused, probably falsely, with having dissipated his fortune in riotous living. Varchi, who lived in his time, being born in 1502, makes no such accusation,

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\* Niccolini's words are :—" Il Roscoe, fautore della Potenza Medicea, afferma che esso non era 'uomo di genio' (*Vita di Leon X.*). E a questa affermativa risponderemo con un sorriso." I do not find that Roscoe says this in so many words.

† Prose di Gio. Batista Niccolini, Firenze, 1823, vol. iii. p. 223.



but confines his censure to the 'PRINCE,' which he calls "Opera empia veramente, e da dover essere  
" non solo biasimata ma spenta, come cercò di fare egli  
" stesso dopo il rivolgimento dello stato, non essendo  
" ancora stampata:" but he adds, "Era nondimeno il  
" Machiavelli nel conversar piacevole, officioso verso gli  
" amici, amico degli uomini virtuosi, ed, in somma, degno  
" che la natura gli avesse o minore ingegno o miglior  
" mente conceduto."\* He mentions, however, as a fact, that both the good and the bad were rejoiced at his death: "Onde avvenne nella morte di lui quello, che  
" sia ad avvenire impossibile, cioè che così se ne ralle-  
" grarono i buoni come i tristi, la qual cosa facevano i  
" buoni per giudicarlo tristo, ed i tristi per conoscerlo  
" non solamente più tristo, ma eziandio più valente di  
" loro." I cannot quite reconcile this record of Varchi with the assertion of our delightful historian and essayist, that "to those immoral doctrines which have  
" since called forth such severe reprehensions no excep-  
" tion appears to have been taken. The cry against  
" them was first raised beyond the Alps, and seems to  
" have been heard with amazement in Italy."† It is true that Varchi's History was not published until 1721; but the fact recorded is contemporary with Machiavelli, and scarcely compatible with the alleged amaze-

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\* Storia Fiorentina, lib. iv. p. 211, edit. Milan, 1803.

† Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays, vol. i. p. 66, edit. 1843.

ment in Italy that any one should condemn his political doctrines.

Machiavelli, as is usual with those against whom no crime can be proved, was suspected of, and charged with, atheism. Paulus Jovius disgraces himself by this accusation; and the first and last most violent opposers of the 'Prince' were Jesuits, Father Possevin and Father Lucchesini; but the 'Anti-Machiavel,' published in 1576, was written by Gentillet, a French Protestant. This antidote was so little acceptable to the violent opponents of the Florentine, that Possevin attacked it, together with the 'Prince,' "ce qui est singulier," says Guingené. The other violent antagonist accused Machiavelli of folly, in a treatise which, however, was received with so little favour, that the booksellers made a jest of its very title.\*

The motives of a writer cannot be inferred from the tendency of his works. The general lesson, or what is commonly called the moral, of a book, may be undeniably good, but the mode of treating the subject decidedly objectionable. The moral of 'Candide' is so similar to that of 'Rasselas,' that Johnson himself confessed that, if the two had not been published so closely that there was no time for imitation, it would have been in vain to deny that the scheme of that which came

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\* The title was, 'Sciocchezze scoperte nell' opere del Machiavelli dal P. Lucchesini.' "Les libraires, pour abrégér le titre de cet opuscule Satirique, y mettaient simplement, dit-on, Sottises du P. Lucchesini."—*Hist. Lit. d'Ital.*, chap. xxii. sect. i. vol. viii. p. 77.

latest was taken from the other.\* Yet how different the immediate motive and aim of the two authors! our good and great fellow countryman wanted money to pay for his mother's funeral and few debts—Voltaire had no such object in the composition of his “*tableau épouvantablement gai des misères de la vie humaine.*”† Who can now read without a smile the Anti-Machiavel of Frederick of Prussia, and the flattery of his witty correspondent, when he assures his Majesty that his comment on the ‘Prince’ ought to be “the catechism of kings and ministers”? It would be as difficult to prove that the motive of the king was good, as that the motive of Machiavelli was bad.

The author of the eulogium prefixed to the Milan edition of Machiavelli (1804) considers that he has clearly shown that the maxims of the ‘Prince’ were given insidiously to the Medicean family, inasmuch as he advised them to trust to the arms of their subjects for their defence, “*quasi suggerendo loro in tal guisa “d’armare alla vendetta il braccio dei numerosi nemici “di un nuovo giogo;”*” a strange suggestion to be introduced into a professed panegyric, and which, to a certain extent, justifies the estimate apparently formed by Machiavelli himself of the political morality of his fellow countrymen.‡

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\* Boswell, Life, &c., vol. i. p. 185, edit. 4to., 1791.

† Anger. Biog. Un., art. Voltaire.

‡ But Signor Giov. Battista Baldelli, independently of this idle conjecture, is an unsafe guide, and Guingené has pointed out several errors in his facts.

This, at any rate, may be said of the political as well as the dramatic writings of Machiavelli, that what is good in them belonged to the man; and, perhaps, with some reserve, we may add, what is bad in them belonged to the age. I cannot understand how any one can read the 18th chapter of the 'Prince' without being convinced of this. Machiavelli tells us in so many words that his teaching is applicable to the bad part of mankind, not to the good,—“e se gli uomini fossero tutti buoni questo precetto non sarà buono;” and, after being acquainted with the public morality of Machiavelli's contemporaries, I am no more astonished at the maxims of his 'Prince,' and other writings, than I am at the obscenities of his 'Mandragola' and 'Clizia.'

These dramas, displaying as they do more of the true “vis comica” than modern times had hitherto produced, were the delight of the most civilized portion of the Christian world, and were represented in the presence of cardinals and popes. Yet Mr. Hallam is surely justified in saying that “the story of the 'Mandragola' hardly bears to be told, although Guingené has done it.”\*

In regard to the motives which prompted the composition of the 'Prince,' the confession of Machiavelli himself ought to pass for something of value: and what does he say? he says that the 'Prince' was written to procure some employment under the Signori Medici,

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\* Chap. viii. sect. ii. vol. i. p. 601, edit. 1837.



“were it only to roll a stone.”\* Guingéné says, fairly enough, “c’était un homme libre dont les intentions dans cette circonstance furent cependant serviles, et un honnête homme qui croyait d’après les mœurs et les événements de son siècle pouvoir exclure la morale du gouvernement des états.”† Nevertheless, with these personal objects, and this laxity in political morals, he doubtless combined that glorious aim fully disclosed in the last chapter of the ‘Prince,’ bearing for title ‘Esortazione a liberare la Italia dai Barbari,’ and concluding with a *libertine* excitement to the future redemption of Italy. “Non si deve adunque lasciar passare questa occasione, acciocchè la Italia vegga dopo tanto tempo apparire un suo redentore. Nè posso esprimere con qual amore ei fusse ricevuto in tutte quelle provincie, che hanno patito per queste illuvioni esterne, con qual sete di vendetta, con che ostinata fede, con che lacrime. Quali porte se li serrerebbero? Quali popoli li negherebbero la obbedienza? Quale Italiano li negherebbe l’ossequio?” AD OGNUNO PUZZA QUESTO BARBARO DOMINIO.”‡

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\* See his Letter to Vettori in the ‘Pensieri intorno allo scopo di Nicolo Machiavelli nel Libro di Principe,’ by Angelo Ridolfi, published at Milan in 1810, and quoted in the article on Machiavelli in the Biog. Universelle.

† Chap. xxxi. sect. 1.

‡ Amongst the most enthusiastic admirers of Machiavelli must be reckoned Mr. Whiteside, who, after quoting from the preface to the edition of 1796, which embodies the principles of the great author, declares, “It would, I think, be difficult to find, out of the Scriptures, sounder doctrines for princes and people to act upon.”—p. 315.

## CHURCH OF ST. LORENZO.—THE MEDICI.

Our admiration for the Medici begins with Cosmo and expires with his grandson; that stream is pure only at the source; and it is in search of some memorial of the early representatives of the family that we visit the church of St. Lorenzo at Florence. The tawdry, glaring, unfinished chapel in that church, designed for the mausoleum of the Dukes of Tuscany, set round with crowns and coffins, gives birth to no emotions but those of contempt for the lavish vanity of a race of despots, whilst the pavement slab simply inscribed to the Father of his Country reconciles us to the name of Medici.\* It was very natural for Corinna† to suppose that the statue raised to the Duke of Urbino in the *Capella de' Depositi* was intended for his great namesake; but the magnificent Lorenzo is only the sharer of a coffin half hidden in a niche of the sacristy.

The decay of Tuscany dates from the sovereignty of the Medici. Of the sepulchral peace which succeeded to the establishment of the reigning families in Italy, our own Sidney has given us a glowing, but a faithful picture. “Notwithstanding,” says he, “all the seditions of Florence and other cities of Tuscany, the horrid factions of Guelphs and Ghibelins, Neri and Bianchi, nobles and commons, they continued populous,

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\* Cosmus Medices, Decreto Publico Pater Patriæ.

† Corinne, lib. xviii. cap. iii. vol. iii. p. 248.

strong, and exceeding rich; but in the space of less than a hundred and fifty years the peaceable reign of the Medices is thought to have destroyed nine parts in ten of the people of that province. Amongst other things it is remarkable, that, when Philip II. of Spain gave Sienna to the Duke of Florence, his ambassador then at Rome sent him word that he had given away more than 650,000 subjects; and it is not believed there are now 20,000 souls inhabiting that city and territory. Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, and other towns, that were then good and populous, are in the like proportion diminished, and Florence more than any. When that city had been long troubled with seditions, tumults, and wars, for the most part unprosperous, they still retained such strength, that when Charles VIII. of France, being admitted as a friend with his whole army, which soon after conquered the kingdom of Naples, thought to master them, the people, taking arms, struck such a terror into him, that he was glad to depart upon such conditions as they thought fit to impose. Machiavel reports, that in that time Florence alone, with the Val d'Arno, a small territory belonging to that city, could, in a few hours, by the sound of a bell, bring together 135,000 well-armed men; whereas now that city, with all the others in that province, are brought to such despicable weakness, emptiness, poverty, and baseness, that they can neither resist the oppressions of their own prince, nor defend him or themselves if they were assaulted by a foreign

enemy. The people are dispersed or destroyed, and the best families sent to seek habitations in Venice, Genoa, Rome, Naples, and Lucca. This is not the effect of war or pestilence; they enjoy a perfect peace, and suffer no other plague than the government they are under.”\*

From the usurper Cosmo down to the imbecile Gaston, we look in vain for any of those unmixed qualities which should raise a patriot to the command of his fellow citizens. The Grand Dukes, and particularly the third Cosmo, had operated so entire a change in the Tuscan character, that the candid Florentines, in excuse for some imperfections in the philosophic system of the virtuous Leopold, are obliged to confess that the sovereign was the only liberal man in his dominions. Yet that excellent prince himself had no other notion of a national assembly than of a body to represent the wants and wishes, not to enforce the will, of the people.

The latter portion of the first volume of the before-quoted work, ‘Italy in the Nineteenth Century,’ by Mr. Whiteside, the present eloquent Attorney-General for Ireland, is devoted to what he calls “a Sketch of Florentine History and of the Medici,” and a very amusing sketch it is, although the clever author is, perhaps, a little too ironically facetious with regard to

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\* On Government, chap. ii. sect. xxvi. p. 208, edit. 1751. Sidney is, together with Locke and Hoadley, one of David Hume’s “despicable” writers.



“the crafty apothecary” and the “pill-box” which “flourished on the crest of these humble followers of Galen.”\* Mr. Whiteside takes the decided republican view of the controversy as to the merits of the family, all of whom, including the Father of his Country,† he considers as little better than clever impostors, bent principally, if not solely, upon their own aggrandisement.

Mr. Whiteside’s book was published in 1848, as appears not only by the title-page, but by many reflections referring to the politics of that day, and showing no great respect for those who then reigned in any part of Europe. The learned gentleman may now, perhaps, smile at reading his own sketch of the

\* Italy in the Nineteenth Century, p. 230, vol. i.

† Subjoined are a few extracts from the Sketch:—“Such was the infamous behaviour of one of the best of the Medici, called, as I have said, ‘the Father of his Country.’”<sup>a</sup> “It is satisfactory to know that his detestable character,” says Mr. Whiteside, speaking of Pietro, son of Cosmo, “became perfectly understood and hated by his countrymen.”<sup>b</sup> Of the magnificent Lorenzo, with many similar compliments, he says:—“In Florence this polished despot carefully considered how best he could permanently enslave his beautiful country.”<sup>c</sup> And again:—“The policy of this excellent man, Lorenzo de’ Medici, was to ally himself with despotic sovereigns, and plot against free republics.”<sup>d</sup> Every other member of the family comes in for his share of reproach; and, to say the truth, it now appears most surprising that any of them should have found so good a man as Roscoe amongst their panegyrists.—(1858.)

Mr. Whiteside has published another edition of his work, a good deal altered, and in my opinion not much improved.—(1860.)

<sup>a</sup> Italy, &c., p. 237, vol. i.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

alliance between Filippo Strozzi and that Alessandro de' Medici whom he calls the Negro. "Yet this Strozzi aided the miscreant Alessandro in building a citadel to overcome the citizens, like the fortifications of Paris," &c., &c., p. 326.

The judgment of Massimo Azeglio on the Medici is given in a few words introduced into his description of the vicissitudes which the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence has witnessed and survived.

"Interrogai il Palazzo Vecchio, antico ed immoto testimonio di tanti trionfi, di tante rovine, che vide sorgere e cadere tante fortune; che dall' alto de' suoi merli Guelfi vide oppresso il Duca d' Atene, vincitori i Ciampi, arso Fra Girolamo, strascinato il cadavere di Jacopo de' Pazzi, *calpestata tre volte l' idra Medicea, e tre volte risorta; che sopravvisse alla repubblica, la vide vendicata nelle impure e sanguinose vicende della razza di Cosimo spenta vilmente dopo dugent' anni.*" \*

I cannot quote the writings of this excellent man without lamenting that he should have had so little time to study the past history and present condition of the United Kingdom, that he does not scruple to speak of the grievances of Ireland and of Poland as being of the same nature, and concludes that, because they suffer more, and more worthily and with more endurance, than the Italians, Ireland and Poland have obtained the esteem, sympathy, and good wishes of the whole civilized world.

"E l' Irlanda, la Polonia, perchè l' ottengono? Perchè soffrono più di noi, e più degnamente, più osservamente di noi. L' opinione,

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\* Nicolò de' Lapi, Prefazione, p. 6, edit. Firenze, 1850.

la simpatia, il voto della civiltà intera sta per loro, e sono pure oggidì i potenti alleati ! E di noi ? Di noi si ride." \*

It would be cruel to impute as a fault to Azeglio that he took a very sanguine view of the prospects of Italy in 1847 and 1848 ; but it is impossible not to be amused with the prophetic exultation of his 'Proposta di un Programma per l' Opinione Nazionale Italiana.'

" Ci sembra," says he, " veder avvicinarsi rapidamente l' epoca in cui le nazioni saranno le più sicure basi de' troni e la cura de' loro interessi il più sicuro pegno di sicurezza e stabilità. Questa verità riconosciuta e posta in pratica da Pio IX. e stata luminosamente comprovata dall' esperienza in un anno solo ; e quel trono che vacillava sotto i suoi piedi quando vi saliva, e oggi il più sicuro e stabile d' Europa." †

#### INGRATITUDE OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS.

Ingratitude is generally supposed the vice peculiar to republics ; and it seems to be forgotten that for one instance of popular inconstancy, we have a hundred examples of the fall of courtly favourites. Besides, a people have often repented—a monarch seldom or never. Leaving apart many familiar proofs of this fact, a short story may show the difference between even an aristocracy and the multitude.

Vettor Pisani, having been defeated in 1354 at Portolongo, and many years afterwards in the more decisive

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\* Degli ultimi casi di Romagna, Torino, 1850, p. 18.

† Raccolta degli scritti politici di Massimo d' Azeglio, p. 229.

action of Pola, by the Genoese, was recalled by the Venetian government, and thrown into chains. The *Avvogadori* proposed to behead him, but the supreme tribunal was content with the sentence of imprisonment. Whilst Pisani was suffering this unmerited disgrace, Chiozza, in the vicinity of the capital, was, by the assistance of the Signor of Padua, delivered into the hands of Pietro Doria. At the intelligence of that disaster, the great bell of St. Mark's tower tolled to arms, and the people and the soldiery of the galleys were summoned to the repulse of the approaching enemy ; but they protested they would not move a step, unless Pisani were liberated and placed at their head. The great council was instantly assembled : the prisoner was called before them, and the Doge, Andrea Contarini, informed him of the demands of the people and the necessities of the state, whose only hope of safety was reposed on his efforts, and who implored him to forget the indignities he had endured in her service. "I have submitted," replied the magnanimous republican, "I have submitted to your deliberations without complaint ; I have supported patiently the pains of imprisonment, for they were inflicted at your command : this is no time to inquire whether I deserved them—the good of the republic may have seemed to require it, and that which the republic resolves is always resolved wisely. Behold me ready to lay down my life for the preservation of my country." Pisani was appointed *generalissimo*, and by his exertions, in conjunction with



those of Carlo Zeno, the Venetians soon recovered the ascendancy over their maritime rivals.

The Italian communities were no less unjust to their citizens than the Greek republics. Liberty, both with the one and the other, seems to have been a national, not an individual object: and, notwithstanding the boasted *equality before the laws* which an ancient Greek writer \* considered the great distinctive mark between his countrymen and the barbarians, the mutual rights of fellow-citizens seem never to have been the principal scope of the old democracies. The Italians, however, when they had ceased to be free, still looked back with a sigh upon those times of turbulence, when every citizen might rise to a share of sovereign power, and they have never been taught fully to appreciate the repose of a monarchy. Sperone Speroni, when Francis Maria II. Duke of Rovere proposed the question, “which was preferable, the republic or the principality—the perfect and not durable, or the less perfect and not so liable to change,” replied, “that our happiness is to be measured by its quality, not by its duration; and that he preferred to live for one day like a man, than for a hundred years like a brute, a stock, or a stone.” This was thought, and called, a *magnificent* answer, down to the last days of Italian servitude. †

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\* The Greek boasted that he was *ισονόμος*. See the last chapter of the first book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

† “E intorno *alla magnifica risposta*,” &c.—Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, lib. iii. p. 149, tom. ii. edit. 2, Bergamo.

## ALFIERI.

Alfieri is the great name of this age. The Italians, without waiting for the hundred years, consider him as “a poet good in law.”—His memory is the more dear to them because he is the bard of freedom ; and because, as such, his tragedies can receive no countenance from any of their sovereigns. They are but very seldom, and but very few of them, allowed to be acted. It was observed by Cicero that nowhere were the true opinions and feelings of the Romans so clearly shown as at the theatre.\* In the autumn of 1816 a celebrated improvisatore exhibited, as before mentioned,† his talents at the Opera-house of Milan. The reading of the theses handed in for the subjects of his poetry was received by a very numerous audience, for the most part in silence, or with laughter ; but when the assistant, unfolding one of the papers, exclaimed, “The apotheosis of Victor

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\* The free expression of their honest sentiments survived their liberties. Titius, the friend of Antony, presented them with games in the theatre of Pompey. They did not suffer the brilliancy of the spectacle to efface from their memory that the man who furnished them with the entertainment had murdered the son of Pompey : they drove him from the theatre with curses. The moral sense of a populace, spontaneously expressed, is never wrong. Even the soldiers of the triumvirs joined in the execration of the citizens, by shouting round the chariots of Lepidus and Plancus, who had proscribed their brothers, *De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant Consules*—a saying worth a record, were it nothing but a good pun.—C. Vell. Patereuli Hist., lib. ii. cap. lxxix. p. 78, edit. Elzevir, 1639.

† See Chap. III. of this volume.

Alfieri," the whole theatre burst into a shout, and the applause was continued for some moments. The lot did not fall on Alfieri; and the Signor Sgricci had to pour forth his extemporaneous commonplaces on the bombardment of Algiers. The choice, indeed, is not left to accident quite so much as might be thought from a first view of the ceremony; and the police not only takes care to look at the papers beforehand, but, sometimes, with prudential after-thought, steps in to correct the blindness of chance. The proposal for deifying Alfieri was received with immediate enthusiasm, the rather because it was conjectured there would be no opportunity of carrying it into effect.

The following anecdotes of Alfieri are from an authentic source, and appear worthy of record. The poet was one evening at the house of the Princess Carignani, and leaning, in one of his silent moods, against a side-board decorated with a rich tea-service of china, by a sudden movement of his long loose tresses, threw down one of the cups. The lady of the mansion ventured to tell him that he had spoilt her set, and had better have broken them all; but the words were no sooner said, than Alfieri, without replying or changing countenance, swept off the whole service upon the floor. His hair was fated to bring another of his eccentricities into play; for, being alone at the theatre at Turin, and hanging carelessly with his head backwards over the corner of his box, a lady in the next seat on the other side of the partition, who had, on other occasions, made

several attempts to attract his attention, broke into violent and repeated encomiums on his auburn locks, which were flowing down close to her hand. Alfieri spoke not a word, and continued in his posture until he left the theatre. The lady received the next morning a parcel, the contents of which she found to be the tresses she had so much admired, and which the count had cut off close to his head. There was no billet with the present, but words could not have more clearly expostulated, "*If you like the hair, here it is, but for heaven's sake leave me alone.*"

Alfieri employed a respectable young man at Florence to assist him in his Greek translations, and the manner in which that instruction was received was not a little eccentric. The tutor slowly read aloud and translated the Greek author, and Alfieri, with his pencil and tablets in hand, walked about the room and put down his version. This he did without speaking a word, and when he found his preceptor reciting too quickly, or when he did not understand the passage, he held up his pencil,—this was the signal for repetition, and the last sentence was slowly recited, or the reading was stopped, until a tap from the poet's pencil on the table warned the translator that he might continue his lecture. The lesson began and concluded with a slight and silent obeisance, and during the twelve or thirteen months of instruction the poet scarcely spoke as many words to the assistant of his studies. The Countess of Albany, however, on receiving something like a remonstrance against this reserve,



assured the young man that his pupil had the highest esteem for him and his services. But it is not to be supposed that the master felt much regret at giving his last lesson to so Pythagorean a scholar. The same gentleman described the poet as one whom he had seldom heard speak in any company, and as seldom seen smile. His daily temper depended not a little upon his favourite horse, whom he used to feed out of his hand, and ordered to be led out before him every morning. If the animal neighed, or replied to his caresses with any signs of pleasure, his countenance brightened, but the insensibility of the horse was generally followed by the dejection of the master.

The tomb of Alfieri in the Santa Croce is one of the least successful productions of Canova. The whole monument is heavy, and projects itself into the aisle of the church more prominently than becomes the associate of the more retiring but richer sepulchres of Michael Angelo and Machiavelli. The colossal Cybele of Italy, weeping over a medallion in low relief, shows the difficulty of doing justice to the mourner and the monument, and may besides be mistaken for the princess of the house of Stolberg, whose name and title have left little room on the inscription for Alfieri himself. They show a little step opposite to the monument, on which the princess herself periodically contemplates her own work and that of Canova. The grief of an amiable woman for the loss of an accomplished man may be expected to endure; and,

to say the truth, the other sex has too long wanted a "contrast"\* to the twice retold tale of the Ephesian matron.

### MADAME DE STAEL.

*Santa Croce* will recall the memory not only of those whose tombs have made this church the centre of pilgrimage, the Mecca of Italy, but of her whose eloquence was poured over the illustrious ashes, and whose voice is now as mute as those she sung. CORINNA is no more; and with her should expire the fear, the flattery, and the envy, which threw too dazzling or too dark a cloud round the march of genius, and forbad the steady gaze of disinterested criticism. We have her picture embellished or distorted, as friendship or detraction has held the pencil: the impartial portrait was hardly to be expected from a contemporary. The immediate voice of her survivors will, it is probable, be far from affording a just estimate of her singular capacity. The gallantry, the love of wonder, and the

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\* In the former edition the word "pendant" was used; and when I revisited Florence I found that my informant and Madame Albany herself were very indignant at the phrase. The fact was, I thought "pendant" might be used in the sense of "contrast," just as Horne Tooke called his contrast "a pair of portraits." My informant was the young man mentioned in these anecdotes as assisting the poet in learning Greek; and nothing was farther from my thoughts than saying anything which might compromise him with his patroness or offend the lady herself. A celebrated Irish lady asked Madame Albany before much company if she had read the notes to 'Childe Harold.' The princess gave her no answer, and never asked her to her house again.

hope of associated fame, which blunted the edge of censure, must cease to exist. The dead have no sex ; they can surprise by no new miracles ; they can confer no privilege : Corinna has ceased to be a woman—she is only an author : and it may be foreseen that many will repay themselves for former complaisance by a severity to which the extravagance of previous praises may perhaps give the colour of truth. The latest posterity, for to the latest posterity they will assuredly descend, will have to pronounce upon her various productions ; and the longer the vista through which they are seen, the more accurately minute will be the object, the more certain the justice, of the decision. She will enter into that existence in which the great writers of all ages and nations are, as it were, associated in a world of their own, and, from that superior sphere, shed their eternal influence for the control and consolation of mankind. But the individual will gradually disappear as the author is more distinctly seen : some one, therefore, of all those whom the charms of involuntary wit, and of easy hospitality, attracted within the friendly circles of Coppet, should rescue from oblivion those virtues which, although they are said to love the shade, are, in fact, more frequently chilled than excited by the domestic cares of private life. Some one should be found to portray the unaffected graces with which she adorned those dearer relationships, the performance of whose duties is rather discovered amongst the interior secrets than seen in the

outward management of family intercourse; and which, indeed, it requires the delicacy of genuine affection to qualify for the eye of an indifferent spectator. Some one should be found, not to celebrate, but to describe, the amiable mistress of an open mansion, the centre of a society, ever varied, and always pleased, the creator of which, divested of the ambition and the arts of public rivalry, shone forth only to give fresh animation to those around her. The mother, tenderly affectionate and tenderly beloved, the friend unboundedly generous, but still esteemed, the charitable patroness of all distress, cannot be forgotten by those whom she cherished, and protected, and fed. Her loss will be mourned the most where she was known the best; and to the sorrows of very many friends and more dependants, may be offered the disinterested regret of a stranger, who, amidst the sublimer scenes of the Leman Lake, received his chief satisfaction from contemplating the engaging qualities of the incomparable Corinna.\*

#### ROADS FROM FLORENCE TO ROME—THRASIMENE.

I have travelled the road by Perugia and the road by Sienna several times, and I prefer the former, although the railroad gives greater advantages by the latter route.

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\* This and the description of Thrasimene are quoted in the guide-books as having been written by Lord Byron—a mistake not discreditable to the author.



My first journey in 1816, and my last in 1854, took me through that part of Tuscany which has been well described by a recent traveller as being "cultivated, as far as possible, as a beautiful garden; the lands at either side of the road from Cortona to Florence (some sixty miles) present a picture of cleanliness, skill, variety of tillage, comfort in the dwellings and appearance of the people, not to be surpassed in any part of Europe."\* This appeared to me to be true at my last visit. Political changes had passed over the land and left no trace observable by a mere traveller. I was not, indeed, on the look-out for symptoms of discontent, but recurred rather to my former pursuits, and, descending from the hills that skirt the Lake of Perugia on the Roman frontier, again examined the site of the ever memorable battle of Thrasimene. But that site is more easily recognisable by any one coming from the Tuscan frontier, and cannot be mistaken. The traveller from the village under Cortona to Casa di Piano, the next stage on the way to Rome, has, for the first two or three miles, around him, but more particularly to the right, that flat land which Hannibal laid waste in order to induce the Consul Flaminius to move from Arezzo. On his left, and in front of him, is a ridge of hills, bending down towards the Lake of Thrasimene, called by Livy "*montes Cortonenses*," and now named the Gualandra. These hills he approaches at Ossaja, a village

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\* Whiteside, Italy in the Nineteenth Century, vol. i. p. 115.

which the itineraries pretend to have been so denominated from the bones found there : but there have been no bones found there, and the battle was fought on the other side of the hill.\* From Ossaja the road begins to rise a little, but does not pass into the roots of the mountains until the sixty-seventh milestone from Florence.† The ascent thence is not steep but perpetual, and continues for twenty minutes. The lake is soon seen below on the right, with Borghetto, a round tower, close upon the water ; and the undulating hills partially covered with wood, amongst which the road winds, sink by degrees into the marshes near to this tower. Lower than the road, down to the right amidst these woody hillocks, Hannibal placed his horse,‡ in the jaws of, or rather above, the pass, which was between the lake and the present road, and most probably close to Borghetto, just under the lowest of the “tumuli.”§

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\* And, besides this fact, Niebuhr says that the name should be Orsaia, from the Orsi family.

† This was an accurate description of the road in 1816. At present it passes nearer to the lake, and more at the foot than on the declivities of the hills, probably about the pass where Flaminius entered the plain. The sixty-seventh milestone now is not near Ossaja, but Camuscia under Cortona. I remarked also, in 1854, that Passignano is not at the very end of the lake, but just at the foot of the hills which enclose the plain on the side of Perugia. The best view of the site of the battle is from the Papal custom-house close to the Tuscan frontier in the Gualandra hills.

‡ “Equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat.”—T. Livii, lib. xxii. cap. iv.

§ “Ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Thrasimenus subit.”—Ibid.

On a summit to the left, above the road, is an old circular ruin which the peasants call "the Tower of Hannibal the Carthaginian." Arrived at the highest point of the road, the traveller has a partial view of the fatal plain which opens fully upon him as he descends the Gualandra. He soon finds himself in a vale enclosed to the left and in front and behind him by the Gualandra hills, bending round in a segment larger than a semi-circle, and running down at each end to the lake, which obliques to the right and forms the chord of this mountain arc. The position cannot be guessed at from the plains of Cortona, nor appears to be so completely enclosed unless to one who is fairly within the hills. It then, indeed, appears "a place made as it were on purpose for a snare," *locus insidiis natus*. "Borghetto is then found to stand in a narrow marshy pass close to the hill and to the lake, whilst there is no other outlet at the opposite turn of the mountains than through the little town of Passignano, which is pushed into the water by the foot of a high rocky acclivity."\* There is a woody eminence branching down from the mountains into the upper end of the plain nearer to the side of Passignano, and on this stands a white village called Torre. Polybius seems to allude to this eminence as the one on which Hannibal encamped and drew out his heavy-armed Africans and Spaniards in a conspicuous

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\* "Inde colles assurgunt."—T. Livii, lib. xxii.

position.\* From this spot he despatched his Balearic and light-armed troops round through the Gualandra heights to the right, so as to arrive unseen and form an ambush amongst the broken acclivities which the road now passes, and to be ready to act upon the left flank and above the enemy, whilst the horse shut up the pass behind. Flaminius came to the lake near Borghetto at sunset; and, without sending any spies before him, marched through the pass the next morning before the day had quite broken, so that he perceived nothing of the horse and light troops above and about him, and saw only the heavy-armed Carthaginians in front on the hill of Torre.† The Consul began to draw out his army in the flat, and in the mean time the horse in ambush occupied the pass behind him at Borghetto. Thus the Romans were completely enclosed, having the lake on the right, the main army on the hill of Torre in front, the Gualandra hills filled with the light-armed on their left flank, and being prevented from receding by the cavalry, who, the farther they advanced, stopped up all the outlets in the rear. A fog rising from the lake now spread itself over the army of the Consul, but the high lands were in the sunshine, and all the different corps in

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\* Τὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον αὐτὸς κατελάβετο καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τοὺς Ἰβήρας ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε.—*Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. 83. The account in Polybius is not so easily reconcileable with present appearances as that in Livy: he talks of hills to the right and left of the pass and valley; but when Flaminius entered he had the lake at the right of both.

† “A tergo et super caput decipere insidiæ.”—T. Liv., &c.



ambush looked towards the hill of Torre for the order of attack. Hannibal gave the signal, and moved down from his post on the height. At the same moment all his troops on the eminences behind and in the flank of Flaminius rushed forwards as it were with one accord into the plain. The Romans, who were forming their array in the mist, suddenly heard the shouts of the enemy amongst them, on every side, and before they could fall into their ranks, or draw their swords, or see by whom they were attacked, felt at once that they were surrounded and lost.

There are two little rivulets which run from the Gualandra into the lake. The traveller crosses the first of these at about a mile after he comes into the plain, and this divides the Tuscan from the Papal territories. The second, about a quarter of a mile further on, is called "the bloody rivulet," and the peasants point out an open spot to the left between the "Sanguinetto" and the hills, which, they say, was the principal scene of slaughter. The other part of the plain is covered with thick-set olive-trees in corn-grounds, and is nowhere quite level except near the edge of the lake. It is, indeed, most probable that the battle was fought near this end of the valley, for the six thousand Romans who, at the beginning of the action, broke through the enemy, escaped to the summit of an eminence which must have been in this quarter, otherwise they would have had to traverse the whole plain and to pierce through the main army of Hannibal.

The Romans fought desperately for three hours, but the death of Flaminius was the signal for a general dispersion. The Carthaginian horse then burst in upon the fugitives, and the lake, the marsh about Borghetto, but chiefly the plain of the Sanguinetto and the passes of the Gualandra, were strewed with dead. Near some old walls on a bleak ridge to the left above the rivulet many human bones have been repeatedly found, and this has confirmed the pretensions and the name of the "stream of blood."

Every district of Italy has its hero. In the north some painter is the usual genius of the place, and the foreign Julio Romano more than divides Mantua with her native Virgil.\* To the south we hear of Roman names. Near Thrasimene tradition is still faithful to the fame of an enemy, and Hannibal the Carthaginian is the only ancient name remembered on the banks of the Perugian lake. Flaminius is unknown; but the postilions on that road have been taught to show the very spot where *il Console Romano* was slain. Of all who fought and fell in the battle of Thrasimene, the historian himself has, besides the generals and Maharbal, preserved indeed only a single name.† You overtake

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\* About the middle of the twelfth century the coins of Mantua bore on one side the image and figure of Virgil.—*Zecca d' Italia*, pl. xvii. i. 6. *Voyage dans le Milanais, &c.*, par A. Z. Millin, tom. ii. p. 294: Paris, 1817.

† "Ducario, Insuber eques," who, before he killed Flaminius, made a short speech, given by Livy!!

the Carthaginian again on the same road to Rome. The antiquary, that is, the hostler, of the posthouse at Spoleto, tells you that his town repulsed the victorious enemy, and shows you the gate still called *Porta di Annibale*. It is hardly worth while to remark that a French travel-writer, well known by the name of the President Dupaty, saw Thrasimene in the lake of Bolsena, which lay conveniently on his way from Sienna to Rome.

#### THE CLITUMNUS.

The Clitumnus rises at *Le Vene di Campello*, or *di Piscignano*. In the territory of Trevi and that of Foligno it is called the "Clitunno," and lower down in its course assumes the name of *La Timmia*. Antiquaries have been careful to measure the exact size of its original fountain, which they find to be eleven Roman palms and ten inches long, and one palm seven inches and a half wide. This source pours from beneath a blind arch in the high road from Foligno to Spoleto, half a mile from the post-house of Le Vene, and, gushing into a thousand blue eddies, is soon lost in a bed of giant reeds. The peasants of the neighbourhood say that the stream has many fountains; and, although nowhere in the immediate vicinity it is broader than a millbrook, is in many places unfathomable. The Clitumnus has been sung by most of the poets from Virgil to Claudian. The Umbrian Jupiter bore the same name; and either he or the

river-god himself inspired an oracle which gave answers by lots, and which was consulted by Caligula.\* There were festivals celebrated by the people of the neighbouring Hispellum in honour of this deity.† When Pliny the younger saw and described the Clitumnus, the fountain spread at once into a considerable river,‡ capable of bearing two laden boats abreast;§ but it is thought has been shrunk by the great earthquake in 446, which shook Constantinoplè for six months, and was violently felt in many parts of Italy. The “glassy Fucine lake, the sea-green Anio, the sulphureous Nar, the clear Faberis, and the turbid Tyber,” are, with the cold Clitumnus, known to have been affected by this tremendous convulsion.|| Hence, perhaps, the holes which are said to be unfathomable. It has, however, been always honourably mentioned amongst the rivers of Italy;¶ and if the little temple

\* Sueton. in Vita Calig.

† Gori. Mus. Etrus., tom. ii. p. 66. “Clitumnalia sacra apud Hispellates in ejus honorem celebrata fuisse, constat auctoritate hujus vetustæ aræ, eidem dedicata, quæ inter Gudianas vulgata est.” —Edit. Florent., 1737.

‡ “Fons adhuc et jam amplissimum flumen.”—*Epist. ad Romanum*, lib. viii. epist. viii.

§ “Naveis tamen ne heic intelligas majores sed scaphas tantum.” —P. Cluverii, *Italix Antiquæ*, lib. ii. cap. x. tom. i. p. 702, edit. Elzev.

|| Sidon. Apollinar., lib. i. epist. v.

¶ Boccacio de Flum. in verb. Clitum. “Clitumnus Umbriæ fluvius apud Mevaniam et Spoletum defluens, ex quo (ut quidam volunt), si confertim postquam concepit bos bibat, album pariet.



on its banks was not thrown down, the effects of the earthquake could not have been very important. With respect to this temple, now a church dedicated to the Saviour, which is seen a few paces before you come to the principal source, some doubts have been entertained of its antiquity by a late English traveller, who is very seldom sceptical out of place.\* Fabretti, in his *Inscriptions*,† had before asserted that it had been built from ancient fragments by the Christians, who baptized it, sculptured the grapes on the tympanum, and added the steps. Mr. Forsyth's objection can, however, in this instance, perhaps, be removed by the mention of a fact with which he appears to have been unacquainted. The inside of the temple described by Pliny was "bescratched with the nonsense of an album," and of this record no vestiges were seen by our acute traveller: nor could they, for the whole of the interior of the chapel is allowed to have been modernized when the altar niche was added at the conversion of the structure, and any ancient remnants then left within were carried away when it was reduced to its present appearance in the middle of the last century. The sculpture of the columns, singular as it is, can scarcely be made a valid objec-

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Quam ob rem Romani magnas hostias Jovi immolaturi ad hunc locum per albis tauris mittebant. Hunc alii fontem alii lacum dicunt."—*Lib. de Geneal. Deorum*, in fin. edit. Princ.

\* Remarks on Italy, &c., p. 320, sec. edit.

† *Inscrip.*, p. 33. See *Osservazioni*, &c., p. 61, ut inf.

tion. Palladio calls it most delicate and beautifully various;\* and if what appears in his drawings vine-leaves be in reality, as Venuti asserts,† and as they seem to be, fish-scales, the workmanship may have some allusion to the river-god. The above great architect saw this temple entire, and made five designs of it.‡ What remains, which is only the western portico and the exterior of the cell, is certainly a part of the temple seen by him, and called by Cluverius one of the Fanes of Jupiter Clitumnus.§ It appears the Fane preserved the form copied by Palladio down to 1730, when an earthquake broke off a piece of the cornice; and even in 1739 it had not been reduced to the ruin in which Venuti saw it, and which seems to differ but little from its present condition.|| The chapel belonged formerly to the community of Trevi, but about the year 1420 they lost it together with the castle of Piscignano, and it became a simple ecclesi-

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\* “Lavorate delicatissimamente e con bella varietà d’ intagli.”—*Ichonog. de’ Temp.*, lib. iv. p. 2, cap. xxv., *del Tempio ch’ è sotto Trevi*, tom. vi. p. 10, Ven. 1745. The plates are not at all recognisable.

† Osservazioni sopra il fiume Clitunno, dall’ Abate Ridolpho Venuti, Cortonese, a Roma, 1753.

‡ See *Ichonog.*, ut sup.

§ P. Cluverii, *Italiae Antiquæ*, ut sup. *Sacraria ista nulla alia fuere, nisi quæ ab initio ad varios Clitumni fontes variis Jovis Clitumni nominibus numinibusque posita, ea haud dubie postea in Christianæ religionis usum conversa.* His annotator Holstenius also believed it most ancient, *Annot. ad Cluv. Geog.*, p. 123.

|| “La facciata che vedesi verso Ponente è l’ unica che sia rimasta illesa dal furore degl’ ignoranti.”—See ut sup., p. 45.

astical benefice of ten or twelve crowns annual rent attached to the Dateria at Rome. In 1730 it was intrusted to a brother Hilarion, who, under the pretext of repairing it, made a bargain with Benedetti, Bishop of Spoleto, to furnish him with a portion of the columns and marbles for three-and-twenty crowns. The community of Piscignano opposed this spoliation for some time, and an order was even procured from Pope Clement XII. to prevent it. But Monsignore Ancajani, then Bishop of Spoleto, confirmed the sale, laughed at the injunction, and said the marbles were but *old stones* ;\* consequently the hermit, brother Paul, who had been left by Hilarion, fell to work, demolished great part of the porticoes, and sold four of the columns for eighteen crowns to the Signori Fontani of Spoleto, who used them in building a family chapel in the Philippine church of that town.† In 1748 the same brother Paul, looking for a fancied treasure, broke his way through the interior of the chapel and tore up part of the subterranean cell, of which pious researches there are the marks at this day. Whatever remained of marble in the inside of the structure was then car-

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\* “ Quale se ne rise, dicendo essere *sassacci*, e seguìtò il frate a demolire e portar via.”—See *Osservazioni*, ut sup.

† “ Distruttore di questa fabbrica è stato un certo Eremita Chiamato Fra Paolo, che le ha vendute (4 colonne) per soli diecidotto scudi ai Fontanini di Spoleto, che se ne sono serviti per fare una loro cappella in onore di St. Filippo.”—*Lettera MS. del Conte Giacomo Valenti, ap. Venut. Osservazioni, &c., p. 49.*

ried away, and it was with much difficulty that the remaining portico was saved from the hands of the hermit.\* The reader is requested to bear in mind this transaction of two bishops and two holy brothers, executed in spite of the most respectable opposition in the middle of the last century. It may assist his conjectures when he comes to estimate the probable merits of the Christian clergy, who are said to have been so instrumental during the dark ages in preserving the relics of Rome. The Abate of Cortona talks with indignation of the offence,† and concludes with a prayer to Benedict XIV. to recover the pillage, and replace the columns and marbles on their ancient base. Indeed the spoilers were guilty not only of a crime against the antiquary, but of sacrilege. Clitumnus could not be expected to deter brother Hilarion and brother Paul, but the name of our Saviour might. Benedict XIV. did not listen to the Abate, and we see the temple as it was left by the honest hermit.

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\* "... and the statue of the god (the Clitumnus) has yielded its place to the triumphant cross. This circumstance is rather fortunate, as to it the temple owes its preservation."—*Classical Tour through Italy*, chap. ix. tom. i. p. 321, 3rd edit. Mr. Eustace was innocent of all knowledge of the above fact; otherwise, though a zealous crusader, he would not have stuck his triumphant cross on the Clitumnus.

† "E quello non hanno fatto i Goti nelle incursione, l'hanno fatto quelli, che non s' intendono d' antichità."—*Osservazioni*, &c., ut sup.



It should seem, then that the little portico and the form at least of the cell belong to an ancient temple, and probably to that of the Clitumnus, if not to one of the many chapels which were near the principal fane.\* There were formerly vestiges of two other small ancient structures,† which had not entirely disappeared when Venuti wrote, and had given to a spot above the church the name *ad sacraria*. The counts Valenti di Trevi found also the statue of a river-god near the chapel, and placed it in their collection. Add to this that the names ‡ still seen on the roof of the subterranean cell belonged probably to those who had consulted the oracle, and that there can be no doubt of the antiquity of that *adytus*, although it is half blocked up and defaced by the excavations of brother Paul. The cypress grove which shaded the hill above the source of the river has disappeared, but the water still preserves the ancient property of producing some of the finest trout to be met with in Italy §

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\* “Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura.”—*Plin. Epist.*, &c.

† Holstenius Annot. ad Geog. Cluv., p. 123.

‡ T. SEPTIMIUS                      BIDIA. L. F.  
PLEBEIVS                      POLLA

The temple of the oracle of Memnon in Upper Egypt was full of such inscriptions.—See *Osservazioni*, &c., p. 56.

§ Alas for the temple, and the fountain, and the stream, and the vale of the Clitumnus! A mill and manufactory have been established immediately below the little chapel; and in 1854 I scarcely recognised the spot which had inspired Lord Byron, and charmed me so much, in 1816.

## TERNI.

The fall looks so much like what Lord Byron called "the hell of waters," that Addison thought it might be the gulf through which Alecto plunged into the infernal regions. It is singular enough that two of the finest cascades in Europe should be artificial—this of the Velino, and the one at Tivoli. The traveller is strongly recommended to trace the Velino, at least as high as the little lake called *Pie' di Lup*. The Reatine territory was the Italian Tempe,\* and the ancient naturalist, amongst other beautiful varieties, remarked the daily rainbows of the lake Velinus.† A scholar of great name has devoted a treatise to this district alone.‡

In March 1854 I passed a week at Terni, and walked several times up the valley of the Velino. The best view of the fall is obtained by descending the hill at Papigno, crossing the river opposite to the Casino of the brothers Castelli (where Caroline, queen of George IV., passed several days), then ascending through the gardens of the Casino, and passing along rocky ledges of brushwood, until you come within sight and sound of

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\* "Reatini me ad sua Tempe duxerunt."—Cicer., *Epist. ad Attic.* xv. lib. iv.

† "In eodem lacu nullo non die apparere arcus."—Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, lib. ii. cap. lxii.

‡ Ald. Manut. de Reatina urbe agroque, ap. Sallengre Thesaur., tom. i. p. 773.

the great torrent tumbling through a cleft of the opposite heights. Nine days before my visit this beautiful spot was chosen by a young artisan of Terni, a native of Ancona, for his last look at the world. Before he leaped from the rocks into the depths below he pencilled a few words, and left the paper where he stood, merely declaring that he had done the deed himself. Not an uncommon conclusion, in this part of the country, of ill-requited love,—at least so I was told at Terni. It seems the swains either take this desperate step or turn friars. There is an arbour with a wooden bench in it just opposite to the great cataract, a little above this lover's leap, and this is farmed by a peasant at 10 scudi a-year.

#### APPROACH TO ROME.

The fixing localities, and determining the claims of those antiquities whose chief interest is derived from the story attached to them, is generally supposed the peculiar province of dull, plodding writers: but as the man most willing to give scope to his imagination would hardly choose to have any other foundation for his feeling than truth, and as he would be incensed at having been entrapped by an ignorant enthusiastic declaimer into an admiration of objects whose authenticity may be questioned by the first cool examinant, it is but fair that he should accept the labours of the professed topographer and antiquary with their due share of complacency and praise. The common opinion that blind belief is the

most convenient *viaticum* is contradicted by the experience of every traveller in Italy. He who begins his journey with such entire confidence in common fame and common guide-books must have the conviction of imposture and mistake forced upon him at every turn. He is likely then to slide into the contrary extreme, and, if he is averse to all previous examination, will subside at last into complete scepticism and indifference. We may apply a literal sense to the words of Erasmus in praise of Italy: "*In that country the very walls are more learned and more eloquent than our men.*"\* But the immense variety of antiquarian objects, the innumerable details of historical topography belonging to every province, the national inclination to fable, and, it may be said, to deception, suggest themselves to every considerate traveller, and induce him to a caution and reserve which, with wonders less multiplied and guides more faithful, he might deem superfluous and embarrassing. A very little experience is sufficient to convince him how small is the proportion of those antiquities whose real character has been entirely ascertained. From his first view of Soracte he rapidly advances upon Rome, the approach to which soon brings him upon debateable ground. At Civita Castellana he will find himself amongst the Veians when in the market-place of Leo X., but going on the town bridge he is told by Pius VI. that he is at Falerium. After he has caught

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\* Lib. i. Epist. iv. to Rob. Fisher.



the first view of St. Peter's from the height beyond Baccano, he hopes that the remaining sixteen miles may furnish him at every other step with some sign of his vicinity to Rome: he palpitates with expectation, and gazes eagerly on the open undulating dells and plains, fearful lest a fragment of an aqueduct, a column, or an arch, should escape his notice.

Gibbets garnished with black withered limbs, and a monk in a vetturino's chaise, may remind him that he is approaching the modern capital; but he descends into alternate hollows, and winds up hill after hill with nothing to observe except the incorrectness of the last book of travels, which will have talked to him of the flat, bare, dreary waste he has to pass over before arriving at the *Eternal City*. At last, however, he is stopped at a sarcophagus, and told to look at *the tomb of Nero*: a hardy falsehood, which may prepare him for the misnomers of the city itself, but which, notwithstanding the name of C. VIBIVS MARIANVS is cut upon the stone, was so exactly suited to the taste and learning of the president Dupaty, that he pointed a period of his favourite starts and dashes with this epigram, on the approach to ruined Rome, "*c'est le tombeau de Néron qui l'annonce.*" \*

The downs which the traveller has passed after leaving Monterosi sink into green shrubby dells as he

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\* Santi Bartoli gives a picture of this tomb, plate 44, and says of it, "falsamente detto di Nerone."

arrives within five or six miles of Rome. The Monte Mario stretches forward its high woody platform on the right. The distant plain of the Tiber and the Campagna, to the left, is closed by the Tiburtine and Alban hills. In the midst Rome herself, wide spreading from the Vatican to the pine-covered Pincian, is seen at intervals so far apart as to appear more than a single city. Arrived at the banks of the Tiber, he does not find the muddy insignificant stream which the disappointments of overheated expectations have described it, but one of the finest rivers in Europe, now rolling through a vale of gardens, and now sweeping the base of swelling acclivities clothed with wood, and crowned with villas and their evergreen shrubberies. Immediately after he has crossed the river he will see the gate of the city at the end of a vista two miles in length; and the suburb is not composed of mean dwellings, but a fine road with a wide pavement passes between the walls of vineyards and orchards, with here and there neat summer-houses or arched gateways rising on either hand, and becoming more frequent with the nearer approach to the city. The Flaminian gate, although it is thought unworthy of Rome and Michael Angelo, will content those who are not fastidious. An entrance, not an arch of triumph, is sufficient for the modern capital. The stranger, when within that gate, may ascend at once by the new road winding up the Pincian mount, and enjoy from that eminence the view of a city, which, whatever may be the faults of its architectural details, is, when

seen in the mass, incomparably the handsomest in the world.\* The pure transparent sky above him will seem made, as it were, to give brilliancy to the magnificent prospect below. The new climate will indeed add much to his delight, for although, amongst those branches of the Apennines which approach within forty miles of the city, he may have been chilled by the rigours of a Lombard sky, he is no sooner in the plain of the Tiber than his spirits expand in an atmosphere which, in many seasons, preserves an unsullied lustre and exhilarating warmth from the rains of autumn to the tempests of the vernal equinox. What has been said and sung of the tepid winter of Italy is not intelligible to the north of Rome; but in that divine city—for some transport may be allowed to the recollection of all its attractions—we assent to the praises of Virgil, and feel his poetry to have spoken the language of truth.

“Hic ver assiduum atque alienis mensibus æstas.”

This must have been written at Rome: the banks of his frozen Mincio would have inspired no such rapture.†

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\* Donatus prefers the site, the streets, and, as far as the church of St. Peter's is considered, the edifices, of the modern to those of the ancient city.—*Roma Vetus*, lib. i. cap. 29. The town is much improved since the time of Urban VIII., to whom Donatus dedicated his work.

† Rome had fallen when Rutilius said of her climate,—

“Vere tuo nunquam mulceri desinit annus  
Deliciasque tuas victa tuetur hyems.”

—Cl. Rut., *NUM. Iter.*

But not the superb structures of the modern town, nor the happy climate, have made Rome the country of every man and "the city of the soul." The education which has qualified the traveller of every nation for that citizenship which is again become, in one point of view, what it once was, the portion of the whole civilized world, prepares for him at Rome enjoyments independent of the city and inhabitants about him, and of all the allurements of site and climate. He will have already peopled the banks of the Tiber with the shades of Pompey, Constantine, and Belisarius, and the other heroes of the Milvian bridge. The first footstep within the venerable walls will have shown him the name and the magnificence of Augustus ; and the three long narrow streets branching from this obelisk, like the theatre of Palladio, will have imposed upon his fancy with an air of antiquity congenial to the soil. Even the mendicants of the country asking alms in Latin prayers, the milestones of the Via Cassia, and the vineyard gates of the suburbs inscribed with the ancient language, may be allowed to contribute to the agreeable delusion. Of the local sanctity which belongs to Athens, Rome, and Constantinople, the two first may be thought to possess, perhaps, an equal share. The latter is attractive chiefly for that site which was chosen for the retreat and became the grave of empire. The Greek capital may be more precious in the eyes of the artist, and, it may be, of the scholar, but yields to the magnitude, the grandeur, and variety of the Roman relics. The robe



of the Orientals\* has spread round Athens an air of antique preservation, which the European city and the concourse of strangers have partially dispelled from Rome. But the required solitude may be occasionally found amongst the vaults of the Palatine, or the columns of the great Forum itself. Ancient and modern Rome are linked together like the dead and living criminals of Mezentius. The present town may be easily forgotten amidst the wrecks of the ancient metropolis; and a spectator on the tower of the Capitol may turn from the carnival throngs of the Corso to the contiguous fragments of the old city, and not behold a single human being. The general effect of such a prospect may be felt by any one; and ignorance may be consoled by hearing that a detailed examination must be made the study rather of a life than of a casual visit.

#### GUIDES FOR ROME.

The traveller who is neither very young nor very incurious may inquire what previous instruction or present guides will enable him to understand the history as well as to feel the moral effect of "the broken thrones and temples." To this question no satisfactory answer can be given.† The earlier notices of the Roman antiquities abound with errors, which might

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\* Now exchanged for the Bavarian hat and breeches (1854).

† Written in 1817; but Dr. Smith's Rome has now provided the traveller with much that he wants.

be expected from the infancy of a study requiring so much discretion. Petrarch, who was himself an antiquary, and presented a collection of gold and silver medals to the Emperor Charles IV. in 1354, called the pyramid of Cestius the tomb of Remus; and Poggio, who is surprised at such an error,\* has indulged in exaggerations which very much reduce the value of his lamentation over the fallen city. The ill-tempered Florentine has also told us what to expect from his contemporary Ciriacus of Ancona, whose forty days' ride in Rome, with his tablets in hand, has procured for him no better names than an impostor and a dunce.† Flavius Blondus, who dedicated his treatises to the patron of this latter writer, Eugenius IV., contented himself with a description rather of the ancient city, and hazarded so few conjectures on its comparative topography, that he owns he could hardly discover the seven hills on the most minute inspection.‡ When less doubtful, he is not less erroneous; and, amongst other instances, may be selected his assertion that Theodoric permitted the Romans to

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\* *De fortunæ varietate urbis Romæ et de ruinis ejusdem descriptio.* Ap. Sallengre, *Nov. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman.*, Venet. 1735, tom. i. p. 501.

† See an account of him in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett.*, tom. vi. par. i. lib. i. p. 264 et seq., edit. Venet. 1795. He rode on a white horse, lent him by Cardinal Condolmieri, afterwards Eugenius IV. Tiraboschi defends Ciriacus.

‡ *Roma instaurata*, edit. Taurin. 1527, in a collection, lib. i. fol. 14.

employ the stones of the Coliseum for the repair of the city walls.\* In the end of the same century (15th) Pomponius Lætus made a collection of antiquities on the Quirinal, and distinguished himself in exploring the ruins; but the forgery of the inscription to Claudian† renders the authority of the restorer of the drama more than suspected. Sabellico Peutinger and Andreas Fulvius, both of the school of Lætus, will throw little light on a survey of Rome. The character of Marlianus may be given from his annotator Fulvius Ursinus.‡ He does not treat frequently of the modern town, and despatches the curiosities of the

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\* Roma instaurata, lib. iii. fol. 33. See notice of the Coliseum.

† Claudian had a statue in the forum of Trajan, but the inscription was composed by Pomponius Lætus. See Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c., tom. ii. lib. iv. It imposed on all the antiquaries, and was believed even by Nardini. See *Roma Antic.*, lib. v. cap. ix. Considerable caution is requisite even at this time in reading inscriptions either on the spot or copied. That on the horse of Aurelius was written at a venture, when that monument was transported from the Lateran to the Capitol, in 1538, by Paul III.

Faunus, Gruter, Pagi, Smetius, Desgodetz, Piranesi, gave an incorrect copy of the inscription on the Pantheon. Marlianus, Faunus, and Nardini have done the same by the inscription on the Temple of Concord. See the Abate Fea's dissertation on the ruins of Rome at the end of his translation of Winckelmann's *Storia delle Arti*, &c., tom. iii. pp. 294, 298.

‡ Fulvius is angry with Marlianus for placing the temple of Jupiter Tonans near the Clivus Capitolinus, but it was placed there again by the antiquaries of our own day. "Atque fortasse minus est admirandum quod ita factus est homo hic ut arbitrato suo temere omnia tractet."—See *Marliani urbis Romæ Topographia*, ap. *Græv. Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iii. lib. ii. cap. 3, p. 141, note 3. Marlianus dedicated his treatise to Francis I., whom he styles *liberator Romæ*.

Capitol in twenty lines. The arbitrary rashness which displeased Ursinus is, however, shown in instances more decisive than the one selected by his annotator. Lucius Faunus is occasionally quoted by later writers, and generally for the sake of correcting his errors.\* The studious but unlearned Ligorius, the erudite obscure Panvinus, have received their estimation from Montfaucon.† Pancirolus does not attempt to be a modern guide, and Fabricius, where he runs into the contrary extreme, and gives ancient names to disputed remnants, is to be admired only for the boldness of his conjecture.‡ Donatus and Nardini are indeed of a very superior quality, and the last is to this day the most serviceable conductor. The exception made in their favour by the more modern writers is not, however, unqualified.§ Montfaucon, in the end of the

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\* De Antiq. urb. Romæ, ap. Sallengre, Nov. Thesaur., &c., tom. i. p. 217.

† *Diarium Italicum*, edit. Paris, 1702, cap. 20, p. 279. "Sequitur Onuphrius Panvinus, qui omnes quotquot antea scripserunt eruditis suis lucubrationibus obscuravit." He is given in the third vol. of Grævius.

‡ They are both to be found in the third vol. of Grævius. *Descriptio urbis Romæ*, p. 462. George Fabricius wrote in 1550. Panvinus dedicated his description of Rome, which he added to the old regionaries, to the Emperor Ferdinand, in 1558. Fabricius himself mentions some early writers in his first chapter, and lays down a useful canon—"In cognoscendis autem urbis antiquitatibus sermo vulgi audiendus non est."

§ "E quibus (that is, all the early topographers), si hos binos posteriores exceperis, nemo est, qui in turpes errores non inciderit, quamquam nec isti quidem immunes sint."—Jul. Minutuli, *Disser-*



17th century, found them, and many others who had passed nearly their whole lives in attempting a description of the city, far from satisfactory,\* and neither he nor his contemporaries supplied the deficiency. A hundred years have not furnished the desired plan of the city. Detached monuments have been investigated with some success; and whenever Visconti has shone out, we have had reason "to bless the useful light." But whoever should attempt a general view of the subject would have to brush away the cobwebs of erudition with which even the modern discoveries are partially obscured. Venuti hardly deserves the praise conferred upon him by our most intelligent modern traveller.† His style and argument are in many places such as not to allow of his being divined, and he generally leaves us, even when most positive, to balance doubts and choose between difficulties. If the Abbé Barthelemy had pursued his original plan of writing an Italian Anacharsis for the age of Leo X., he might have been more

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*tatio III. de urbis Romæ topographia. Syllabus auctorum, ap. Sallengre, Supp., &c., p. 40.*

\* Montfaucon says of Donatus, "Quamvis plura prætermittat quam scribit." Of Nardini, "Laudatum opus a laudatis viris," but "videturque sane nihil pensi habere, dum dubia et difficultates perpetuo injiciat, ubi ne vel umbra difficultatis fuerit."—*Diarium Italicum*, &c., cap. 20, p. 281, edit. Paris, 1702.

† Mr. Forsyth, after touching on the inadequacy of former topographers as general guides, says, "*Venuti has sifted this farrago.*" *Remarks, &c., on Italy*, p. 129, sec. edit. If he has, the chaff flies in our eyes.

useful at Rome than he is in Greece. As it is, the Abbé's cursory but learned observations are distinguished by the quotation of a very singular document, the original of which has never been found;\* and his ingenious countrymen had not extended their literary empire to the illustration of sites and monuments in their rival Italy until their political dominion had embraced the soil itself. Our own writers, with the exception of Mr. Forsyth, whose sketch makes us regret the loss of the taste and learning he might have brought to bear on a regular survey, have done nothing in this laborious line, absolutely nothing. The last of them seems to have thought it of little importance that the Capitol was ever inhabited by any others than the monks of Ara-celi, or that the court of Augustus preceded that of the Popes. The insufficiency of all latter labours, and the necessity of some new guide, may be collected from the expedient at last adopted

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\* It refers to the Coliseum, and will be remarked in its proper place. See *Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xxviii. pp. 519, 599. A separate volume has been printed.

Mr. Millin has published four volumes on Upper Italy (*Voyage en Savoie, en Piémont, à Nice, et à Gènes*, 1816; and *Voyage dans le Milanais à Plaisance, Parme, &c.* 1817), and is to continue his work down to the Straits of Messina, and into Calabria. He should be warned that he is charged by the Italians with never having been in some of the spots he describes as a spectator. His compilation does not apply to present appearances. It is as clear that he never has been at Parma as that Bonaparte was at the battle of Lodi, which, by the account given by this conserver of the king's medals, it would appear he was not.—See *Voyage dans le Milanais, &c.* pp. 57, 58, chap. xvi.

of republishing Nardini.\* What has been said of the embarrassment of a stranger at Rome must appear more singular when it is recollected that besides the casual efforts of natives and foreigners there is an archæological society constantly at work upon the antiquities of the city and neighbourhood, and that not a few persons of liberal education are in the exercise of a lucrative profession, having for object the instruction and conduct of travellers amidst the wrecks of the old town and the museums of the new.

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\* It has been undertaken by Mr. Nibby, a respectable young man, one of the professional antiquaries of Rome, who is likewise employed on a translation of Pausanias. The volume on the Basilica of St. Paul, under the name of Monsignor Niccolai, is by this gentleman.

Nibby afterwards published his edition of Nardini, a volume on the Forum, and a work in four volumes called 'Rome in 1838,' divided into Ancient Rome and Modern Rome, besides other topographical essays. He became official antiquary to his Holiness, and acquired other honours, the titles of which stretch through several lines in the title-page of his last work.—He is dead (1860).

Dr. Smith's article "Rome," by Mr. Dyer, gives a short sketch of recent writers.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Few remains of Republican Rome—Uncertainty of Roman antiquities—The walls of Rome—Their ancient and modern measurement—Various names at different times given to the same remains—Tomb of the Scipios—Destruction of ancient sepulchres.

## FEW REMAINS OF REPUBLICAN ROME.

It was one of the complaints of Poggio \* that he saw almost nothing entire, and but very few remains, of the free city; and, indeed, the principal disappointment at Rome arises from finding such insignificant vestiges of the first ages and of the republic. Something, perhaps, might be added to the lists of them given by Mr. Forsyth; but not much. We have seen how soon those works disappeared; but we might still have expected to find something more than a sewer, a prison, a row of vaults, a foundation wall, a pavement, a sepulchre, a half-buried fragment of a theatre and circus. The artist may be comparatively indif-

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\* “Nam ex publicis aut privatis operibus liberæ quondam civitatis interrupta quædam et ea parva vestigia visuntur.”—*De Varietate, &c.*



ferent to the date and history, and regard chiefly the architectural merit of a structure ; but the Rome which the Republican Florentine regretted, and which an Englishman must wish to find, is not that of Augustus and his successors, but of those greater and better men of whose heroic actions his earliest impressions are composed.

We have heard too much of the turbulence of the Roman democracy and of the Augustan virtues. No civil tranquillity can compensate for that perpetual submission, not to laws but persons, which must be required from the subjects of the most limited monarchy. The citizens of the worst regulated republic must feel a pride and may indulge a hope superior to all the blessings of domestic peace, and of what is called established order, another word for durable servitude. The struggles for supreme though temporary power amongst those of an equal condition give birth to all the nobler energies of the mind, and find space for their unbounded exertion. Under a monarchy, however well attempered, the chief motive for action must be altogether wanting, or feebly felt, or cautiously encouraged. Duties purely ministerial, honours derived from an individual, may be meritoriously performed, may be gracefully worn ; but, as an object of ambition, they are infinitely below the independent control of our fellow-citizens, and, perhaps, scarcely furnish a compensation for entire repose. The natural love of distinction on any terms may push us into

public life; but it palsies our efforts, it mortifies our success, perpetually to feel that in such a career, although a failure is disgraceful, a victory is inglorious:

“Vincere inglorium—ateri sordidum.”

These are the sentiments of Agricola and the words of Tacitus, and bespeak the real value of the subordinate dignity which is all that can be obtained under a Domitian or under a Trajan, under the worst or under the best of princes.

As those glorious institutions which subdued and civilized the world have long seemed incompatible with the altered condition of mankind, we recur with the greater eagerness to every memorial of their former existence; and hence our regret at finding so little of the early city. The courtly and melodious muses that graced the first age of the monarchy have, indeed, affixed an imperishable interest to every site and object connected with their patrons or their poetry; and in default of republican relics we are content with looking on the floorings of the Esquiline palace and at the fabric dedicated to him who has found a more durable monument in the verses of Virgil. The house of Mæcenas and the theatre of Marcellus can boast no other attraction.

It is not to be denied but that by good fortune the most virtuous of the Roman sovereigns have left the most conspicuous monuments, and that we are thus perpetually recalled to an age in which mankind are

supposed to have been more happy and content than during any other period of history. We may look at the Coliseum, the temples of Vespasian and Antoninus, the arch of Titus, and the historical columns, without cursing the usurpation of Augustus.

But it is not to worship at the shrine of the Flavian princes, nor to do homage to the *forbearance* of Trajan (the word is not used at random),\* or to the philosophy of Aurelius, that we undertake the pilgrimage of Rome. The men whose traces we would wish to discover were cast in another mould, and belonged to that order of beings whose superior qualities were, by the wisest of their immediate successors,† as well as by the slaves of the last emperors,‡ acknowledged to have expired with the republic. It is with the builders, and not the dilapidators, of the Roman race that we would hope to meet in the Capitol. Our youthful pursuits inspire us with no respect or affection for this nation independent of their republican virtues. It is to refresh our recollection of those virtues that we explore the ruins of

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\* Νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε οἴνου διακόρως ἔπινε, καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἔν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οὐδένα ἐλύπησεν.—*Dion. Hist. Rom.*, lib. lxxviii. tom. ii. p. 1125, edit. Hamb., 1750. It may be recollected why Julian excluded Trajan from the banquet of the Cæsars.

† “Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit; magna illa ingenia cessere.”—*Tacit. Hist.*, lib. i. cap. i.

‡ “Postquam jura ferox in se communia Cæsar Transtulit; et lapsi mores; desuetaque priscis Artibus, in gremium pacis servile recessi.”

—*Claud. de Bello Gildonico.*

the city which gave them birth ; and, absorbed by an early devotion for the patriots of Rome, we are indifferent to the records of her princes. We feel no sympathy with the survivors of Philippi. We would prefer a single fragment of the Palatine house of Hortensius or of Cicero \* to all the lofty ruins which fringe the imperial hill.

As it is, we must visit a sepulchre or a museum ; must trust to one amongst a range of suspicious busts ; must unravel an inscription, to extricate ourselves from antiquarian doubts, before we are recalled to the city

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\* The more I consider the career of this great man, the more I admire his genius and revere his virtues ; and the more am I persuaded that, in his differences with the other wonderful persons who shed a last lustre on the falling Republic, the course recommended by him was the wisest and the best ; and that his words and actions were most becoming the true Roman character. Even the most questionable of these, his prolonged attempt to secure the co-operation of Octavius, which provoked Brutus to remonstrate with him in terms justly called indecent by Middleton,<sup>a</sup> seems to me to have been quite justifiable, and I have little doubt would have succeeded, if another portion of his admonitions had been listened to—namely, the immediate return of Brutus with his army into Italy. It may appear idle to speculate on the events of these long passed days, whilst we have before us, in the very scenes of those mighty transactions, a spectacle such as the world has not witnessed for many generations. But I confess that there is something in the men of that period that never fails to attract me, even amidst all the revolutions and surprising changes of our own times. Their very misfortunes give a sanctity to their lives, and are more admirable than the successes of ordinary men. They complete their heroic character, and make their deaths no less enviable than their lives.—[1861.]

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<sup>a</sup> Vol. iv. p. 431, Works, edit. London, 1752. I almost wish that Tunstall had proved these letters to have been forgeries.



of the Scipios, whilst everything around us attests the might and the magnificence of the Cæsars.\*

### UNCERTAINTY OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

THE WALLS, THEIR ANCIENT AND MODERN MEASUREMENT —  
VARIOUS NAMES AT DIFFERENT TIMES GIVEN TO THE SAME  
RUINS — TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS DESPOILED — TIME OF DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT SEPULCHRES.

The greater share of satisfaction at Rome will come to the portion of those travellers who find, like Dante, a pleasure in doubting. The stranger, when he has entered the modern city, would, at least, wish to assure himself that he knows the site of ancient Rome. He has, however, to clear his ground of some of the conjectures of the learned even before he can persuade himself thoroughly of this fact. He soon will believe that the circuit of the present walls is somewhat bigger than the region of the old Esquilæ, and more than a two hundredth part of the Augustan city.†

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\* Some writers of our time, and, amongst them, a few deservedly popular, have found out that the world has hitherto been sadly deceived with respect to the character and manners of the ancient Greeks and Romans. “C’était une bien vilaine race,” says M. Simond, who thinks the moderns have improved wonderfully upon their predecessors, not only in their own persons, but in the breed of their horses, which in the days of Bucephalus were only “bons gros limoniers;” but whether this is true or not, M. Simond’s volume is very amusing.

† “Vel solæ Esquilæ majores erant, quam sit totum illud quod hodiernis includitur muris spatium.”—Isa. Vossii, *De Magnit. Rom. Veteris*, p. 1507, ap. Græv., tom. iv. To have a perfect notion of the logic of learning, it is sufficient to read this insane treatise, which spreads the walls to 72 miles, and the inhabitants to 14

But he will not find it quite so easy to reconcile the various measurements with the actual appearance of the walls, or to understand how, as Gibbon tells us, "their circumference, except in the Vatican, has been invariably the same, from the triumph of Aurelian to the peaceful but obscure reign of the Popes."\* If so, it was the same, first, when Alaric took Rome; secondly, when the dominion of the Popes was established; thirdly, at this day.

The circuit, diminished from the fifty miles of Vopiscus, "is reduced by accurate measurement to about twenty-one miles," says Gibbon in his eleventh chapter.† This gives his measurement for the first period. But when Poggio saw them, "they formed a circumference of ten miles, included 379 turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates."‡ This serves for the second date. Lastly, "whatever fancy may conceive, the severe compass of the geographer defines the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces."§

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millions. There is scarcely an incontrovertible position in all his seven chapters. Lipsius is not quite so paradoxical in his conclusions, and he is much more ingenious in his array of authorities—his Rome is 23 miles.

\* Decline and Fall, cap. xli. vol. vii. oct. p. 228.

† Ibid., vol. ii. oct. p. 28. See also in another place. "When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammonius the mathematician, who found it equal to 21 miles."—Cap. xxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 287.

‡ Ibid., cap. lxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 398.

§ Ibid., cap. xli. p. 227.

These words of the same historian apply to the third point of time.

Now it is quite clear that all these measurements differ, and yet it is equally clear that the historian avers they are all the same. He says, in another place, speaking of them in the age of Petrarch, the walls "still described the old circumference."\* It is true he cites authorities; but he speaks without reserve, and has not attempted to account for the difference between the three above-given dimensions. We shall find no help, therefore, from the *Decline and Fall* of the Roman Empire, unless we follow only one of these various accounts, and believe in the third computation, which is that assigned by D'Anville from Nolli's map, and which coincides with the experience of two of our countrymen, who made a loose calculation of the circuit by walking round the walls in the winter of 1817.†

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\* *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxxi. p. 411, tom. xii. Gibbon has failed to observe that the walls were dilated after Aurelian and Probus, by Constantine, who took down one of the sides of the Prætorian camp and made the remaining three serve for the fortifications of the city, whose circuit thereby became necessarily somewhat enlarged.

† The following is a note of their walk. They set out from the banks of the Tiber, near the Flaminian gate (*Porta del Popolo*); their rate of walking was 592 paces in five minutes, and they noted the time from gate to gate. To the *Porta Pinciana* (shut), 18 minutes; *Porta Salara*, 8; *Porta Pia*, 3; a shut gate (*Querquetulana*), 12; *St. Lorenzo*, 8; *Maggiore*,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ; *Lateran*, or *Porta St. Giovanni*,  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; *Porta Latina* (shut),  $17\frac{1}{2}$ ; *Porta Capena*, or *St. Sebastiano*,  $4\frac{1}{4}$ ; a shut gate,  $3\frac{3}{4}$ ; *Porta di St. Paolo* (*Ostian*),  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ; delay,  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; within the wall, the outer circuit not being accessible,

Poggio's measurement was probably nearly exact, for he did not reckon the ramparts of Urban, and, perhaps, not the Vatican; but it is singular that the pilgrim of the thirteenth century, who undoubtedly saw the same walls, and enumerates very nearly the same quantity of turrets, should \* give to them a circumference double

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$4\frac{3}{4}$ ; delay, 7; within the walls down to the Tiber,  $6\frac{3}{4}$ ; delay, 4; bank of the Tiber within ruined wall,  $10\frac{3}{4}$ ; delay occasioned by going across the Tiber to the opposite corner,  $38\frac{1}{2}$ ; from bank of the Tiber to Porta Portese,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Porta Aurelia, or S. Pancrasio,  $18\frac{1}{2}$ ; Porta Cavalli Leggeri,  $14\frac{1}{4}$ ; a shut gate (Porta delle Fornaci),  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; Porta Fabbrica (shut), 6; Porta Angelica,  $14\frac{1}{4}$ ; Porta Castello (a shut gate),  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ; round to the corner of the bastion of St. Angelo, on bank of the Tiber,  $7\frac{3}{4}$ ; along the bank of the Tiber, where there are no walls, to the ferry at the Ripetta,  $7\frac{1}{4}$ ; delay,  $10\frac{1}{4}$ ; crossing the Tiber and walking along the bank to the corner of the walls whence they set out,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . The time employed in walk was 4 hours 38 minutes; the delays amounted to 1 hour  $4\frac{1}{4}$  minutes. The time taken walking round the actual circuit of the city was 3 hours  $33\frac{3}{4}$  minutes. Supposing the rate of walking to be about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, the measurement is  $12\frac{1}{4}$  miles.

This measurement agrees with that of several persons who have made the same walk; but, trying the distance in 1843 with a pedometer, I found it considerably less. The most detailed work on the Walls of Rome, by Nibby, written to illustrate the designs of Sir William Gell, seems to give the circuit of the modern walls from eleven to twelve miles (see cap. vi. p. 235, note 358, edit. 1821); but Nibby, in order to reconcile the number of Ammonius with the modern walls, is obliged to suppose that the historian Cassiodorus, who reports the calculation, ought to be corrected:—"Il numero KA di Cassiodoro si deve correggere in IA o IB, onde vada in accordo col fatto."

\* "Murus civitatis Romæ habet turres 361. Castella id est merulos 6900, portas 12, posterulas (portæ minores) 5. In circuitu vero sunt millia 22, exceptis Transtiberim et civitate Leoninâ id est porticu St. Petri."—*Lib. de Mirabilibus Romæ, in loc. citat.*, p. 283.



that of the Florentine, and nearly coinciding with that of the time of Alaric, that is twenty-one miles. If, however, they were so accurately measured at that time, the present walls cannot possibly stand on the site of those of Aurelian; for, since the Vatican has been included, and also the ramparts of Urban VIII., which Gibbon has overlooked, or falsely confounded with the Vatican, the modern circuit being larger on one side the Tiber, and the same on the other, it is evident that the whole circumference at present must be greater than it was under Aurelian. That is to say, twelve miles, three hundred and fifty-five paces, are more than twenty-one miles—"which is absurd."

The present walls may touch at points and take in fragments, but they cannot include the same circumference as the twenty-one miles accurately measured by the mathematician Ammonius. Some assistance might be expected from the examination of the walls themselves; but here again it may be necessary to warn the reader in what manner he is to understand an assertion which he will find in another work, subsequently published, of the same author.\* "Those who examine with attention the "walls of Rome, still distinguish the shapeless stones of

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\* "Ceux qui examinent avec attention les murailles de Rome distinguent encore les pierres informes des premiers Romains, les marbres bien travaillés dont on les construisit sous les Empereurs, et les briques malcuites dont on les réparoit dans les siècles barbares."—*Nomina gentesque Antiquæ Italiae*, p. 209, in Gibbon's posthumous works.

“the first Romans, the cut marbles with which they were constructed under the Emperors, and the ill-burnt bricks with which they were repaired in the barbarous ages.” Now the whole of the modern walls are of brick, with the following exceptions. There are some traces of the arched work on which the walls of Aurelian, perhaps, were raised, about the Porta Pia and the Porta Salara. There are buttresses of travertine, and, in one case (the Porta Capena), of marble about the gateways, which are of the same imperial date. There are single shapeless fragments of marble here and there, mixed up with the more modern work, and occasionally laid upon the top of the walls. This is all that can apply to Gibbon’s description ; for as to the shapeless stones of the first Romans, they cannot be discovered, except in those scarcely distinguishable mounds which are within the walls, a little beyond the Thermæ of Diocletian, and are usually thought part of the Tullian rampart.\* It must be remarked also that there is no evidence that the walls of the Emperors were of cut marble. The authority of Cassiodorus has been followed by Marlianus† and others, as affording a proof that they were composed of square blocks. But it has been noted by Nardini,‡

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\* The plan in the last edition of Venuti lays down the Agger Tarquinii in the space between the Lateran and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme : repeated search may fail in finding any trace of this Agger. Donatus positively says there is none.—Lib. i. cap. xiii.

† Urbis Romæ Topographia, lib. i. cap. ix.

‡ Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. viii.

on another occasion, that the Gothic minister, in making use of the word *mœnia*, does not always allude to the walls of the city, but of other structures; and in that sense I have interpreted, in a preceding notice, what he says of the *square stones* of the ruins. The same topographer justly remarks the contrary fact, that the oldest work now apparent is *of brick*.\* The three sides of a square from near the Porta Pia to the Porta Querquetulana, a shut gate, seem to be the Prætorian ramparts included by Constantine, and not materially defaced by repairs.† The amphitheatre for the Prætorians is also in the Aurelian circuit, near the church of Santa Croce in *Gerusalemme*; and some large stones, laid one on another, without cement, contiguous to that amphitheatre, are only to be ascribed to the hasty preparations of Belisarius before the second siege. The strange reticulated hanging wall, opposite to the gate of the villa Borghese, was another ancient structure which made part of the defences of the city before the time of that general. All these three portions of the circuit are of brick, and the comparative antiquity of other parts is easily ascertained by those accustomed to such investigations. Some of the fragments of the next date are to

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\* "Nam vetus illa substructio e lateribus est."—Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. viii.

† Donatus has observed that the words of Zosimus will not justify this inference, but that the present appearance of this part of the walls will.—Lib. i. cap. xv. Fabricius (*Descriptio urbis Romæ*, cap. v. and vi.) has given a plate in which the *castra prætoriana* are put without the walls, to correspond with the old appearance.

be attributed to Honorius,\* a considerable restorer, or rather rebuilders, of the walls. In the interval between his reign and that of Theodoric repairs had become requisite, and were undertaken by that monarch. Belisarius made them capable of defence, and in the subsequent occupation of the city partly rebuilt that third portion which Totila had thrown down, and then helped afterwards to repair. Narses was also a restorer of the walls; and some work resembling that of the "Amphitheatre of the Camps" has been ascribed to his imitation of that more ancient construction.†

It appears that the circuit followed by each of these restorers must have been very nearly, if not exactly, that of Aurelian, or at least Honorius.‡ No vestiges of foundations which could have belonged to those older walls can be discovered beyond the present circumference; and the same fact has been ably deduced from many concurrent arguments, especially by Donatus, who tries to prove that the Popes who subsequently rebuilt and repaired them, also adopted the ancient line, and did not at all contract the space occupied by the old imperial fortifications.§

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\* See Claudian in VI. Cons. Honor., and an inscription over a shut gate at the Porta Maggiore. Nardini, *ibid.* A similar inscription was over the Porta Portese, which was thrown down by Urban VIII. See Donatus, lib. i. cap. xv.

† Nardini, *ibid.*

‡ Nardini thinks they were made to shrink backwards a little towards the Amphitheatrum Castrense, when Belisarius repaired them the second time.—*Ibid.*

§ De Urbe Roma, lib. i. cap. xviii. xix. xx.



How then are we to reconcile the measurement, as it is stated to have been accurately taken by Ammonius, with the present circuit, which, except on the Transtiberine side, where it is larger, is evidently nearly the same as it was under the Emperors? There seems no expedient but to reject the authority of that mathematician, or rather his reporter. Olympiodorus, and to believe that Pliny's older measurement of thirteen miles, two hundred paces,\* was not so much dilated by Aurelian as is generally thought;† and that it included every suburban district which was surrounded with a wall, such as the Prætorian camp, and the Transtiberine region, and might *therefore possibly* extend itself to spots where no traces of it have been found or sought for. In that case the discrepancy between the present and the ancient circuit will be much diminished, if not altogether annihilated. To this it may be added, that

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\* “*Mœnia ejus collegere ambitu Imperatoribus Censoribusque Vespasianis, anno conditæ DCCCXXVIII. passuum XIII. M. CC. complexa montes septem.*” This is the celebrated passage which has puzzled Lipsius and the commentators and topographers. I am pleased to collect from the article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary that the writer thinks the circumference of the Aurelian walls corresponded with that of the walls when measured in the reign of Vespasian, as recorded by Pliny. Mr. Dyer considers that he has got rid of the difficulty which embarrassed previous writers (1858).

† Nardini, *ibid.*, has shown where the additional ground was taken in by Aurelian; and Donatus was almost inclined to think that that Emperor had not enlarged the circuit. Cassiodorus and Eusebius do not talk of the walls being increased, but fortified. Vopiscus, by mentioning fifty miles, has taken away all credit from himself or from his text.—*Donat.*, lib. i. cap. xix.

as the works of Narses, and, indeed, of the Emperors, were of brick, they might, when once decayed, very easily be gradually lost; and that, when the Popes commenced their repairs, the diagonal of an irregular projection might here and there have been taken, instead of the former line, by which means a partial reduction, sufficient to account for the above difference, may be allowed to have taken place.

It should seem that during the troubles of the Exarchate the walls had fallen down in many parts, and that the city was left naked on some points, particularly towards the gate of St. Lorenzo. The terms in which the rebuilding by the Popes, in the eighth century, is recorded, would imply almost a totally new construction. After Sisinnius, and Gregory II. and III., had made some progress in this useful labour, Hadrian I. convoked the peasants from Tuscany and Campania, and with their help and that of the Romans *rebuilt from their foundations*, in many places, the walls and towers in all their *circuit*. Such are the strong expressions of the papal biographer.\* Leo IV. in 847 included

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\* “Verum etiam et muros atque turres hujus Romanæ urbis quæ dirutæ erant et usque ad fundamenta destructæ renovavit atque utiliter omnia in circuitu restauravit.”—Anast., *de Vit. Rom. Pontif.*, *Script. Rer. Italic.*, tom. iii. p. 188.

“Ipse vero deo, ut dicitur, protectus Præsul conspiciens muros hujus civitatis Romanæ per olitana tempora in ruinis positos, et per loca plures turres usque ad terram eversas, per suum solertissimum studium totas civitates tam Tusciæ, quamque Campaniæ congregans una cum populo Romano, ejusque suburbanis, nec non et toto eccle-

the Borgo, that is, the Basilica of St. Peter's, and the contiguous quarter of the Vatican: and from his reign until that of Urban VIII. nineteen Pontiffs have been specified as contributing to the repairs. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that an early topographer should have declared that the walls were indubitably not ancient.\* The antiquaries profess to see a hundred different constructions in their mixed composition. Urban VIII. completed them as we now see them, by running his rampart along the acclivity of the Janiculum, from the Aurelian gate (St. Pancrazio) to the angle of the Vatican, commonly called the *Porta de' Cavalli Leggieri*.† He entirely rebuilt them from the same Aurelian gate to the Porta Portese, on the banks of the Tiber. Since that period other Pontiffs have been active in repairs, but no change has taken place in the circuit; concerning which we may finally conclude that it is equal, very nearly, if not quite, to the largest

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siastico patrimonio omnibus prædicans, et dividens ex sumptibus dapibusque Apostolicis totam urbem in circuitu restaurans universa renovavit, atque decoravit."—*Ibid.* p. 194.

Anastasius *flourished* under Hadrian II. and John VIII. He writes only up to Nicholas I. The remainder of the lives were written by William, another librarian, under the name of Damascus. See Bianchini's Prolegomena to the Liber Pontificalis. Both one and the other were compilers, not composers, of the lives. The edition in Muratori and that of Bianchini have been used.

\* "Moenia urbis nunc extantia non esse antiqua sicut nulli est dubium, ita multis argumentis apparet."—Marlian., *Urb. Rom. Topog.*, lib. i. cap. ix.

† Donatus, lib. i. cap. xx.

circumference of the ancient city, and, except on the Transtiberine side, *generally* follows the line of Aurelian. It is equally clear that the *exact* ancient line could not always be followed. We see this from the bastion of Paul III. at the foot of the Aventine, which, if it had been finished, would have probably been considered as upon that ancient line.

If from the walls themselves we retire into the interior of their vast circuit, we shall be still more confounded. The names given to the monuments perpetually vary, according to the fancy of some predominant antiquary. At one period all vaulted ruins belong to baths, at another they are portions of temples; Basilicas are at times the favourite denomination. The consequence of this varying nomenclature is the embarrassment of those who put themselves under the guidance of the best ancient or modern topographers; and we are often apt to reduce the monuments of all the regions to the character given by Nardini to those of the Aventine, which he divides into "sites not altogether uncertain, and sites evidently uncertain."\*

The antiquarian disputes began at an early period; and where nothing but a name was left, there was still

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\* "Situs non omnino incerti et situs plane incerti."—Lib. viii. cap. vi. The choice of Remus is peculiarly deserted. Victor alone has left any account of the Aventine. In all the twelfth region, between the Circus Maximus and the Baths of Caracalla, the latter was the only monument recognisable by the eyes of the above topographer.



some pleasure found in the struggles of conjecture. The *mica aurea* has not been seen since the ninth century ; but it afforded an opportunity of quoting Plutarch, Ammian, and Martial, to show that it might have been a *Greek girl*, or a *bear*, or a *supper-house*.\* The actual remains were soon found to be no less uncertain. The two vaults of the church of St. Maria Nuova were believed, by Pomponius Lætus, the fragments of a temple of Æsculapius and Health ; by Marlianus, of the Sun and Moon ; by Blondus, of Æsculapius and Apollo ; by Poggio, of Castor and Pollux.† They are now called the Temple of Venus and Rome, according to the opinion to which Nardini seemed to incline.‡ See also the many names given to the temple of Santa Maria Egiziaca.§ Some thought it a chapel of Patrician Modesty, some a Basilica of Caius and Lucius, some a temple of Good Fortune, others of Manly Fortune. It is now come back to Modesty.|| The temple attributed to Vesta, on the banks of the Tiber, was once thought that of Hercules Victor, and also of the Sun. Pomponius

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\* Nardini, lib. iii. cap. viii.

† Fabricii Descrip. Urb. Rom. cap. ix. ap. Græv. Ant., tom. iii. Attached to it is the church now called S. Francesca Romana ; and if the stranger goes for information to the modern inscription, he will find these words : “ In queste pietre pose le ginochia S. Pietro quando i demonj portarono Simone Mago per aria.”

‡ Nardini, lib. iii. cap. 2.

§ Donatus, lib. ii. cap. 18.—Nardini, lib. vii. cap. iv.

|| In the time of Fulvius this tract about the Patrician Modesty was solely inhabited by prostitutes.—Nardini, lib. vii. cap. iv.

Lætus\* called it that of Juno Matuta, others named the goddess Volupia.† Hercules was recovering his rights during the winter of 1817. The Patrician Modesty is transferred, by an inscription, to the church of Santa Maria *in Cosmedin*, commonly called the Schola Græca; and the same inscription asserts that St. Augustine taught rhetoric in this school.‡

Other examples of uncertainty will occur in the subsequent notices of individual monuments. It would be hazardous to give a list of those which can suggest no reasonable doubts. The Coliseum; the three Triumphal Arches, those of Drusus, of Dolabella and Silanus, of Gallienus; the Baths of Diocletian, of Caracalla, of Constantine, a part of those of Titus; the Theatre of Marcellus, the few remains of that of Pompey; the two bridges of the Tiberine island; the mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian; the two historical columns; the tomb of Cestius, the tomb of Bibulus, the tomb of the Scipios; the Pantheon; the column of Phocas; the Septimian arch in the Velabrum; the inscribed obelisks; the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct; two or three of the city gates; the arcades of the Cloaca;§

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\* Donatus, lib. ii. cap. xxv.

† "Alii Herculis, alii Vestæ, alii deæ Volupiaë."—Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 188.

‡ No trust is to be put in modern inscriptions, and sometimes not in those which have every appearance of antiquity. Doubts have been entertained even about the inscription on the tomb of Bibulus, by Augustinus, in his dialogue on ancient coins.

§ But the antiquity of these arcades has been called in question by Mr. Duppa.

the Ælian bridge: these seem the most secure from scepticism; and it would be difficult to name another monument within the walls of an equally certain character.

### TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS.

The handsome though plain sarcophagus of Barbatus may, by those of a certain taste, be thought more attractive than any of the masterpieces of the Vatican. The eloquent, simple inscription becomes the virtues and the fellow-countrymen of the defunct, and instructs us more than a chapter of Livy in the style and language of the republican Romans.\*

The vault itself has been emptied of the slabs and inscriptions; and the copies fixed in the spot where they were found may be thought ill to supply the place of the originals. The local impression would have been stronger, but the preservation of the precious relics would have been less sure, in the vault than in the museum. The discovery of the tomb of the Scipios was not an unmingled triumph for the Roman antiquaries.

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\* CORNELIUS . LUCIUS . SCIPIO . BARBATUS . GNAIVOD . PATRE—  
 PROGNOTUS . FORTIS . VIR . SAPIENSQUE . QVOIVS . FORMA . VIRTU-  
 TEI . PARISUMA . FUT—CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . QUEI . FUT .  
 APVD . VOS . TAURASIA . CISAUNA—SAMNIO . CEPIT . SVBIGIT .  
 OMNE . LOVCANA . OBSIDESQUE . ABDOVCIT. This inscription is in  
 four lines, and is in ancient verse.

Nine other inscriptions were discovered in this family tomb; they are copied into the new edition of Venuti, published in Rome, 1803, parte ii. cap. i. p. 5 et seq.

It would not be easy to exemplify more strongly than by this instance the error and uncertainty of their researches. A fragment of peperine, evidently detached from this vault, with an inscription to Lucius, son of Barbatus Scipio, had been discovered in the year MDCXVI, near the Porta Capena, and was neglected as bad grammar and an evident forgery.\* The objectors quoted Cicero to prove that the tomb of the Scipios must be *without* the Porta Capena, and forgot that the Aurelian walls had brought forward that gate beyond the Ciceronian sepulchre. The authenticity of the inscription was not without protectors, but the error balanced the fact, and the epitaph was occasionally quoted as apocryphal,† until the accident which un-

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\* HONC OINO PLOIRVME COSENTIONT. R.  
 DVONORO . OPTVMO FVISSE VIRO  
 LVCIOM . SCIPIONE . FILIOS BARBATI  
 CONSOL CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC FVET . A  
 HEC CEPIT . CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE  
 DEDET TEMPESTATEBVVS AIDE MERETO.  
 Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ  
 Bonorum optimum fuisse virum  
 Lucium Scipionem Filius Barbati  
 Consol, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit  
 Hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem  
 Dedit Tempestatibus ædem merito.

See *Antiquæ Inscriptionis Explanatio*, ap. Græv. *Antiq. Rom.*, tom. iv. p. 1835, Romæ, 1616. Winckelmann quotes it as authentic. —*Storia*, &c., lib. viii. cap. viii. tom. ii. p. 153, edit. citat.

† The padre Echinard and his editor Venuti placed the tomb without the modern Porta Capena, opposite to the chapel called “Domine quo Vadis,” and gave a long description of it. See *Descrizione di Roma e dell’ Agro Romano*, corretta dall’ Abate Venuti in Roma, 1750. Echinard and his editor are full of gratuitous applications.



covered the actual tomb in 1780. Those who had not supported the mistake could not but be gratified by a discovery so precious both to the philologist and the antiquary, and the happy accident was consigned to immortality in the very eloquent but rather dull Dialogues of the Dead, whom the Conte Verri evoked in those sacred vaults.

The pyramid which once stood in the line from the castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican was called the tomb of Scipio Africanus, on the authority of Acon, a scholiast on Horace,\* and the Pine in the Belvedere was thought to belong to that monument.†

Those who visit the tomb of the Scipios, as now shown, ought to be aware that the site alone can lay claim to undoubted authenticity. The primitive form of the sepulchre as discovered in 1780 has not been preserved.‡ The tomb of Barbatus, and all the inscriptions, are copies of the originals in the Vatican; nor is one of these copies in the place in which the original was found: add to this, that the inscriptions cannot be relied upon, inasmuch as the word "SAMNIO" has been rashly prefixed to the fourth line of the inscription on Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus. It has been recorded, and I presume is true, that the ashes or bones which

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\* Nardini, *Roma Vetus*, lib. viii. cap. xiii.

† G. Fabricii *Descriptio Romæ*, cap. xx.

‡ Si è fatta dell' area del sepolcro una specie d'imitazione più o meno alterata di quello che fu trovato.—See Professor Nibby's *Roma nel Anno 1838*, parte ii. Antica, p. 566, edit. 1839.

were found in the tombs were scattered about, and would have been utterly lost, had they not been saved by the Senator Quirini, who carried them to Padua and deposited them in a modest monument at his villa Allichiero. It has been remarked by Arnold that "no one action recorded in Scipio's epitaph is noticed by Livy, while no action which Livy ascribes to him is mentioned in his epitaph."\* It would not be easy to produce a more complete specimen of the uncertainty of the antiquities, and those the most interesting, which are visited by travellers at Rome.

#### DESTRUCTION OF SEPULCHRES.

The period at which the ancient sepulchres were emptied of their ashes must have been that in which the Christians prowled about in every quarter for relics, and thought a church could not be consecrated without such a recommendation.† Eight-and-twenty cartloads of relics could not be procured for the Pantheon without some diligence and damage to the repositories of the

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\* Hist. Rome, chap. xxxiii. vol. ii. p. 326, edit. 1844.

† See the letter of St. Ambrose on the discovery of St. Gervais and St. Protas, in which he says he sent his audience, who begged a church of him ("respondi, faciam si martyrum reliquias invenero"), to look for relics. St. Paul appeared to Ambrose, and told him to build a church in honour of these martyrs.—*Epist. segregatæ*, ep. ii. p. 484, edit. 1690. In the porch of the church of Sta. Bibiena mention is made of eleven thousand two hundred and odd martyrs, besides a bishop, who were buried there.

pretended saints;\* and we know that the eagerness of the search extended to sepulchres where the symbols of martyrdom were very equivocal, or not to be discovered at all.† Astolphus the Lombard, when he besieged Rome in 755, dug into the cemeteries of many saints, and “carried away their bodies, to the great detriment of his own soul,” although from the most pious motives; and these saints were doubtless supposed to be found in any of the thousand tombs in the neighbourhood of Rome.‡ Either this motive, or the expectation of finding the ornaments frequently buried with the dead, had encouraged a crime which it was found necessary to check by laws in early times, some of which are extant in the codes. The practice was continued to the reign, and it is doubtful whether it was not connived at by an edict, of Theodoric,§ who wished to dis-

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\* See a note on the Pantheon.

† “Era dunque incredibile in que’ secoli di ferro l’avidità delle sacre reliquie.”—See *Dissertazione* 58, sopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. iii. p. 245, edit. Milan, 1751. Theodoric, bishop of Metz, a relation of Otho the Great, when he came to Rome, took a liking to the chain of St. Peter. He happened to be present with the court and Emperor when Pope John XII. held out the chain to a sick courtier to bite and be cured. “Di buone griffe avea questo prelato,” observes Muratori; the bishop snatched at the chain, and declared they might cut his hand off, but he would not give it up. A struggle ensued, and the Emperor compounded with the Pope for a link. P. 246.

‡ “Multa corpora sanctorum, effodiens eorum cemeteria ad magnum animæ suæ detrimentum abstulit.”—Anastas. in *Vit. Stephan.*, ii. aut. iii.

§ Cassiod. *variar. lib. iv. epist. 34.*

courage the practice of impoverishing the living for the decoration of the dead.

At the fall of the empire of Charlemagne, and the rise of the feudal lords of Italy, the size of some of the tombs must have made the occupation of them a military object, as in the case of the two great mausoleums, and of that of Cecilia Metella; and in the subsequent periods of repair, the marbles with which they were decorated would expose them to easy spoliation. The urns and sarcophagi, when of precious materials, were, without scruple, transported from their site and emptied for the reception of purer ashes. Two of the Popes, Innocent II.\* and Clement XII.,† repose in the marbles which, if they did not before receive the bones of Hadrian and Agrippa, were certainly constructed for heathen tenants; and the examples are innumerable of meaner Christians whose remains are enveloped in the symbols of paganism. It should be recollected that the mythological sculpture on sarcophagi was continued long after the introduction of Christianity, and that, when the relations of a defunct went to a reposi-

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\* *Pietri Manlii Opusculum Historiæ Sacræ ad Beatiss. Pat. Alexand. III. Pont. Max. ap. Acta Sanctorum*, tom. vii. part ii. p. 37, edit. Antw. 1717. This doubtful author (see notice of the Castle of St. Angelo) mentions that the porphyry sarcophagus in which Hadrian was buried was transferred to the Lateran for the service of Innocent II.

† Clement XII. is buried in the Lateran in a beautiful porphyry sarcophagus, which was taken from one of the niches under the porch of the Pantheon.



tory to select a tomb, they were not scrupulous about the emblems, or were ignorant what they represented. A bishop, whose stone coffin is seen in the Basilica of *St. Lorenzo, without the walls*, is enclosed in bas-reliefs representing a marriage ; this probably belonged to some Pagan body before it held the bishop ; but the Christians were sometimes the first tenants of these heathen-sculptured tombs.

Humbler tombs were applied to other services : many are now cisterns. The church of *St. Paul, without the walls*, was paved with gravestones taken from the Ostian Way. A name was no protection in the days of ignorance ; and the deposits of the mausoleum of the Cæsars, when they could not be converted to profit, were applied to vulgar uses. Some respect might have been paid to a stone thus inscribed :—

The Bones  
Of Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa,  
The grand-daughter of the divine Augustus,  
The wife  
Of Germanicus Cæsar,  
The mother of C. Cæsar Augustus  
Germanicus, our prince.\*

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\* Ossa .  
Agrippinæ . M. Agrippæ .  
Divi . Aug. Neptis. Uxoris .  
Germanici . Cæsaris .  
Matris . C. Cæsaris . Aug.  
Germanici . Principis .

There is an exact representation of this sarcophagus in Santi Bartoli, '*Gli Antichi Sepolcri*,' &c., published in Rome, 1697.

But with these letters in large characters staring them in the face, the Romans used this stone as a measure for three hundredweight of corn, and the arms of their modern senate are sculptured upon one of its sides, in a style worthy of the "rude age" to which a modest inscription ascribes the misapplication. The sarcophagus, a huge cubic stone, is standing in the court of the Conservators' Palace in the Capitol, and is at this time perhaps scarcely preserved with so much care as might be claimed by a memorial of the only virtuous female of the Julian race. The pilgrim of the thirteenth century tells us that he saw these words over one of the cells of the mausoleum of Augustus: "*These are the bones and ashes of Nerva, the Emperor.*" \*

The bones and ashes of Emperors have been dispersed in the ruins of this great sepulchre, which, from being choked up as a fortress, was hollowed out for a vineyard,† and, having at last become a circus, serves for the bull-feasts of the summer festivals. Some less illustrious ashes have been preserved or supplied in the columbaria of the two families whose vaults are shown in the garden in which stands the ruin called *Minerva Medica*.‡ But when the tombs were above ground, the

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\* "Hæc sunt ossa et cinis Nervæ Imperatoris."—Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ap. Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 292.

† There is a picture of the mausoleum, as it appeared when in this state, in Santi Bartoli, plate 72.

‡ The freedmen of Lucius Arruntius, consul in the reign of Tiberius, and those of some nameless or unknown family.

cells were soon rifled and stripped of their ornaments. In later ages the pyramid of Cestius was broken and ransacked for gold.\* The tombs of the “happy dead” are become the huts of the wretched living, and the Appian Way may now humble the pride, but will hardly contribute to the consolations, of philosophy.†

The museums have stripped these populous cemeteries of their memorials. The six thousand freedmen‡ of the Augustan household have been transferred, at least some of their obscure names, to the Capitol. A more judicious plan has lately been adopted at the instance of the sculptor Canova, who has adjusted some of the fragments and the inscription of the sepulchre of the Servilian family, and raised them where

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\* Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, lib. iii. cap. i. num. 7, tom. i. p. 405, tells the story as a fact, or a conjecture, from Bosius, who has also made a thick volume on subterranean Rome. That volume and the two folios of Aringhi, connecting the history of Rome with that of martyrdom, may serve to show what was likely to become of the monuments in the hands of those who thought all that was worth looking for was under ground, and, spurning the triumphal arches and columns of Pagan heroes, dived into cemeteries and catacombs in search of the founders of the city of God.

† “An tu egressus Porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulchra vides, miseros putas illos?”—*Tuscul. Qu.*, lib. i.

‡ The three sepulchral chambers containing the urns of the household of Augustus were discovered opposite the first milestone on the Appian Way, and that of the family of Livia was opened in 1726, a little beyond. See Ant. Franc. Gori, *de Libertor. Columbario*, ap. *Poleno*, tom. iii. The Vatican corridors abound with sepulchral inscriptions—short, but sufficient for such names. One stone tells us, “Here Tiberius, the son of Drusus, was burnt”—nothing more.

they were found.\* It may be observed that the great approaches to the cities were not marked by tombs alone, but partly by suburban villas, and tradesmen's houses, and semicircular seats. Thus they were frequented as public walks; and the beauty of the sepulchres, together with the religion of the people and the wisdom of the higher orders, prevented any melancholy reflections from being suggested by the receptacles of the dead. Those who have seen the Street of the Tombs at Pompej will feel the truth of this observation. The Appian sepulchres extend, at short intervals, for several miles: let us fill the intermediate spaces with handsome edifices—restore the despoiled marbles to the tombs themselves—then imagine that the same decorations adorned all the other thirty great roads† which branched off from the capital; add to this also the banks of the Tiber, shaded with villas from as far as Otricoli, on the Sabine side, to the port of Ostia; and, with these additions, which it appears may fairly be supplied from ancient notices, we shall be able to account for the immense space apparently occupied by the city and suburbs of old Rome.

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\* M. SERVILIUS QVARTVS  
DE SVA PECVNIA FECIT.

“Fragmenta ad sepulc. hoc. AN. D. 1808, A CANOVA. reperta ac donata. PIVS. VII. P. M. ita in perpet. servanda consuluit.” See further notice, in these volumes, of the Appian Way.

† There were twenty-nine according to one account, and thirty-one according to another.—Fam. Nardini, *Roma Vetus*, lib. viii. cap. i.



Some doubts may be entertained whether Rome, even within the walls, was ever very densely inhabited in all its regions. How could Sallust have had his vast gardens—how Caracalla and Diocletian their enormous baths? Despotism may depopulate the country, but could hardly dislodge the inhabitants of an extensive quarter in a populous capital: and that there was little room for additional tenants we know, because we are told that, in the days of Juvenal, the people complained of being squeezed too tightly together.

## CHAPTER IX.

## CAUSES OF DESTRUCTION OF ROMAN STRUCTURES.

I SHALL now proceed to make some remarks on the various causes of the destruction of the buildings of ancient Rome, a subject on which, it is said with the utmost deference, the last chapter of our great historian Gibbon has furnished a hasty outline rather than the requisite details.\* The inquiry has partaken of

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\* Let it not be thought presumptuous to say that this last chapter should have been his first composition, written while his memory was freshly stamped with the image of the ruins which inspired his immortal labours. In the present case his researches do not bear the mark of having been at all corrected by his Italian travels; and indeed, in more than one instance, his erudition has completely effaced his experience. It is not meant to attach undue importance to trifles; but an author whose accuracy was his pride, and who is generally allowed to have descended to the minutest details, particularly in topography, might hardly be expected to have made the mistake before alluded to:—"The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila as he lay encamped at the place where the slow winding Mincius is lost in the foaming Benacus, and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil;" and below, note 63, "The Marquis Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, part i. pp. 95, 129, 221; part ii. pp. 2-6) has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and the river."—*Decline and Fall*, cap. xxxv. p. 131, tom.

the fate of all disputed points. The exculpation of the Goths and Vandals has been thought prejudicial to the Christians, and the praise of the latter regarded as an injustice to the Barbarians; but, forgetting the controversy, perhaps we shall find both the one and the other to have been more active despoilers than has been confessed by their mutual apologists. To begin with

### THE BARBARIANS.

A learned Tuscan, the friend of Tasso, wrote a treatise expressly on this subject, and positively as-

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vi. oct. Extraordinary! The Mincius flows *from* the Benacus at Peschiera, not *into* it. The country is on a descent the whole way from the Veronese hills, according to the quotation from Virgil cited by Gibbon himself:

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qua se subducere colles  
Incipiunt.

More strange still is the reference to Maffei, who, so far from alluding to a conflux of the river and lake, says, at the close of the very sentence respecting the interview between Attila and St. Leo, "Chi scrisse il luogo di così memorabil fatto essere stato *ove sbocca il Mincio nel Po*, d' autore antico non ebbe appoggio."—*Verona Illustrata*, part i. p. 424, Verona, 1732. The other references (part ii. p. 3, 10, 11) of the same edition say nothing of the course of the river. It is just possible Mr. Gibbon thought Maffei meant to deny that the Mincio fell into the Po: but at all events he might have seen at Peschiera that it runs through sluices out of the Benacus. Maffei, however, in another place actually mentions the *outlet* of the lake into the Mincio,—“Peschiera . . . all' esito del lago sul Mincio.”—*Veron. Illust.*, par. iii. p. 510, edit. cit.

For another error of Gibbon, see p. 112; for an oversight, p. 130; for more blunders, see p. 154 et seq., p. 181 and 272, and p. 300 and following, and p. 308 of 'Illustrations of Childe Harold.' They will be noticed subsequently in these volumes.

sented that from Alaric to Arnulphus no damage was done by the Barbarians to any of the public edifices of Rome.\* He owned that such an opinion would appear paradoxical, and so indeed will it be found after a cursory survey, and even as he treats the inquiry. It is certain that Alaric did burn a part of Rome. Orosius,† by making the comparison between the former great fires and that of the Goths, shows that such a comparison might be suggested by the magnitude of the latter calamity. He adds also, that after the people were returned the conflagration had left its traces; and, in relating the partial destruction of the Forum by lightning, makes it appear that the brazen beams and the mighty structures which were then consumed would have fallen by the hands and flames of the Barbarians had they not been too massive for human force to overthrow.‡ It should be remem-

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\* Angelio Pietro da Barga, de Privatorum Publicorumque *Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ eversoribus* Epistola ad Petrum Usimbardum, &c., ap. Græv. *Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iv. p. 1870, edit. Venet. 1732. "Sed tamen quod ad publicorum *ædificiorum* et *substructionum* ruinas pertinet nihil omnino incommodi passa est."

† "Tertia die Barbari, quam ingressi fuerint urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum *ædium* incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingesimo conditionis ejus anno casus effecerat." He compares the Gallic and Neronian fires, and says they were greater than the Gothic. *Hist.*, lib. vii. cap. xxxix. :—"Cujus rei quamvis recens memoria sit, tum si quis ipsius populi Romani et multitudinem videat et vocem audiat, nihil factum, sicut ipsi etiam fatentur, arbitrabitur, nisi aliquantis adhuc existentibus ex incendio ruinas forte doceatur."—*Lib. vii. cap. xl.*

‡ "Quippe cum supra humanas vires esset, incendere *æneas*



bered that the supposed piety redeemed the actual violence of the Goths, and that respect for the vessels of St. Peter's shrine made Orosius almost the apologist of Alaric.

The lamentations of St. Jerome are too loud to allow us to suppose the calamity did not affect the buildings.\* He calls the city "the sepulchre of the Roman people," and particularizes that "the walls were half destroyed."†

More confidence might be attached to his account of the ruin and restoration of Rome if he had not attributed the latter to the profession of virginity by a single noble lady.‡

In subsequent times we find the strongest expressions applied to the sack of Rome by Alaric. Pope Gelasius, in a letter to the senator Andromachus

trabes, et subruere magnarum moles structurarum, ictu fulminum Forum cum imaginibus variis, quæ superstitione miserabili vel deum vel hominem mentiuntur, abjectum est: horumque omnium abominamentorum quod immissa per hostem flamma non adiit, missus e cælo ignis evertit."—Lib. ii. cap. 15.

\* See Epist. cxxvii. ad Principiam; Epist. cxxiii. ad Agruchiam, pp. 953-959, tom. i. Hieron. Opera, Veron. 1734.

† "Urbs tua quondam orbis caput Romani populi sepulchrum est.—Semiruta urbis Romanæ mœnia."—Epist. cxxx. ad Demetriadem, p. 974, tom. i.

‡ He says the victory of Marcellus at Nola did not so raise the spirits of the Romans, afflicted by the battles of Trebia, Thrasimene, and Cannæ, as this vow of chastity:—"Tunc lugubres vestes Italia mutavit, et semiruta urbis mœnia pristinum ex parte recepere fulgorem."—Epist. cxxx. ut sup.

(A.D. 496), has the words “when Alaric *overturned* the city.”\*

Procopius † confines the fire to the quarter near the Salarian gate; but adds that the Goths ravaged the whole city. The despoiling edifices of ornaments, many of which must have been connected with their structure, could not fail to hasten their decay.

Marcellinus mentions that a part of Rome was burnt, and delays the departure of the Barbarians to the sixth day.‡

Cassiodorus,§ a much better and earlier authority in every respect than the three last writers, assures us that “many of the wonders of Rome were burnt.” Olympiodorus talks only || of the infinite quantity of wealth which Alaric carried away; but we may col-

\* “Cum urbem Alaricus evertit.”—See Baronii, *Annales Ecclesiast. cum critice Pagi*, ad an. 496, tom. viii. p. 605; Lucæ, 1740.

† Οἱ δὲ τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν, αἱ τῆς πύλης ἀγχιστα ἦσαν ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Σαλουστίου, τοῦ Ῥωμαίου τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος· ἥς δὴ τὰ πλείστα ἡμίκαντα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστηκε· τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην ληϊσάμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραντες, πρόσω ἐχώρουν.—Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, lib. i. p. 93, edit. Hoeschelii. Aug.

‡ “Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, partemque ejus cremavit incendio, sextaque die quam ingressus fuerat depredata urbe egressus est.”—*Chronic. ap. Sirmond Opera Varia*, tom. ii. p. 274, Venet.

§ “Romam venerunt, quam vastantes, plurima quidem miraculorum ejus igne concremaverunt.”—*Hist. Ecclesiast. Tripar.*, lib. xi. cap. 9, p. 368, tom. i.; Rothomagi, 1679.

|| Ἐξ ἧς χρήματά τε ἄπειρα ἐξεκόμισε.—*Ap. Phot. Bibliot.*, edit. Rothomag., 1653, p. 180. Albinus wished to restore the city, but people were wanting, p. 188.

lect from him also how great was the disaster when he tells us that on the repeopling of the city fourteen thousand returned in one day.

The Gothic historian who says that fire was not put to the town is no evidence, being directly contradicted by the above quoted and other authorities.\*

The words of the ecclesiastical historians are of strong import: one of them talks of fire and the city lying in ruins;† another repeats the expression of Cassiodorus, that many of the wonders were destroyed;‡ and a third, that the Basilica of St. Peter's was alone spared from the universal rapine.§

That the city partially recovered itself is of course to be allowed. Albinus was active in his attempts at restoration, and the poet Rutilius, who was prefect in 417, not only extols the uninjured remains of antiquity, but prophesies the repair of every ruin.|| But the

\* “Ad postremum Romam ingressi Alarico jubente spoliante tantum, non autem, ut solent gentes, ignem supponunt, nec locis sanctorum in aliquo penitus injuriam irrogari patiuntur.”—Jordanes *de Reb. Get.*, cap. xxx. p. 85, 86; Lugd. Bat., 1697.

† Καὶ τὸ ἐντεύθεν τῆς τοσαύτης δόξης τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως περιώνυμον, ἀλλόφυλον πῦρ καὶ ξίφος πολέμιον, καὶ αἰχμηλῶσια κατεμερίζετο βάρβαρος. ἐν ἐρείπιοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμένης Ἀλάρικος.—Philostorgii *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. xii. ap. Phot. Bibliot., num. 3, p. 534, tom. ii. edit. ut sup.

‡ Τέλος τὲ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβον καὶ πορθήσαντες αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων θεαμάτων κατέκαυσαν.—Socrat., *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, lib. vii. cap. x. p. 283.

§ Sozomen, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, lib. ix. cap. 9.

|| “Astrorum flammæ renovent occasibus ortus  
Lunam finiri cernis ut incipiat.”

—Cl. Rut., *NUM. Iter.*

whole of his beautiful verses are an hyperbole. He says that Brennus only delayed the chastisement that awaited him, that Pyrrhus was at last defeated, and that Hannibal wept his success; therefore, the downfall of Alaric might be safely foretold. The blazing temples of the Capitol, the aerial aqueducts, the marble sheltered groves, might still be praised; but he confesses that Rome had suffered that which would have *dissolved* another empire;\* his prophecies of repair were those of a poet, and the ruins of the palace of Sallust remained to contradict them in the time of Procopius.†

The injury done by Genserick (A.D. 455) was not so great as that of the Goths, and Da Barga despatches his invasion in a few sentences. Jornandes, however, applies the expression *devastation* to his entry.‡ All the writers§ are of accord that the Vandals in their

\* “ Illud te reparat quod cætera regna resolvit  
Ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis.”  
—Claud. Rutilii, NUM. *Iter.*, ver. 140.

† Bell. Vandal. in loc. cit.

‡ “ Quod audiens Gizericus rex Vandalorum, ab Africâ armata classe in Italiam venit, Romamque ingressus cuncta devastat.”—Jornand. *de Reb. Get.*, cap. xlv. p. 417, sub fin. Cassiod. oper., fol. 1679.

§ “ Conscenderat arces  
Evandri massyla phalanx, montesque Quirini  
Barbarici pressere pedes, rursusque revexit  
Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barche.”

—Sidon. Apollin. carmen vii. *Paneg. Avit.*, vers. 441.

“ Gizericus sollicitatus a relictâ Valentiniani, ut malum fama dispergit, priusquam Avitus Augustus fieret, Romam ingreditur, direp-



fourteen days' residence emptied Rome of her wealth ; and as we are informed of the robbery of half the tiles of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, and of all the treasures of the Temple of Peace and the palace of the Cæsars,\* it is reasonable to suppose that the precious metals were extracted and torn down from all the structures, public and private, a violence which, without the use of fire or engines, must have loosened many of the compact masses, and been totally destructive of smaller edifices. An ecclesiastical historian twice mentions that Genserick set fire to Rome, but the silence of other writers has discredited his authority.†

The sack of Rome by Ricimer (A.D. 472) is generally overlooked by the apologists of the early invaders ; but it should not be forgotten that the " Barbarians, Arians, and Infidels " were indulged by the patrician in the plunder of all but two regions of the city.‡

Considerable stress has been laid upon the gran-

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tisque opibus Romanorum Carthaginem redit."—Idatii *Episcop. Chronic.*, ap. Sirmond, *Opera varia*, Venet., p. 239, tom. ii.

" Gensericus rex . . . invitatus ex Africâ Romam ingressus est eâque urbe rebus omnibus spoliâtâ," &c.—Marcellini *Chronic.*, ap. Sirmond., tom. ii. p. 274.

\* Bell. Vandal., p. 97, edit. citat. Οὔτε χαλκοῦ οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτοοῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος.

† 'Αλλὰ τὴν πόλιν πυρπολήσας πάντοτε ληϊσάμενος τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐμπεπρῆσθαι.—Evagrii *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 298.

‡ Annali d' Italia, vol. iii. p. 222 ; Milan, 1744. " Ed ecco l' amaro frutto dell' aver gl' Imperadori voluto per lor guardie, o per ausiliarj, gente Barbara, Ariana, e di niuna fede."

deur of the structures which still remained, after the above calamities, to be admired by Theodoric; but the praise of what is left does not include a proof that little has been lost: were it so, Rome would appear to have not suffered much even in the middle ages, when her fragments were the wonder of the pilgrims of every nation. It must, besides, be remarked that the larger monuments, the Forum of Trajan, the Circus Maximus, the Coliseum, the Capitol, the Theatre of Pompey, the Palace of the Cæsars, are those particularly recorded by the minister of the Gothic monarch, and of those the two latter were in want of repair.\* A palace partly in ruins† on the Pincian mount, marbles and square blocks everywhere lying prostrate,‡ the desertion and decay of many houses, must, partially at least, be attributed to the fire of Alaric, the spoliation of the Vandals, and the sack of Ricimer. To Vitiges, who came down on Rome like a raging lion,§ must be ascribed the destruction of the aqueducts, which ren-

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\* Cassiodori Variar. epist. li. lib. iv. ; epist. v. lib. vii.

† "Ut marmora quæ de domo Pinciana constat esse deposita ad Ravennatem urbem per catabulenses vestra ordinatione dirigantur."—Epist. x. ad Festum, lib. iii. tom. i. p. 43, edit. cit.

‡ "Et ideo illustris magnificentia tua marmorum quadratos qui passim diruti negliguntur . . . et ornent aliquid saxa jacentia *post ruinas*."—Epist. vii. lib. i. p. 26, tom. i. edit. cit. In another place he says, "Facilis est ædificiorum ruina incolarum subtracta custodia," &c.

§ "Quod audiens Vitiges, ut leo furibundus omnem Gothorum exercitum . . . Ravennâque egressus Romanas arces obsidione longa fatigat."—Jornand. *de Rebus Geticis*, cap. lx. p. 178, edit. 1697.

dered useless the immense thermæ; and as these appear never to have been frequented afterwards, their dilapidation must be partially, but only partially, ascribed to the Goths. Vitiges burnt everything without the walls, and commenced the desolation of the Campagna.\* Totila † is known to have burnt a third part of the walls; and although he desisted from his meditated destruction of every monument, the extent of the injury inflicted by that conqueror may have been greater than is usually supposed. Procopius affirms that he did burn “not a small portion of the city,” especially beyond the Tyber.‡ An author of the Chronicles records a fire and the § total abandonment of the city for more than forty days: and it must be mentioned that there is no certain trace of the palace

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\* St. Anastasii, de vitis Pontific. Rom. edit. Bianchini; Romæ, 1731, in vit. S. Silverii. p. 84.

† Γνούς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τωτίλας, ἔγνω μὲν Ῥώμην καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος. . . τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιβόλου ἐν χωρίοις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν, ὅσον ἐς τριτημόριον τοῦ παντός μάλιστα, ἐμπιπρᾶν δὲ τὲ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἐμελλε Ῥώμην δὲ μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι.—*Bellum Gothic.*, ἡ ε', p. 289, edit. cit.

‡ Ibid., lib. iv. cap. xxii. and xxxiii.

§ “Totila dolo Isaurorum ingreditur Romam die xvi. kal. Januarias, ac evertit muros, domos aliquantas comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit. Hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit; post quam devastationem xl aut amplius dies Roma fuit ita desolata ut nemo ibi hominum nisi bestię morarentur. Hinc veniens Belisarius murorum partem restaurat, venienteque Totila ad pugnam resistit.”—Marcellini *Chronic.* ap. Sirmond., p. 295, edit. cit.

of the Cæsars having survived the irruption of Totila.\* It must have been at his second entry that this monarch “lived with the Romans as a father with his children,” and not at the first, as might be thought from the *Annals of Italy*.† In the five captures of Rome (from 536 to 552), in which she was both attacked and defended by Barbarians, it is impossible but that many of the architectural ornaments of the city must have been utterly destroyed or partially injured; and the particular mention made by Procopius of the care taken by Narses to restore the capital is an evidence of the previous injury.‡

With Totila, the dilapidation of Rome by the Barbarians is generally allowed to terminate. The incursion of the Lombards in 578 and 593 completed the

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\* See notice of the Palatine in a subsequent chapter.

† Muratori seems to confound the two captures.—*Annali d' Italia*, tom. iii. pp. 410, 411, ad an. 546, and p. 420, ad an. 549. As the Isaurians were the traitors on both occasions, the confusion was the more natural; but it certainly was of the second capture that Anastasius spoke in the following words:—“Die autem tertia decima Totila introivit in civitatem Romanam indict. 14 (13) per portam sancti Pauli. Tota enim nocte fecit buccina clangi usque dum cunctus populus fugeret, aut per ecclesias se celaret ne gladio Romani vitam finirent. Ingressus autem rex habitavit cum Romanis quam pater cum filiis.” In vit. Vigili. edit. citat., p. 89. Muratori mentions that the Isaurians opened the *Asinarian* gate at the first capture, and the *gate of St. Paul* at the second, and yet he applies the clemency of Totila to his entry by the first, not, as Anastasius says, by the second gate.

‡ De Bell. Gothic., lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. The bridges of Narses over the Anio remain to attest his diligence.



desolation of the Campagna, but did not affect the city itself. Their king, Liutprand, in 741 has been absolved from his supposed violence;\* but Astolphus, in 754, did assault the city furiously, and whatever structures were near the walls must be supposed to have suffered from his attack.† From that period Rome was not forcibly entered, that is, not after a siege, until the fall of the Carlovingian race, when it was defended by Barbarians in the name of the emperor Lambert, and assaulted and taken by Barbarians, commanded by Arnulphus, son of Carloman of Bavaria (A.D. 896). It has been agreed not to give this invidious name to the Germans under the Othos, the Henrys, and the Frederics, or to the Normans of Guiscard; but it is hoped that, without including these spoilers, enough has been said to show that the absolution of the earlier Barbarians from all charge of injury done to the public edifices of Rome is only one of the many paradoxes which are to be cleared from the surface of Italian literature.‡

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\* *Annali d' Italia*, tom. iv. p. 284.

† *Annali*, &c., tom. iv. p. 312.

‡ "In ciò nondimeno che appartiene a' pubblici edificj di Roma, dobbiam confessare a gloria de' Barbari stessi, che non troviam prova alcuna che da essi fossero rovinati o arsi."—Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett.*, &c., tom. ii. par. i. lib. i. p. 74. After such an assertion the learned librarian need not have been surprised that the author of the '*Mémoires pour la vie de Pétrarque*' (p. 514) exclaimed, "Il faut avouer qu'il y a dans votre littérature des choses singulières et tout à fait inconcevables."—See *Storia*, &c., tom. v. par. 11, lib. iii. p. 460.

We next come to—

### THE CHRISTIANS.

The injuries done by the Christian clergy to the architectural beauty of Rome may be divided into two kinds: those which were commanded or connived at by the Popes for useful repairs or constructions, and those which were encouraged or permitted from motives of fanaticism. It will be easy to make the distinction without the division, and very different feelings will be excited by dilapidations for the service of the city and for that of the church.

The conversion of Constantine cannot be denied to have changed the destination of many public buildings, and to have excited a demand for the ornaments of the baptised Basilicas, which, we have ocular proof at this day, was satisfied at the expense of other edifices. If an arch of Trajan was despoiled to adorn his triumph, other structures were robbed to contribute to the splendour of his conversion.\* The figure and the decorations of buildings appropriated to the new religion necessarily were partially changed, and that such a change was detrimental to their architecture the early

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\* Nardini, lib. vi. cap. xv., seems to doubt or not to determine this, but owns the sculpture is of the time of Trajan. A part of this arch was dug up near the column of Trajan in the time of Vacca. See a subsequent chapter.

Basilical churches still exist as an evidence.\* The temples of Rome were not universally shut until the edict of Honorius (A.D. 399); but an Italian writer† has shown, with some success, that Christianity had been actively employed before that period in destroying the symbols and haunts of the ancient superstition.

A law of Theodosius the Great ordered the destruction of the temples at Alexandria;‡ and though it has been triumphantly quoted in favour of Christian forbearance that St. Ambrose§ found the baths, the porticoes, and the squares of Rome full of idols, in 383, yet another saint boasts that in 405 all the statues in the temples were overthrown.|| The sale of the

\* Look at the church of St. Agnes without the walls. The Christians took or imitated ornaments of all kinds from the temples. In that church the pomegranates of Proserpine, the emblem of mortality, are on the balustrades of the high altar. A thousand years afterwards Leda and the Swan were still thought appropriate figures for the bronze doors of St. Peter's.

† Pietro Lazzeri, *Discorso della Consecrazione del Panteone fatta da Bonifazio IV.* Roma, 1749, pp. 39, 40.

‡ Socrat. *Hist. Ecclesiæ*, lib. v. cap. xvi. The bishop Theophilus marched about the town carrying in triumph the *phalli* taken from the *Serapeon*.

§ “Non illis satis sunt lavacra, non porticus, non plateæ occupatæ simulacris?”—D. Ambros. *Epist. cont. Symmach. Lugd. Bat.*, 1653, p. 455. “Eversis in urbe Roma omnibus simulacris.”—*Serm. de verb. evang.*, cap. 10, n. 13, in fin. oper. tom. v. par. 1, col. 547.

|| *Dissertazione sulle Rovine di Roma*, dall' Abate Carlo Fea, Storia delle Arti, &c., tom. iii. p. 267 to 416, edit. Rom. 1784. The Abate strangely quotes St. Ambrose against St. Augustine, who talks of Rome eighteen years afterwards.

idols in Greece had begun with Constantine.\* The law of Honorius which forbade the destruction of the edifices themselves, proves, if anything, that such an outrage had been perpetrated, and was to be apprehended. A prohibitory edict must suppose an offence. It is not easy to interpret in more than one way the following words of St. Jerome: "The golden Capitol has lost all its splendour; the temples of Rome are covered with dust and cobwebs; the very city is moved from its foundations, and the overflowing people rush before the half torn up shrines to the tombs of the martyrs."† The squalid appearance of the Capitol is mentioned in another passage of the same writer,‡ where the temples of Jove and his ceremonies are said metaphorically, or actually, to have fallen down. In the year 426, Theodosius the younger ordered the destruction of the temples and fanes. A commentator§ has endeavoured to reason this away, and another writer

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\* "Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναοὺς κλείων καὶ καθαιρῶν καὶ δημοσιεύων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα.—Socrat., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. i. cap. iii.

† "Auratum squalet Capitolium. Fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romæ templa cooperta sunt. Movetur urbs sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos."—*Epist.* cvii. *ad Lætam*, Hieron. opera, tom. i. p. 672. Veron., 1734. Yet this was before Christianity could be traced back two generations in Rome. "Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani," says the same saint in the same place.

‡ "Squalet Capitolium, templa Jovis et cæremoniæ conciderunt."—*Lib.* ii. *advers. Jovinian.* tom. ii. p. 384.

§ Godefroy [*Gottofredus.*] — *Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c.*, p. 284, note (C). The words are, "cunctaque eorum fana, templa, delubra, siqua etiam nunc restant integra, præcepto magistratuum



has been eager to show that the mandate was addressed to the eastern Illyricum. To this it may be replied, that it is to be inferred that province was thought most attached to paganism, and that the temples had been preserved there when in the capitals they had been overthrown. An ecclesiastical writer, only twelve years after this law, talks of the order, or of the effect of it, as being general; saying, that the destruction of the idolatrous fanes was from the foundation, and so complete that those who came after them would see no vestige of the former superstition.\* The same author has a much stronger expression in another passage: "Their temples are so destroyed that the appearance of their form no longer remains, nor can those of our times recognise the shape of their altars; as for their materials, they are dedicated to the fanes of the martyrs."† The opinion of the Cardinal Baronius is positive to the zeal

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destrui, conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus."—*Codex Theod.*, lib. xvi. tit. 10, de Pagan. sacrif. et templis leg. 18.

\* Τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν εἰδωλικῶν σηκῶν τὰ λειπόμενα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασπασθῆναι προσέταξεν ὥστε τοὺς μέθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσομένους μηδὲν ἵχνος τῆς προτέρας ἐξαπάτης θεάσασθαι.—Theodoriti *Episcop. Cyri. Ecclesiæ. Hist.*, lib. v. cap. xxxvii. p. 243, edit. Amstelod. 1695. He published his History about 439. See the preface by Valesius.

† "Horum namque templa sic destructa sunt ut ne figurarum quidem permansit species, nec ararum formam hujus sæculi homines sciant: harum autem materia omnis martyrum fanis dicata est." From Theodoret's eighth discourse on the martyrs. The translation of Sirmond is quoted, the original not being before the writer.

and the destruction: "As soon as this long-desired permission of breaking the idols was obtained from the Christian prince, the just zeal of the Christian people broke out at last in the throwing down and breaking of the pagan gods." And he before exclaims: "It is incredible with what animosity the Faithful at Rome leapt upon the idols."\*

After this law no mention is made in the codes of temples or their materials, and if these edifices were legally protected up to the time of Justinian, they must be supposed to be included under the head of public buildings. Their protection is, however, very doubtful. Temples are not found amongst the wonders admired by Theodoric, except the half-stripped Capitoline fane is to be enumerated: and Procopius confines his notices to the Temple of Peace, which he alludes to cursorily, as being in the Forum of that name,† and to the Temple of Janus,‡ whose doors there was still enough of pleasantry or paganism left

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\* "Hæc semel a christiano principe idola frangendi impetrata diu optata licentia, exarsit christiani populi justus zelus in disturbandis confringendisque deorum gentilitium simulacris ——— vix credi potest quanta animositate Fideles Romæ in idola insilierint."—*Annales Ecclesiæ. cum critice Pagi*, tom. vi. p. 51, Lucæ, 1740. The cardinal talks of a period rather prior even to the date of Theodoret. Temples, in certain precincts, were perhaps saved from violence. "Claudian boasts that Honorius was guarded in the Palatine by the temples of the gods." "Tot circum delubra videt," &c. See subsequent notice of the Palatine.

† Lib. iv. Bell. Goth. cap. xxi. Maltrito interprete.

‡ Lib. i. cap. xxv. *ibid.*

in Rome to attempt to open during the distress of the Gothic siege. Stilicho\* found no law to prevent him or his wife from partially stripping off the ornaments of the Capitoline Temple; and the burning of the Sibylline books by the same Christian hero evinces the temper of the times. In the reign of Justinian a widow was in possession of the ruins of a temple on the Quirinal, and made a present of eight columns to the Emperor for his metropolitan St. Sophia.† The temples then were partly in private hands, and therefore not universally protected as public edifices. The pagan structures would naturally suffer more at the first triumph of Christianity than afterwards, when the rage and the merit of destruction must have diminished. And after the danger of a relapse was no longer to be feared, it is not unlikely that some of the precious vestiges of the ancient worship might be considered under the guard of the laws. In this way we may account for the permission asked in one instance to despoil a temple for the ornament of a

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\* "Nam Zosimus tradit cum Theodosius Romam venit, hoc scilicet anno, Stiliconem ducem utriusque militiæ e foribus Capitolii laminas aureas abstulisse, ejusque uxorem Serenam nomine, detraxisse e collo Rheæ deorum matri mundum muliebrem suoque ipsius illigasse collo."—Baron. *Ann. Eccl. ad an.* 389, in loc. et edit. citat. For the burning the Sibylline books, see the same place, and the *Iter* of Rutilius.

† Winckelmann, *Osservazioni sull' Architettura degli Antichi*, cap. ii. sec. 4, p. 88, note (B). *Dissertazione, &c.*, p. 302, note (D) tom. iii. of Fea's translation.

church;\* a circumstance which is quoted to show the care of those structures, but which is surely as fair a proof of their neglect.† The consecration of the Pantheon did not take place until the year 609 or 610, two hundred years after the shutting of the temples; and that event is allowed to be the first recorded instance of a similar conversion. If many of the immense number of fanes and temples had been preserved entire until that time it is probable that the example would have been followed in more cases than we know to have been adopted. The Christians found the form of the Basilica much more suitable to their worship than that of the temple. They did not consecrate a single sacred edifice for more than two hundred years after the triumph of their religion. They cannot be proved to have ever taken the entire form of more than four or five.‡ What was the fate of the remainder? We hear of fifty-six churches built upon the

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\* “Hic cooperuit ecclesiam omnem ex tegulis æneis quas levavit de templo, quod appellatur Romæ [Romuli] ex consensu piissimi Heraclei imperatoris.”—Anastas. *in vit. Honorii I.*, p. 96, tom. i. edit. citat. The temple is called the temple of Romulus in *Via Sacra*, in the *Life of Paul I.*, p. 175, tom. i., &c. The church which gained by the robbery was St. Peter's. Nibby (*Foro Romano*, p. 214) supposes the temple to have been that of Venus and Rome.

† *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 286.

‡ The Pantheon, Cosmas and Damianus, St. Theodore, St. Stephano in Rotundis (perhaps), St. Maria Egizziaca (doubtful), the supposed temple of Vesta on the Tiber, St. Hadrian (the façade torn off). Can any other be mentioned?



sites, or supposed sites, of temples.\* Is it then too rash to believe that so many structures, which we know to have disappeared at an early period, which were abandoned, which were regarded as an abomination, and which tradition declares to have stood upon the sites of churches, were despoiled, for the most part, by the zeal of the early Christians, and their materials employed to the honour of the triumphant religion? It is particularly told of Gregory III. that he finished a chapel to certain martyrs *in ruins*.† Most of the lives of the early Popes in Anastasius consist of little else than the building of churches. Those of Hadrian I., Leo III., and Gregory IV., occupy many pages with the mere enumeration of their names.‡ Both piety and economy would prompt the spoliation of the nearest ancient structures connected with the old superstition; and the only indulgence shown to the pagan deities was when their baptism might, by a little distortion, entrust their fanes to the protection of a similar saint.§

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\* See *De templis gentilitium in templa divorum mutatis*, cap. ix. Georg. Fabricii, *Descriptio Romæ ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iii. p. 462.

† “*Cœmeterium beatorum martyrum Januarii, Urbani, Tiburtii, Valeriani et Maximi, et eorum tecta in ruinis posita perfecit.*”—Anastas. *in vit. Gregor. III.*, p. 145, tom. i. edit. citat. We find Pope John III. afterwards living in this cemetery.

‡ See an account of the rapid building of churches by the Popes after Gregory III. in Donatus. *Roma Vetust.*, lib. iv. cap. viii.

§ Thus Romulus and Remus became Cosmas and Damianus. Romulus, a foundling and a warrior, and a healer of young children,

The more prominent symbols of the ancient religion would hardly be suffered to stand after the temples were shut. Da Barga asserts as a fact, that there were marks on the obelisks of their having been all overthrown with the exception of one, which was not dedicated to any of the false gods of antiquity.\* However, Constantius erected one of these monuments† and two were standing in the ninth century, if we are to credit a barbarous regionary of that period.‡ Da Barga extends his praise of the pontiffs to the destruction of the theatres and circuses, the frequenting of which, dedicated as they were to false gods, Lactantius and Tertullian thought equally nefarious with sacrificing to Jove or Serapis. We know that an attempt was made to put the Circensian games at Rome under new patronage, but that they were entirely discontinued in the year 496, when the people declared they would not have Jesus Christ in the place of Mars, and the provision for the festival was distributed to the poor.§

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was changed for St. Theodore, a foundling and warrior, and also healer of children. Mars had not a violent metamorphosis to reappear as St. Martina; but there is some doubt of the latter conversion.

\* That of the Vatican. See *de privatorum publicorumque, &c.*, p. 1891, in loco citato. "Neque enim existimare possumus cæteros obeliscos vel terræ motu vel fulmine dejectos esse, cum vectium et ferramentorum vestigia, quibus eversi sunt, adhuc extant infimæ partis lateribus quæ basim spectant."

† That now standing before the Lateran.

‡ The *pyramid* of Sallust, and the *pyramid* near St. Lorenzo in Luciana. The regionary is quoted afterwards.

§ Baronius, *Annal. Ecclesias.* ad an. 496, p. 606, tom. viii. edit. citat. One of the obelisks of the Circus Maximus was lying on the

The same writer, after a diligent study of the fathers, and having commenced with the contrary opinion, is convinced that Gregory the Great was the chief instrument of this destruction, and notably of the Circus Maximus, near which he built a church.\* The Circus, however, is recorded by the regionary of the ninth century.† The baths, a greater abomination, he is also convinced owed their destruction to the same piety, and those of Diocletian and Caracalla showed in his time evident marks of human violence. He adds that there is no proof of these immense structures having been ruined by earthquakes, and to this it may be subjoined, that when the Roman families of the middle ages had occupied the Coliseum and other ancient monuments, they did not take possession of the baths, with the exception of those of Constantine on the Quiri-

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ground when the regionary Victor wrote ; and it is a very curious fact, as any one may see, though it has not been previously remarked, that the "Castellum," at the Porta San Lorenzo, was already buried within a foot and a half of the spring of the arch, when that gate was made by the Emperor Honorius—a decisive proof of the early ruin and accumulation of soil in the ancient city.

The same remark applies to the clearing of the Porta Maggiore and the discovery of the Baker's tomb, in 1838, when, says Cardinal Wiseman, "an excrescent bastion at the outside of the gate was subjected to excision" (Four Popes, p. 459)—rather a singular mode of telling a simple fact, and sounding more like an operation on the human body than on stone and mortar (1858).

\* De privatorum publicorumque, &c., p. 1889.

† The last vestiges of the Circus Maximus were carried away about the time of Paul V. See *Vedute degli Antichi Vestigj di Roma di Alo' Giovannili*, in the plate representing those ruins.

nal. The last mention of them in any way that can make us suppose them entire, is in the regionary of the ninth century. Their precious materials, statues, and marble coatings and columns, would naturally be carried away when the baths had ceased to be frequented; but some violence must have been necessary to throw down so large a portion of their masses: nor could this be done for the sake of grinding down their materials, which are of brick. So early as the tenth century, there were three churches built in the Alexandrine baths,\* which must therefore have been previously in ruins. It must be confessed, at the same time, that the evidence against the Christians is not equally strong when applied to the theatres and thermæ, as it appears to be referring to the temples. As the defence of Gregory the Great has been successfully undertaken against his principal accuser, it is of little moment to mention that a Monsignor Segardi, in a speech which he recited in the Capitol,† in 1703, was bold enough to state and enforce his belief of all the charges made against the saint, none of which can be traced higher than nearly six centuries after his death.‡

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\* Roma ex ethnica sacra. Martinelli, cap. ix. p. 167, quoted in *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 358.

† Prose degli Arcadi, tom. i. p. 126. *Dissertaz.*, p. 287. Note (H).

‡ Jacob. Brucker, *Historiæ criticæ philosophiæ*, from p. 633 to p. 672, edit. Lips. 1768, sect. iii. de nat. et indole et modo Phil. Schol. in appendice. Do what he will, Brucker cannot trace any of the stories, the suppression of *mathesis*, the statue-breaking, or library-burning, higher than John of Salisbury. He made a great mistake in calling Gregory the master of John Diaconus, who lived



The discouragement of *mathesis*, whether it meant magic or profane learning in general, would be only a presumptive proof of the tasteless ignorance or credulity of the pontiff; and a more satisfactory argument than the silence of his biographers may be deduced from the belief that Gregory had but little time or means for the building of churches, and consequently for the spoliation of ancient edifices. He is not to be suspected of wanton violence, for the destruction of buildings is the subject of one of the complaints with which he bewails the wretchedness of the times.\* A large column was, however, transferred in those days (608), from some other structure to the Forum, and dedicated to the murderer Phocas. The successors of Gregory were less scrupulous, it should seem, than himself. We have seen that Honorius I. removed the gilt tiles from the temples of Romulus. Gregory III. employed nine columns of some ancient building for the church of St. Peter.† The rebuilding of the city walls by four

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two centuries afterwards, and is reproved by Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c., tom. iii. lib. ii. p. 99 to p. 114, edit. Venet., 1795. The story of his throwing down the statues can only be traced to Leo of Orvieto, a Dominican writer of the 14th century. See *Testimonia quorundam veterum scriptorum de St. Gregorio Papa*, at the end of the Venice edition of St. Gregory's works; and *St. Gregorius Magnus vindicatus*, by Gian Girolamo Gradenigo, in the sixteenth volume.

\* "Ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus."—*Homilia in Ezechielem*, lib. ii. hom. vi. p. 70, tom. v. Opp. omn., Venet. 1776.

† Anastas. in Vit. St. Greg. II.

popes in the same century (eighth), Sisinnius, Gregory II. and III., and St. Hadrian I., was an useful but a destructive operation.\* Their lime-kilns must have been supplied from the ancient city. It is to a presumed necessity, and not to superstition, that the succeeding spoliation of the ancient works of art by the popes must chiefly be attributed; but it will be observed that the embellishment of the Christian churches was the chief motive for this destruction, and consequently ranks it in the class at present under examination. Pope Hadrian I., by the infinite labour of the people employed during a whole year, threw down an immense structure of Tiburtine stone to enlarge the church of St. Maria in Cosmedin.† Donus I. (elected in 676) had before stripped the marble from a large pyramid between the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo, vulgarly known by the name of the

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\* "Qui et calcarias pro restauratione murorum jussit decoquere."—Anastas. *in vit. Sisinnii*, p. 127, tom. i. edit. citat. He was Pope in 708. "Hic exordio Pontificatus sui calcarias decoqui jussit, et a Porta sancti Laurentii inchoans hujus civitatis muros restaurare decreverat, et aliquam partem faciens emergentibus incongruis, variisque tumultibus, præpeditus est."—*Ibid. in vit. St. Gregorii II.*, who was Pope from 714 to 731. "Hujus temporibus plurima pars murorum hujus civitatis Romanæ restaurata sunt."—*Ibid. in vit. Gregorii III.*, p. 145. See also the same in *vit. St. Hadriani*, p. 210. Gregory was Pope from 731 to 740—Hadrian from 772 to 794.

† "Nam maximum monumentum de Tibertino tufo super eam dependens per anni circulum plurimam multitudinem populi congruens multorumque lignorum struem incendens demolitus est."—Anastas. *in vit. St. Hadriani I.*, p. 214, edit. citat.: he repeats it in the next page.

tomb of Scipio.\* The spoil was laid on the floor of the *atrium* of St. Peter. The history of the middle ages cannot be supposed to have preserved many such precise records; but the times after the return of the popes from Avignon are sufficiently eloquent. Paul II.† employed the stones of the Coliseum to build a palace. Sixtus IV. took down a temple, supposed by Pomponius Lætus that of Hercules, near St. Maria in Cosmedin;‡ and the same pontiff destroyed the remains of an ancient bridge to make 400 cannon balls for the castle of St. Angelo.§ He also pulled down the remains of the Domitian tomb, near where the Porta del Popolo now stands, and employed the marble in building bastions near that gate. Alexander VI.|| threw down the pyramid which Donus had stripped to make a way for his gallery between the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo. Paul III. and his nephews laboured incessantly at the quarry of the Coliseum. This pope applied himself to

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\* Nardini, *Roma Ant.*, lib. vii. cap. xiii.

See Donatus, *Roma Vetus*, lib. iv. cap. ix. for Paul II., who reigned from 1464 to 1470.

† Donatus, &c., lib. ii. cap. xxv.

§ Stephen. Infessura, *Diar. Urb. Rom.* says this happened in 1484. The bridge was called that of Horatius Cocles, “e le dette palle forono fabbricate a marmorata dove fu finito di distruggere un ponte di travertino rotto, il quale si chiamava il ponte di Orazio Cocles.” *Scriptores Rer. Italic.*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 1178.

|| The pyramid was bigger than that of Cestius, was mentioned by Blondus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, and is seen on the bronze doors of St. Peter's. Nardini, lib. vii. cap. xiii. Alexander reigned from 1490 to 1503.

the Theatre of Marcellus, to the Forum of Trajan, to a temple usually called of Pallas, opposite the temple of Faustina, to that temple itself, to the Arch of Titus, and to a large mass of ancient work which he levelled to the ground in the Piazza del Popolo,\* and had not the excuse of piety for this wide devastation.

Sixtus V. carried away the remains of the Septizonium of Severus for the service of St. Peter's, and a contemporary positively mentions that he threw down certain statues still remaining in the Capitol.† The remains of two temples, one near St. Lorenzo in pane perna, and the other near the Porta Pia, were discovered in the time of this pope, and no sooner discovered than destroyed. Urban VIII. took off the bronze from the portico of the Pantheon‡ to make cannon for the castle of St. Angelo, and to construct the confessional of St. Peter. He took away also some of the base of the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella for the fountain of

\* Venuti, Roma Moderna. Rione X. p. 353, tom. ii. Donatus, lib. iv. cap. ix. Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c., p. 399. Paul III. began to reign in 1533, and died in 1549.

† Da Barga, Commentarius de Obelisco, ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. in loc. citat., p. 1931. He mentioned this to the honour of Sixtus, to whom he dedicated his commentary, and he believed it an imitation of the conduct of Gregory the Great and others. "Quorum pietatem, Pius V. et Sixtus V. Pontifices Max. sic imitati sunt, ut eorum alter ex ædibus Vaticanis hujusmodi omnes statuas alio amandare cogitaverat, alter e turre capitolina incredibili sua cum laude dejici jusserit."—See his Treatise on the Destroyers of Rome, &c., p. 1887, in loco citat.

‡ See subsequent notice of the Pantheon.



Trevi.\* Paul V. removed the entablature and pediment of a structure in the Forum of Nerva for his fountain on the Janiculum, and transported the remaining column of the Temple of Peace to decorate the place before St. Maria Maggiore.† Lastly, Alexander VII. took down the arch commonly called “di Portogallo” in order to widen the Corso.‡ A little more taste and ingenuity might surely have preserved the monument and yet improved the modern street. The inferior

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\* Echinard, *Agro Romano*, p. 295, edit. 1750. Yet Gibbon says he has nothing else to allege against this pope than the punning saying, “Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barbarini.”—Cap. lxxi. p. 424, tom. xii.

† Venuti, *Roma Moderna*. Rione I. p. 47, tom. i.

‡ The remains of this arch are seen in Donatus, fig. 32. He (lib. iii.) thought it of Drusus, but without reason. See Nardini (lib. vi. cap. ix.). Alexander VII. was so proud of this destruction that he chose to record it by an inscription, which is here given because it is esteemed the best specimen of lapidary writing in Rome :—

Alex. VII. Pontif. Max.

Viam latam feriatae urbis hippodromum  
Qua interjectis aedificiis impeditam  
Qua procurentibus deformatam  
Liberam rectamque reddidit  
Publicae commoditati et ornameto.

Anno Sal. MDC. LXV.

The bas-reliefs on the arch are now in the Capitoline palace of the *Conservatori*. A large volume has been devoted to the labours of Alexander VII., with plates of some merit. It is called *IL NUOVO TEATRO DELLE FABBRICHE ET EDIFICII IN PROSPETTIVA DI ROMA MODERNA SOTTO IL FELICE PONTIFICATO di N. S. Papa Alessandro VII. : Date in luce da Gio. Iacomo Rossi alla Pace*. The date is 1665.

clergy were, it is probable, much more guilty than the pontiffs, and a volume of no inconsiderable bulk has been composed by one of their own order to enumerate the pagan materials applied to the use of the church.\* As long as the ancient monuments were considered the property of that church, it does not appear that any protection was granted to them, and a writer, who is in some degree an advocate for the clergy, has been obliged to confess that when the ruins were in possession of the modern senate and people, they were less subject to spoliation than in preceding periods.† The superstition of the clergy and the people at large prevented them from attributing a proportionate value to objects not connected with their ecclesiastical legends; and when the relics of the ancient city had begun to be regarded with somewhat less indifference, they seem to have been respectable from some pious fable‡ attached to their sites rather than by any antiquarian importance. Even the great Sixtus Quintus could not restore an obelisk without affixing an inscription devoted to the purposes

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\* Marangoni, *Delle Cose Gentilesche e Profane trasportate ad Uso e Ornamento delle Chiese*; see also Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ex Ethnica Sacra*.

† The Abate Fea in his dissertation.

‡ See the above-cited collection of designs, entitled '*Vedute degli Antichi Vestigj di Roma, di Alò Giovannili*,' drawn in the time of Paul V.: every picture is enlivened by a massacre of martyrs, or a miracle, or a dedication of a church. The Vestal with her sieve, and Curtius leaping into the gulf, are the only heathen fictions or facts honoured with any notice.

of religious imposture.\* The very study of the ancient relics is perverted, and rendered subservient to church fable. Cardinal Baronius, for the sake of finding St. Peter's prison at *St. Niccolas in carcere*, distorted the position of the Roman Forum: and Nardini himself, in other respects so incredulous, affirms that there is a *certain* tradition of the confinement of that apostle in the Mamertine dungeon, and of the fountain springing up for the baptizement of his jailer.† What were the merits of the latter pontiffs in the preservation of the ancient fabrics will be seen in another place: the above remarks may have served to show how far their predecessors and the religion of which they were the chiefs are to be taken into account in treating of the ruin and neglect of these venerable monuments.

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\* Christum Dominum  
 Quem Augustus  
 De Virgine  
 Nasciturum  
 Vivens adoravit  
 Seque deinceps  
 Dominum  
 Dici vetuit  
 Adoro.

† Nardini, lib. v. cap. xi. See a notice of the Temple of the Roman Piety.

## CHAPTER X.

## CONTINUATION OF CAUSES OF DILAPIDATION.

THE agency of the barbarians and of the catholic religion is far from being an adequate cause for so little being left of that city, which was called the epitome of the whole world.\* It is proposed, therefore, to take a cursory view of the general progress of decay arising from other causes of destruction.

A tremendous fire in the year 700 or 703, of the city, had made it necessary to rebuild the greater part of Rome.† This was undertaken by Augustus, and the famous eulogium on the grandeur of his restoration‡ shows what materials were a prey to the fire of Nero, from which only four regions escaped untouched, and

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\* 'Επιτομή τῆς οἰκουμένης is an expression of Athenæus, quoted in one of the topographers, Julius Minutulus.

† Orosii, Hist., lib. vi. cap. xiv., and lib. vii. cap. ii. Fourteen *vici* were consumed.

‡ "He found it brick, he left it marble;" or, as Dion says, Τὴν Ρώμην γῆϊνὴν παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω.—*Hist. Rom.*, lib. lvi. p. 829, tom. ii., edit. Hamb. 1750. What is said of Themistocles is a much finer eulogium :—Ὅς ἐπόησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστὴν εἴρων ἐπιχειλῇ.—Aristoph., *Equit.*, v. 811 : "He made our city full, having found it empty."



which was fatal to the most venerable fanes and trophies of the earlier ages.\* We may conclude from a passage of Tacitus, that so early as the reign of Vitellius a work belonging to the time of the republic was a rare object.† The fire and civil war which destroyed the Capitol during that reign, that which raged for three days and nights under Titus,‡ the conflagration in the thirteenth year of Trajan which consumed a part of the Forum and of the golden house of Nero,§ must have contributed to the obliteration of the ancient city; and if there was scarcely any relic of republican Rome when Tacitus wrote, it may be suspected that the capital even of the first Cæsars had begun to disappear at an earlier period than is usually imagined. The temples under the Capitol bear witness to the falls and fires which had required the constant attention and repair of the senate,|| and became more common after the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople. Popular tumults

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\* Sueton. in vit. Neronis. Tacit. Annal., lib. xv. cap. xxxviii.-xli.

† "Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Cæsarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit."—*Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. lxxii.

‡ Sueton. in vit. Titi.

§ G. Syncellus in Chronog., p. 347, quoted in Dissertazione, &c., p. 293.

|| D. N. Constantino . Maximo . Pio . Felici . ac . Triumphatori . semper . Augusto . ob . amplificatam . toto . orbe . rem . publicam . tactis . consiliisque . S. P. Q. R. Dedicante . Anicio . Paulino . Juniore . C. V. Cos. ord. Præf. urbi . S. P. Q. R.

S. P. Q. R. Ædem . Concordiæ . vetustate . collapsam . in . meliorem . faciem . opere . et . cultu . splendidiore restituerunt.

This inscription was found near the ruins under the Capitol, and transferred to the Lateran, whence it has disappeared. The

were then more frequent and injurious. In one which occurred in the year 312 the Temple of Fortune was burnt down.\* The Palace of Symmachus,† that of the prefect Lampadius, in 367, and it is probable the Baths of Constantine, each suffered by the same violence; and an inscription which records the repair of the latter, informs us also how small were the means of the senate and people for restoring the ancient structures.‡ The destruction must not be confined to one element. The

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The words now remaining on the frieze of the Temple with the eight columns are

Senatus Populusque Romanus  
Incendio consumptum Restituit.

The other temple of three columns, called Jupiter Tonans, has the letters ESTITVER.

This was the name given to them in 1817; but Jupiter Tonans is dethroned now, and authorities are divided between Vespasian and Titus and Saturn.—See Dr. Smith's *Dict.*, art. Roma, p. 182, &c.

\* *Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 312, tom. ii. p. 312. Muratori quotes Zosimus, lib. ii. c. 13, and would make us put this fire to the charge of religion.

† Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. cap. iii. p. 523, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1693. "Hic præfectus [Lampadii] exagitatus est motibus crebris, uno omnium maximo cum collecta plebs infima, domum ejus prope Constantinianum lavacrum injectis facibus incenderat et malleolis," &c.—*Ibid.*

‡ Vid. Nardini, lib. iv. cap. vi. "Petronius Perpenna magnus Quadratianus V. C. et Inl. Præf. Urb. Constantinianas thermas longa incuria et abolendæ civilis vel potius feralis cladis vastatione vehementer adflictas ita ut agnitione sui ex omni parte perdita desperationem cunctis reparationis adferrent deputato ab amplissimo ordine parvo sumptu quantum publicæ patiebantur angustiae ab extremo vindicavit occasu et provisione largissima in pristinam faciem splendoremque restituit."

Tiber, which Augustus\* cleansed, which Trajan deepened, and Aurelian endeavoured to restrain by a mound,† rose not unfrequently to the walls, and terrified the pious cruelty of the Romans into persecution.‡ The repeated notices of inundation will be seen to form part of the melancholy annals of the declining capital; but the decay of the city was hastened not only by these natural evils and by the violence of hostile conflicts within the walls,§ but by the silent dilapidation of ancient structures, both private and public, which appears to have been a delinquency as early as the beginning of the fourth century, and to have been prohibited afterwards by successive imperial laws. The removal of the emperors to Constantinople encouraged the spoliation, and if it were possible to ascertain the list of all the ornaments of Rome which were transferred to the seat of empire, there might be a better justification for those who attribute the ruin of the old to the rise of the new capital. || The departure of many of the principal families for the banks of the Bosphorus had emptied a

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\* Sueton. in Vit. Augusti, cap. xxx.

† "Tiberinas extruxi ripas. Vadum alvei tumentis effodi."—Vopisc. in Vit. Aureliani, p. 215, Ald. edit. 1519.

‡ "Tiberis si ascendit ad mœnia; si Nilus non ascendit in arva: si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad Leones."—Tertull. *Apolog.*, cap. xlii.

§ A battle was fought on the Cælian hill in the reign of Aurelian. —*Decline and Fall*, cap. xi. tom. ii. oct., p. 51.

|| "Ut non immerito dixeris, non a barbaris, sed prius a Constantino eversam fuisse Romam."—Isa. Vossii de *Magnitudine Romæ Veteris*. ap. Græv. *Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iv. p. 1507, p. 1516, cap. vii.

portion of the patrician palaces. The public structures we know were not entirely spared, when it was requisite to record the triumph of Constantine;\* and the debasement of the arts having left the Romans no other resource than the application of former trophies to their present sovereign, the same flattery which robbed an arch of Trajan may have despoiled many other monuments to decorate the chosen city of the conqueror. The laws of the codes† speak of ruins and edifices in decay, which, we may collect from prohibiting clauses, it was the custom not to restore but to pillage for the

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\* See notice of Arch of Constantine.

† XI. Imp. Valentinianus et Valens A A ad Symmachum P. U. "Intra urbem Romam eternam nullus Judicum novum opus informet: quotiens serenitatis nostra arbitria cessabunt: ea tamen instaurandi quæ jam deformibus ruinis intercidisse dicuntur universis licentiam damus." — Dat. viii. kalend. Jun. Philippis. Divo Joviano et Varroniano Coss. (A.D. 364), lib. xv. tit. 1, *Codex Theodos.*, edit. Mant. 1768, p. 261. The law is repeated the next year. The next law mentions the seizure of the granaries. By several other laws of the code under the same title, it appears that the public buildings in the provinces were also falling to decay. The following law speaks more strongly of the decay and the spoliation at Rome:—

XIX. Imp. Valens, Gratianus, et Valentinianus A A A ad Senatum. Nemo præfectorum urbis aliorumve judicum, quos potestas in excelso locat, opus aliquod novum in urbe Roma inclyta moliatur, sed excolendis veteribus intendet animum. Novum quoque opus qui volet in urbe moliri, sua pecunia, suis opibus absolvat, non contractis veteribus emolumentis, non effossis nobilium operum substructionibus, non redivivis de publico saxis, non marmorum frustis spoliatarum ædium reformatione convulsis. Lecta in Senatu. Valente V. et Valentiniano. A A. Coss. (A.D. 376.) Read *deformatione*, according to three editions, p. 269. The laws xxvii. and xxix. of the same title are to the same purpose.



service of new buildings. Such was the disorder in the reign of Valens and Valentinian that private individuals had seized upon the public granaries: columns and marbles were transported from one city to another, and from one service to another. A law above referred to for the year 364, when quoted in the Justinian code, contains a singular expression not before remarked, by which it would appear that at an early period there was an *old* distinct from a *new* Rome.\* The regionaries do not notice the distinction, and the commentators object to the phrase; but it seems very probable that the migration from the mounts to the Campus Martius had commenced after the repeated sack and sieges of the city, and the causes of decay before commemorated, had encumbered the ancient site with ruins. The Campus Martius had been surrounded by the wall of Aurelian, and from that time it may be supposed that the vast fields, the groves of the Augustan mausoleum, the innumerable porticoes, the magnificent temples, the circus, and the theatre of that district,† were gradually displaced, or choked up by the descending city. As late as the reign of Valentinian III. we find mention made of the Campus Martius as if it were still an open place.‡ Yet

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\* Vid. Cod. Justin., lib. viii. tit. xii. tom. ii. p. 471, edit. Gotting. 1797, which repeats the law above, beginning "Intra urbem Romam *veterem et novam*," and inserts "nisi ex suis pecuniis hujusmodi opus construere voluerit."

† See a beautiful description of it in Strabo, lib. v.

‡ He was killed in the Campus Martius, according to Cassiodorus and Victor Tutonensis; but Prosper, in his Chronicle, names another place called the two Laurels.—*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 455, tom. iii. p. 163.

it is possible that the quarter preserved the name, as at present, long after it had lost its original appearance and destination.

It is not to be overlooked, that in the reign of Constantius, the architectural wonders of the city were still sufficient to astonish a stranger;\* that when the regionaries wrote under Valentinian,† a pompous list of public monuments might still be collected for the admiration and confusion of posterity;‡ that when Alaric took the town, the private houses contained the buildings of a whole city;§ and that even after that calamity the old age of Rome was more attractive than the youth of any other capital. There was, doubtless, still enough left to confer the palm upon the ancient metropolis,|| whose ruins at this day form a striking contrast with the few relics of the second capital. The stranger could not perceive what was lost: the native

\* “Deinde intra septem montium culmina, per acclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra collustrans et suburbana, quicquid viderat primum, id eminere ante alia cuncta sperabat,” &c. &c.—Amm. Marcel., lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145, Lugd. Bat. 1693.

† He was elected emperor in 364, and died in 375.

‡ The two regionaries, Rufus and Victor, occupy twelve pages, in double column, of the folio Thesaurus of Grævius, tom. iii.

§ ‘Οτι ἕκαστος τῶν μεγάλων οἰκῶν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥς φήσιν ἅπαντα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὅποσα πόλις σύμμετρος ἡδύνато ἔχειν.—*Olympiod. ap. Phot. Biblioth.*, edit. 1653, p. 198.

Εἰς δόμος ἄστν πέλει, πόλις ἄστεα μυρία κέυθει.

|| Manuel Chrysoloras made a comparison between Rome and Constantinople: he did not believe what he had heard of Rome, but found that her very ruins were a sufficient proof of her former superiority. This was in 1464—at least his book has that date.—See *Museum Italic.*, p. 96, tom. i., 1724.

still flattered himself that every injury might be repaired; and such was the stability of the larger monuments, that to the poet and consul Ausonius, at the end of the fourth century, Rome was still the golden, the eternal city.\* In the panegyrics, however, of her last admirers, we may trace her decay. The private palaces, which are celebrated by Olympiodorus, have no encomium from the poet who survived the ravage of Genserick and who still extols the baths of Agrippa, of Nero, and of Diocletian.† The care and admiration of Theodoric were directed to those objects whose solidity or whose position protected them from sudden dissolution, but which were still shaken by violence and age.‡ Casiodorus confesses that his master, the lover of architecture,§ the restorer of cities, could only repair decently the tottering remnants of antiquity.|| He owns, also,

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\* Epigrammata quatuor, &c. Auson. Op., pp. 78, 80, edit. Burdighal.

“Prima urbes inter Divum domus, aurea Roma.”

—*Claræ Urbes*, p. 195.

† “Hinc ad balnea non Neroniana

Nec quæ Agrippa dedit, vel ille cujus

Bustum Dalmaticæ vident Salonæ,” &c.

—Sidon. Apoll., *Carmen ad Consentium*, 23, written 466. *Disseratazione*, &c., p. 271.

‡ The Palatine had been occupied by the troops of Genserick, the theatre of Pompey had been injured by fire, and was in decay—quid non solves, O senectus, quæ tam robusta quassasti?—Cassiod. Var., lib. iv. Epist. li.

§ “Amator fabricarum, restaurator civium.”—*Excerpta de Theod. auctoris ignoti in fine Amm. Marcel.*

|| “Et nostris temporibus videatur antiquitas decentius innovata.”  
—Var. Epist. li. lib. iv.

the partial abandonment, whilst he laments the rapid decay and fall of the ancient habitations.\* In the interval between the encomiums of Cassiodorus and the notices which Procopius has left of the miracles of Rome,† the aqueducts had been broken;‡ the thermæ, the amphitheatre, the theatres, had all been abandoned; and the admiration of the historian is confined to the tomb of Hadrian,§ to the infinite number of statues,|| the works of Phidias, Lysippus, and Myron, and to the solicitude with which the Romans preserved as much as possible the more stable edifices of their city, and amongst other objects, a venerable relic of their Trojan parent.¶ Even these detached ornaments must have been much diminished during the Gothic sieges. The

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\* “Facilis est ædificiorum ruina incolarum substracta custodia et cito vetustatis decoctione resolvitur, quod hominum præsentia non tuetur.”

† De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xix.

‡ The population must have been much diminished, since the Tiber was esteemed insalubrious, and the wells of Rome had been found insufficient for the people of Rome since the year 441 A. U. C. —See Jul. Frontin. *de Acquæduct.*, lib. i. ap. Græv. *Antiq. Roman.*, tom. iv.

§ De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xxii.

|| Ibid., lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

¶ Οἷ γε καὶ πολὺν τινα βεβαρβαρωμένοι αἰῶνα, τὰς τε πόλεως διεσώσαντο οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλλωπισμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα ὅσα οἶόν τε ἦν· χρόνῳ τὲ τοσούτῳ τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τῷ ἀπημελείσθαι, δι’ ἀρετὴν τῶν πεποιημένων ἀντέχει· ἔτι μὲν τοι καὶ ὅσα μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι· ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡ ναὺς Αἰνείου, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τόδε κείται, θέαμα παντελῶς ἄπιστον. *Γοθικῶν* ἡ δ'. p. 353, edit. 1607, cap. xxii. of the translation. The due weight must be given to these words; but the solidity of the structure seems, after all, the chief protection of the buildings.



Greek soldiers were not restrained from flinging down the statues of the mole of Hadrian on the heads of their assailants;\* and Belisarius must have demolished not only such smaller materials, but many a contiguous structure, for his repeated rebuilding of the walls. We have other decided proofs of the early desertion and decline of the Cæsarian city. An edict of Majorian specifies as a common offence, that those who built houses had recourse to the ancient habitations, which could not have been dilapidated in the presence of a resident population, and which we know by the same edict to have been abandoned to the feeble protection of the laws.† The same fact is deducible from another prohibition, which forbade the extraction of precious metals from the ancient structures, a crime noticed before the end of the fourth century,‡ and one of the evils which the regulations of Theodoric were intended to prevent.§ This rapine supposes a solitude. In the

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\* De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xxii. The Faun was found when Urban VIII. cleansed the ditch of the castle.

† Majorian reigned from 457 to 461. "Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et ut aliquid reparatur, magna diruntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædificium construens, per gratiam judicium . . . præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet." This is quoted in the *Decline and Fall*, &c., cap. xxxvi. p. 175, vol. vi. oct. note 3.

‡ In 367 Lampadius, the præfect, took all the lead, and iron, and brass, so collected, without any remuneration to the plunderers.—Amm. Marcellini, lib. xxvii. cap. iii. p. 524, edit. 1693.

§ Præterea non minimum pondus, et quod facillimum direptioni est mollissimum plumbum de ornatu mœnium referuntur esse sublata.—*Variar. Epist.*, lib. iii. cap. xxxi. p. 50, edit. 1679.

subsequent periods of distress, when every precious object had been removed from above ground, the plunderers searched for subterranean treasures, and tore up the lead of the conduits.\* The mere necessities of existence became the only care of a wretched population, from whom it would be unreasonable to expect either taste or attachment to the trophies of their former grandeur. That many of the works of sculpture fell where they stood, has been proved by the spots where they were found, after centuries of neglect. The same indifference which allowed the baths of Titus to be gradually buried beneath the soil, prevented the Laocoon from being removed from the niche which it originally adorned.† The Toro, the Hercules, the Flora, the Callipygian Venus, were all found in the baths of Caracalla, of which most probably they had been the ornaments.

The condition of the Romans may account for their neglect of monuments, which the elements themselves conspired to destroy. An earthquake shook the Forum of Peace for seven days in the year 408 ;‡ but such

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\* "Et confestim centenarium illud, quod ex eadem forma in atrio ecclesiæ Beati Petri decurrebat, dum per nimiam neglectus incuriam plumbum ipsius centenarii furtim jam plurima ex parte exinde ablatum fuisset."—Anastas. in *Vit. S. Hadriani I.* He is talking of the repair of the aqueduct and pipe of the *Acqua Sabbatina*.

† Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi.) says, the Laocoon was in the house of the Emperor Titus. "... Laocoonte qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo." They show the red cellular niche in the baths or palace of Titus, in which this group is said to have been found.

‡ "Romæ in foro pacis per dies septem terra mugitum dedit."—

were the convulsions of nature in the succeeding century that Gregory the Great\* naturally supposed the evils of which he had himself been witness to be the principal cause of the ruin around him. To these earthquakes, tempests, and inundations, he attributed not only the depopulation of the city but the fall of her dwellings, *the crumbling of her bones*.† The rise of the Tiber is specified as having overthrown many of the ancient edifices.‡ Pestilence and famine within the walls, and the Lombards without, had reduced her to a wilderness, and it is to be believed that the population shrunk at that period from many spots never afterwards inhabited. An important notice, hitherto never

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Mercellini Comititis, *Chronic. ap. Sirmond.*, tom. ii. p. 274. It may be too strong an interpretation to call this *bellowing* an earthquake.

\* St. Gregory, in his Dialogues, lib. ii. cap. xv., reports and confirms a prophecy of St. Benedict:—"Cui vir Dei respondit: *Roma gentibus non exterminabitur, sed tempestatibus coruscis, turbinibus, ac terræ motu fatigata marcescet in semet ipsa. Cujus prophetiæ mysteria nobis jam facta sunt luce clariora, qui in hac urbe dissoluta mœnia, eversas domos, destructas ecclesias turbine cernimus; ejusque ædificia longo senio lassata quia ruinis crebrescentibus prosternantur videmus.*" The reader may recollect how Gibbon has disposed of the prophecy.

† "Quid autem ista de hominibus dicimus cum ruinis crebrescentibus ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus . . . quia postquam defecerant homines, etiam parietes cadunt . . . ossa ergo excocta sunt, vacua ardet Roma."—18 Homil. in Ezechiel, lib. ii. hom. vi. p. 70; tom. v. opp. omn. Venet. 1776. This was in 592.

‡ "Tanta inundatione Tiberis fluvius alveum suum egressus est tantumque excrevit, ut ejus unda per muros urbis influere atque in ea maximam partem regionis occupavit ita ut plurima antiquarum ædium mœnia dejiceret."—St. Gregor., *Vita per Paul. Diacon.*, tom. xv. p. 253, opp. S. Greg. See also *Paul. Diacon. de gestis Langob.*, lib. iii. cap. xxiii., for the *pestis inguinaris*.

cited for the same purpose, informs us that, at the second siege of Rome by Totila, there was so much cultivated land within the walls that Diogenes, the governor, thought the corn he had sown would be sufficient to supply the garrison and citizens in a protracted defence.\* The district of the Forum, however, had not yet become a solitude. A column, erected to the emperor Phocas, is an evidence that the ancient ground-plan had not been buried in the year 608; and the same may be said of the Forum of Trajan, upon evidence not quite so precise.† The accretion of soil in the valleys, and even the mounts of Rome, could not have taken place under the foot of a population which was never entirely lost, and it is only from the total desertion of these buried sites that we must date the formation of the present level.‡

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\* Procop. de Bello Gothico, lib. iii. cap. xxxvi. Nardini, lib. i. cap. viii., has made the remark, but with another object, in treating of the walls.

† The biographers of St. Gregory mention the Forum. "Idem vero perfectissimus et acceptabilis Deo sacerdos, cum quadam die per forum Trajani, quod opere magnifico constat esse extructum procederat."—Paul. Diacon., in loc. cit., p. 262. "Quod Gregorius per forum Trajani, quod ipse quondam pulcherrimis ædificiis venustabat," &c.—Joan. Diacon., in loc. cit., p. 305. Paul Warnefrid was a Lombard of Forlì, and taken prisoner by Charlemagne; the other deacon wrote in 872. Vid. de Triplici S. Gregorii magni Vita, in loc. cit., p. 246.

‡ Gibbon, cap. lxxi. p. 405, tom. xii., singularly gives Addison the merit of a discovery, which any one who had seen a picture of the half-buried ruins under the Capitol, and the hole in which the column of Trajan was sunk, might, and must, have anticipated. Yet the soil had been raised considerably, as before remarked, at the Porta St. Lorenzo, in the time of Honorius.



It appears that, in 825, there were within Rome itself cultivated lands of considerable extent.\* The contiguity of the immense ancient fabrics, when once in decay, must have been dangerous during earthquakes, which might shake them down; or in inundations, when the water might be confined and prevented from retiring by the walls of buildings *as large as provinces*.† Such open spots as were decorated by single monuments were likely to be first overwhelmed by the deposit left by the water and collected round those monuments. On this account the Forums, and even the Palatine, although an eminence, being crowded with structures, appear to have been buried deeper than the other quarters under the deposit of the river and the materials of the crumbling edifices. The latter accumulation must be taken into the account when it is recollected that the broken pottery of the old city

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\* The monastery of Farfa in 825 obtained from the Emperor Lothaire I. the confirmation of a grant of Pope Eugenius of two farms. "De duabus massis juris monasterii Sanctæ Bibianæ, quod est positum infra nobilissimam urbem Romanam, vel quæ ad easdem massas pertinere dignoscitur, quarum una Pompejana, et alia Balagai nuncupata."—*Chronicon Farfense, ap. Script. Rer. Italic.*, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 383, edit. 1727. We know S. Bibiana to have been in Rome. Muratori says, "Dalla Chronica Farfensa apprendiamo, avere Papa Eugenio donate al monastero di Farfa due masse, appellate l' una Pompejana, e l' altra Balagai, poste *infra nobilissimam Urbem Romanam*: il che ci fa conoscere, che entro Roma stessa si trovavano de' Buoni Poderi coltivabili."—*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 825, tom. iv. p. 533. Perhaps his translation and conclusion are rather licentious.

† "Lavacra in modum provinciarum structa" astonished Constantius.—Amm. Marcell., lib. xvi. cap. x.

has, at some unknown period,\* been sufficient to form a mount 150 paces high and 500 paces in length. The population was too languid to dig away the obstructions, and employed their remaining strength in transporting the smaller materials to the more modern and secure quarter of the town.

It is impossible to assign a precise date to the total desertion of the greater portion of the ancient site; but the calamities of the seventh and eighth centuries must have contributed to, if they did not complete, the change. A scarcity† in the year 604, a violent earthquake‡ a few years afterwards, a pestilence§ in or about the year 678, five tremendous inundations of

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\* De eo perpetuum apud antiquos silentium.—Donati *Rom. Vet.*, lib. iii. cap. xiii. The most reasonable account of the Testacean Mount seems to be that of Lucius Faunus, lib. iii. cap. iii. de Antiquit. Urbis Romæ, ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 248. There was a college of potters established by Numa. The vicinity of the water made them fix themselves in the meadow on the banks of the Tiber. It was strictly forbidden to fling any obstructions into the river. The mound rose by degrees, and therefore unnoticed. It is strange, however, that the regionaries should not mention it.

† “Eoque tempore fuit fames in civitate Romana grandis.”—Anastas., in *Vit. Sabiniani*, p. 134.

‡ “Eodem tempore factus est terræ motus magnus mense Augusti indictione undecima.”—Ibid., in *Vit. S. Deusdedit*. He was pope from 614 to 617.

§ “Similiter mortalitas major, atque gravissima subsecuta est mense suprascripto, Julio, Augusto, et Septemb. in urbe Roma, qualis nec temporibus aliorum Pontificum esse memoratur.”—Ibid., in *Vit. S. Agathon.*, p. 142. Paul. Diaconus says, “Tantaque fuit multitudo morientium ut etiam parentes cum filiis, atque fratres cum sororibus apud urbem Romam ad sepulchra deducerentur.”—*De Gestis Langob.*, lib. vi. cap. v.

the Tiber\* from 680 to 797, a second famine in the pontificate of Pope Constantine,† which continued for six-and-thirty months, a pestilence in the last year of the seventh century, and the assault of the Lombards for three months under Astolphus in 755,—these are the events which compose the Roman history of this unhappy period.

The fabrics of the old town could receive no protection but from their solidity. The lawful sovereigns

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\* In 685, 715, 717, 791, 797. Of that in 717 it is mentioned, “Per dies autem septem aqua Romam tenebat perversam.”—Anastas., in *Vit. S. Gregor.*, ii. p. 155. Paul. Diaconus tells, “His diebus Tiberis fluvius ita inundavit, ut alveum suum egressus multa Romanæ fecerit exitia civitati; ita ut in via Lata ad unam et semis staturam excresceret, atque a porta S. Petri usque ad Pontem Milvium aquæ se distendentes conjungerent.”—*De Gestis Langob.*, lib. vi. cap. xxxvi. From the mention made of the *Corso* being damaged, the descent of the city into the Campus Martius seems to be proved. At the same time the English inundated Rome.—*Ibid.*, cap. xxxvii.

The inundation of 791 tore down the Flaminian gate, and carried it as far as the arch called Tres Facicellæ (the Arcus Portogalli), and rose to the height of two men. “Per triduum ipsum flumen, quasi per alveum, per civitatem currebat.”—Anastas., in *Vit. S. Hadriani*, p. 194. The river kept the city under water for many days, and S. Hadrian was obliged to send provisions in boats to those living in the Via Lata, “per naviculas morantibus Via Lata cibos advexit.”

The inundation in 797 is not in Anastasius, where Fea (*Dissertatione*, p. 309) finds it, but is in the Index Vetustissimus Ducum Spoletanorum et Abbatum Farfensium.—*Ap. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 295. “cccxcvii. Inundatio aquae fit Romæ in Via Lata ad duas staturas.” It may be suspected that, as both rose to the height of two men, there is some confusion, and that they were the same.

† Constantine was elected in 708. “Vir valde mitissimus, cujus temporibus in urbe Roma fames facta est magna per annos tres.”—Anastas., in *Vit. Constant.*, p. 152. There seems a full stop wanting after *mitissimus*: his misfortunes follow his virtues too quickly.

had degraded the capital of the world to the head of a duchy; and the only visit which an emperor of the East deigned to make to Rome was not to protect but to despoil her of all her valuable ornaments.\* The recorded plunder of Constans has affixed to that recreant name a greater share in the ruin of Rome than the concurrence of other calamities will allow: his robbery was confined to the bronze tiles of the Pantheon, and to whatsoever quantity of the precious metals could be collected in a residence of twelve days.† He had the gleanings of Genserick, but he still left the bronze of the portico to be plundered by Urban VIII., and many other metallic decorations, to be melted into bells for the churches in the subsequent rise of the modern town, and for other pious uses of the Popes.‡

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\* “Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornamentum civitatis deposuit, sed et ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ ad martyres, quæ de tegulis æreis erat cooperta, discoperuit.”—Anastas., in *Vit. St. Vitaliani*, tom. i. p. 106.

† “Sed manens Romæ dies duodecim omnia quæ fuerint antiquitus instituta ex ære in ornamentum urbis abstulit: in tantum ut etiam basilicam Beatæ Mariæ quæ antea Pantheon vocata fuerat (vocabatur) . . . discooperiret.” Paul. Diaconi *De Gestis Langobard.* lib. v. cap. xi. Fabricius says that Constans took away more in seven days than all the barbarians had done in 258 years.—*Description Romæ*, cap. ii.

‡ The Abate Fea (*Dissertazione*, p. 407 et seq.) allows that whatever was saved was saved *by miracle*, and probably because buried under some heavy ruin, as the gilded Hercules, the Wolf, the Belvedere Pine. The bronze doors of Cosmas and Damianus were saved because they belonged to a church; those of St. Hadrian were carried away to the Lateran. There was a statue of bronze, a bull, in the Forum Boarium in the time of Blondus. “A foro Boario ubi æreum taurum aspicimus.”—*Romæ Inst.*, lib. i. fo. 10.



The period of the exarchate and of the Lombard domination is that of the lowest distress of Rome.\* The most diligent inquiry has been unable to discover who were her acknowledged masters, or what was the form of her domestic government.† Subsequently to the extinction of the exarchate by Astolphus in 752 she had been abandoned, but was never formally resigned by the Greek Cæsars. After Gregory II. in 728 or 729, and Gregory III. in 741, had solicited the aid of Charles Martel against the Lombards,‡ and against the iconoclast tyrants of Constantinople, it might be thought that the supremacy of the Greek empire had ceased to be recognised. Yet a certain respect, at least, for the successors of Constantine, not only from

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\* “Ipsa urbium regina Roma, quamdiu Langobardorum Regnum vigit, summis calamitatibus exagitata, atque in pejus ruens ex antiquo splendore decidebat.”—*Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 148, Dissertatio 21.

† *Annali d' Italia*, tom. iv. p. 304.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 281, 286.

Gibbon has observed that “the Greek writers are apt to confound the times and actions of Gregory II. and III.” (cap. xlix. p. 132, note 20, vol. ix. octavo), and by some accident the following extraordinary error has been left in his text. “In his distress the first Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age—of Charles Martel” (cap. xlix. p. 147, vol. ix. octavo). The first Gregory had been dead more than a century.\* The historian could hardly mean the first of the 2nd and 3rd, which would be too equivocal an expression; besides which, there was but a letter written, and there are some doubts as to the embassy of Gregory II. to Charles Martel; and the decided, perhaps repeated, supplication to him was from Gregory III. (See Muratori, tom. iv. p. 286, ad an. 741.) Nor does the mistake look like an error of the press, to be read, “Gregory had first implored,” &c., since the application to Pepin was made by Stephen II.

the Romans but from their new patricians, Pepin and Charles of France, may be shown to have endured within two years of the coronation of the latter hero,\* in the year 800. It is certain, however, that about this period the Romans had recurred to the memory of their former institutions, and had composed a corporation of uncertain form and number, advised rather than commanded by the Pope, who had silently usurped the sovereign title of *our Lord*. By this senate or this spiritual master had the *Byzantine* title of Consul or Patrician been offered to Charles Martel and conferred on Pepin. A letter is still preserved from the *Senate and People* to Pepin, Patrician of the Romans;† and the reply of the Frank monarch, recommending a deference to their bishop, Paul I., must imply that the domestic sovereignty was divided between the pastor and the community at large. This mixed government, which must have sometimes assumed the appearance of anarchy, and at others degenerated into despotism, was contemplated with horror by those who recalled

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\* “Viene a fortificarsi la conghiettura proposta di sopra, cioè che durava tuttavia in Roma il rispetto all’ Imperador Greco, ed era quivi riconosciuta la sua autorità.”—*Annali d’ Italia*, ad an. 798, tom. iv. p. 492. Gregory III. is usually called the first of the independent popes, but he certainly acknowledged the superiority of Eutychius, exarch of Ravenna, to whom, as Anastasius tells us, he applied for permission to use six columns of some structure for St. Peter’s church.

† The thirty-sixth letter of the Codex Carolinus, “scritta da tutto il senato e dalla generalità del Popolo Romano al re Pippino Patrizio de’ Romani.”—See *Annali d’ Italia*, ad an. 763, tom. iv. p. 331.

the lawful imperial sway of the Cæsars,\* and either to the people or the popes was applied the opprobrious regret that Rome was subject *to the slaves of slaves* and to a barbarous populace drawn together from all the corners of the earth. The twelfth line of the following verses is the same read backwards as forwards, and is quoted from Sidonius Apollinaris to denote the retrograde fortune of Rome: “e dovette,” says Muratori, “una volta parere qualche meravigliosa cosa:”—

“Nobilibus fueras quondam constructa patronis  
 Subdita nunc servis: heu male Roma ruis  
 Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges,  
 Cessit et ad Græcos nomen honosque tuum;  
 In te nobilium rectorum nemo remansit,  
 Ingenuique tui rura Pelasga colunt.  
 Vulgus ab extremis distractum partibus orbis,  
 Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini.  
 Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur,  
 Mœnibus et muris Roma vetusta cadis.  
 Hoc cantans prisco prædixit carmine vates,  
*Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.*  
 Non si te Petri meritum Paulique foveret,  
 Tempore jam longo Roma misella fores.  
 Mancipibus subjecta jacens macularis iniquis,  
 Inclyta quæ fueras nobilitate nitens.”†

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\* St. Gregory himself made the distinction between the republican subjects of an *emperor* and the slaves of a *king*. “Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicæ Imperatores distat, quod reges gentium, domini servorum sunt, Imperatores vero Reipublicæ domini liberorum.”—Lib. xiii. Epist. xxxi.

† See Antiq. Med. Ævi, edit. 1739, tom. ii. p. 148, 149, Dissertat. xxi. Muratori warns us not to think that the *servorum servi* alludes to the popes. The title may not yet have been used, but to whom do the words allude? The phrase is singular, and has been applied to only one character of antiquity, to Sextus Pompey: “Libertorum suorum libertus, *servorumque servus*.”—Vell. Pater-

A boasted descendant of Camillus was still left at the beginning of the fifth century;\* but the unknown author of the above complaint would lead us to believe that the last relics of the Roman race had in his time disappeared.

When the history of the pontiffs becomes all the history of Rome, we find each moment of peace and prosperity employed in rebuilding the walls, in burning lime, in constructing churches and shrines of martyrs, the materials of which must, it is evident, have been supplied from the deserted ruins. The repair of former damages, and the increasing population after the establishment of the Carlovingian princes, augmented the application to the same common quarry. The reconstruction of an aqueduct to convey the *acqua Vergine* to the Vatican by Hadrian I., at the end of the eighth century, seems to prove that the Campus Martius and the quarter about St. Peter's were then chiefly inhabited.† The altar of the apostles had gathered round it a crowd of votaries who became settlers, and for whose protection Leo IV.‡ surrounded with a

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cul., *Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. lxxiii. The slave of slaves had become the king of kings, when a dedicatory inscription to Sixtus Quintus told him

“Ingentes si facta decent ingentia reges

Te regum regem, Sixte, quis esse neget.”

—Da Barga, *Comm. de Obelisco, ap. Grav.*, tom. iv. p. 1931.

\* St. Jerome had a female correspondent who was a descendant of Camillus; and St. Gregory was of the patrician family of the Gordians.—See Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. Camillus.

† Anastas. in Vit. Had., p. 189.

‡ He was pope from 847 to 855.



wall the suburb of the Vatican. Respect for the mother of the churches, and the supposed scene of the baptism of Constantine, had preserved the inhabitants in the other extremity near the Lateran,\* and the greater was the population at these opposite points the more complete must have been the desertion of many intermediate quarters within the vast circuit of the walls. It has been already observed that some of these spots had become cultivated lands in the beginning of the ninth century.

The edifices of old Rome are lost for more than two hundred years, but reappear in a regionary of the eighth or ninth century, who might make us suspect that the abandonment had not yet reached the Forum. His notice includes the following monuments, which he divides amongst the regions after the example of former itineraries:† the Thermæ of Alexander, of Commodus, of Trajan, of Sallust, with his *pyramid*, of Diocletian, of Constantine, and some baths near St. Silvestro *in capite*, a temple of Minerva, the temple

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\* Another aqueduct, the Claudian, was repaired for the service of the Lateran. The Marcian water was also again brought to Rome by Hadrian I. It seems that these streams and the Acqua Trajana had been before partially recovered, it is uncertain by whom, and had again fallen into decay.

† See Bianchini's edition of the Lives of the Popes. Opusculum XV. prolegomena ad Vitas Roman. Pontificum, tom. ii. p. cxxii. Bianchini calls him a regionary of the eighth or ninth century. The date 875 has been assigned to him.—See *Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, &c., p. 326.

of Jupiter,\* the Roman Forum, the Forum of Trajan, the three Circuses, Maximus, Flaminius, and Agonalis, the Arch of Drusus called *recordationis*, the Arch of Severus, that of Titus and Vespasian, and of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, the Flavian Amphitheatre, that called Castrense, the Capitol, the Septizonium of Severus, a palace of Nero, another attributed to Pontius Pilate, and a third near Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme*, the Theatres of Pompey and of Marcellus, the Pantheon, the Mica Aurea, the Antonine and Trajan Columns, a Nymphæum, an obelisk near S. Lorenzo *in Lucina*, the Horses of the Baths of Constantine, the Horse of Constantine, the elephant called Herbarium, a statue of the Tiber, several aqueducts, and nameless porticoes. It is worth while to observe how many of these monuments have been partially preserved up to this day, so that one might suspect that those of a slighter construction had already yielded to violence and time, and those only had remained which were to be the wonder, perhaps, of many *thousand* years. It is impossible to determine in what state were these monuments, although they might be supposed entire from the epithet *broken* being applied to the aqueducts.† At the same time we know that the Theatre of Pompey had been in decay three hundred years before, and

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\* Bianchini calls this the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter without giving any reason.

† But the word "insani" may mean "monstrous."

that the Thermæ had been altogether disused for the same period, and must therefore have been in ruins.\* The Baths of Sallust were, it may be thought, partially destroyed when the fire of Alaric was fatal to his palace. It is probable that many of the above objects served merely as landmarks amongst the many churches which form the chief *memorabilia* of this ecclesiastical pilgrim, who adorns the twelfth region with the head of St. John the Baptist. In the same manner the Forum of Trajan is noted by two authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although it must have been in ruins previous to either of those dates.†

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\* We find mention of baths in the lives of the popes, as in that of St. Hadrian, "In balneis Lateranensibus;" but the Thermæ had never been frequented since the siege of Vitiges. The total change of manners in modern Rome has left it without a single bath open to the public; nor is this a usual commodity in private houses.

† Benedicti Beati Petri Canonici, liber Pollicitus, ad Guidonem de Castello, written, says Mabillon, ante annum MC.XLIII. quo Guido iste ad pontificatus assumptus est, dictus Celestinus II. See Ordo Romanus XI. ap. Mabill. Museum Italicum, tom. ii. p. 118, edit. Paris, 1724.

See Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ ap. Montfaucon. Diarium Italicum, cap. xx. p. 283 to p. 301, edit. Paris, 1702.

In the year 1162 there was a church with gardens and houses, called St. Niccolo alla Colonna Trajana. (*Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, p. 355.) Flavius Blondus, without mentioning his authority, says that Symmachus I. built two churches there. Symmachus was Pope in 500. "In ejus fori excelsis mirabilibusque ruinis Symmachus primus Papa ecclesias S. Basilii et item S. Silvestri et Martini extruxit."—Rom. instaurata, lib. ii. fo. 38, edit. Taurin. 1527.

## CHAPTER XI.

## CONTINUATION OF CAUSES OF DILAPIDATION.

THE rising importance of the new city accelerated the ruin of the old. From the time that Rome again became worth a contest, we find her citizens in arms, sometimes against each other, sometimes against the pretenders to the imperial crown. The spirit of feudalism had distracted her inhabitants. Adalbert and Lambert, the Dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, were invited to inflame the civil furies,\* and in the beginning of the tenth century, Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, had obtained the dominion of Rome, and the hand of the famous Marozia.† The expulsion of Hugo, king of Burgundy and Italy, the last of the three husbands of that "most noble patrician," by Alberic the son of the first, and the repeated assaults of the city by the expelled tyrant, are not to be forgotten amongst the causes of dilapidation.‡ The assumption of the imperial

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\* A.D. 878, according to the *Annali d' Italia*.

† A.D. 910 to 925.

‡ Muratori calls Marozia "*Nobilissima Patricia Romana*," and appears to disbelieve a part of the "*laidezze e maldicenze*" charged to her by Luitprand, the repository of all the *pasquinades* and de-



crown by the first Otho, in 962, and the revolts of the Roman captains, or patricians, with that of Crescentius, against Otho the Second and Third,\* had renewed the wars in the heart of the city, and it is probable had converted many of the larger structures into ruins or strongholds.

The next appearance of the monuments is when they had become the fortresses of the new nobility, settled at Rome since the restoration of the empire of the west.†

famatory libels of the times.—*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 911, tom. v., p. 267. Marozia had one lover a Pope, Sergius III.; and her son by him, or more probably by her first husband, Alberic, was John XI., Pope from 931 to 935. Guido, her second husband, Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, was master of Rome from 925 to 929; and Hugo, her third husband, from 929 to 932. Alberic, her son, *reigned* as patrician and consul from 932 to 954; beat away Hugo from Rome in 932, in 936, and perhaps 941, and although he had married the king's daughter, contributed to his expulsion from Italy in 946. His son Octavian *reigned* as patrician, or as Pope John XII., until 962.

\* *Romani capitanei patriciatus sibi tyrannidem vindicavêre*.—See Romuald Salern. Chronic. Muratori. annali, tom. v., p. 480, ad an. 987. The Romans revolted in 974, 987, 995, 996. Crescentius stood a siege against Otho III., and was beheaded in 998; and another revolt took place in 1001, at the coronation of Conrad II. In 1027 the Germans and Romans again fought in the city.

† The Frangipani, the Orsini, the Colonna, were certainly foreign, and perhaps German families, although they all pretended a Roman descent. The first when reduced, in the beginning of the seventh century, to Mario, a poor knight, Signor of Nemi, published *their tree* to identify their family with that of Gregory the Great, "*del quale si prova il principio e il fine ma vi è una largura di 200 anni in mezzo*."—See *Relation di Roma del Aimaden*, p. 139, edit. 1672, which may be consulted for some short but singular notices respecting the Roman families.

Some of these monuments were perhaps entire, but it is evident that some of them were in ruins when they first served for dwellings or forts: such must have been the case with the theatres of Marcellus and of Pompey. How they came into the hands of their occupiers, whether by grant of the Popes, or by seizure, or by vacancy, is unknown; one instance has reached us in which Stephen, son of Hildebrand, consul of Rome in 975, gave to the monks of St. Gregory on the Cælian mount an ancient edifice called the *Septem solia minor*, near the Septizonium of Severus, not to keep, but to *pull down*.\* The character of those to whom the present was made, and the purpose for which it was granted, will account for the ruin of the ancient fabrics in that period. The monks were afterwards joint owners of the Coliseum,† and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were put in the possession of religious communities, who abandoned them to total neglect.‡ Whatever were the means by which they

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\* Mittarelli, *Annali Camaldolesi*, tom. i. Append. num. xli. Coll. 96. "Donatio templi de Septem soliis minoris facta a Stephano filio quondam Ildebrandi consulis et ducis eidem Johanni abbati. Id est illud meum templum, quod septem solia minor dicitur, ut ab hac die vestræ sit potestati et voluntati pro tuitione turris vestræ quæ septem solia major dicitur ad destruendum et sumptus depri-mendum quantum vobis placuerit."—p. 96, edit. 1755.

† See notice of the Coliseum.

‡ The Aurelian column was made over to St. Silvestro *in capite*, and a singular inscription is to this day seen under the porch of that church, in which those who should *alienate* the column, and the offerings, are excommunicated by the authority of the bishops and

obtained possession, the Orsini, in the XIth and XIIth centuries, had occupied the mole of Hadrian, and the theatre of Pompey; the Colonna, the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the Baths of Constantine. The Conti were in the Quirinal. The Frangipani had the Coliseum and the Septizonium of Severus, and the Janus of the Forum Boarium,\* and a corner of the Palatine. The Savelli were at the Tomb of Metella. The Corsi had fortified the Capitol. If the churches were not spared, it is certain the pagan monuments would be protected by no imagined sanctity, and we find that the Corsi family had occupied the Basilica of St. Paul,† without the walls, and that the Pantheon was a fortress defended for the Pope.‡

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cardinals, and “multorum clericorum, atque *laicorum* qui interfuerunt.”

I saw it on the spot in 1817. A copy of it is given in *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 349. The date is 1119. There was a keeper of the column in 193, shortly after it was built. The column of Trajan was in the *care* of St. Niccolò, and the new senate and people, in 1162, ordered that it should not be wantonly injured under pain of death and confiscation. See *Dissertazione*, pp. 355, 356. Yet the Antonine column threatened to fall when repaired by Sixtus Quintus. See *De Columna Triumphali Commentarius*, Josephi Castalionis ad Sixtum\* V. ap. Græv. tom. iv. p. 1947. “Erat valde confracta et multis in locis non rimas modo verum et fenestras amplissimas, vel portas discussis marmoribus duxerat;” and the base of the column of Trajan was under ground until the time of Paul III.

\* This was called *Turris Cencii* Frangipani, and the remains of a fort are still left upon the summit.

† *Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 1105, p. 344, tom. vi.

‡ See notice of the Pantheon.

When, in the eleventh century,\* the quarrels between the Church and the Empire had embroiled the whole of Italy, Rome was necessarily the chosen scene of combat. Within her walls there was space to fight, and there were fortresses to defend. We read accordingly, in the annals of those times, of armies encamped on the Aventine, and moving from the Tomb of Hadrian to the Lateran, or turning aside to the Coliseum or the Capitol, as if through a desert, to the attack of the strong posts occupied by the respective partizans of the Pope or the Empire. Gregory VII. may have the merit of having founded that power to which modern Rome owes all her importance, but it is equally certain, that to the same pontiff must be ascribed the final extinction of the city of the Cæsars; a destruction which would have been classed with the havoc of religious zeal, did it not belong more properly to ambition.† The Emperor Henry IV., the troops of the Pope's nephew Rusticus, and the Normans of Robert Guiscard, were more injurious to the remains of Rome, from 1082 to 1084, than all the preceding Barbarians of every age. The first burnt a great part of the Leonine city, and

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\* It is the opinion of Mr. Nibby (*Mura di Roma*, p. 125) that the great changes in the topography of Rome did not take place till the eleventh century; up to that period the streets had the ancient directions. The gates were the same as in the old times, and the houses were built upon the edifices of the imperial city.

† *Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 1082, 1083, 1084, tom. vi. p. 273 to 282.



ruined the portico of St. Peter: he destroyed also the long portico from the Ostian gate to the church of St. Paul. In his last irruption he levelled a part of the Septizonium to dislodge Rusticus, razed the fortresses of the Corsi on the Capitol,\* and battered the mole of Hadrian. The Normans† and Saracens of Guiscard's

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\* "Domos Corsorum subvertit, dehinc septem solia, quibus Rusticus nepos prædicti Pontificis continebatur, obsidere cum multis machinis bellicis attentavit, de quibus quamplurimas columnas subvertit."—Baronii *Annales Ecclesiast. ad an.* 1084, tom. xvii. p. 551. Lucae, 1740.

† "Robertus autem dux Romam cum exercitu noctu ingressus, dum ad ecclesiam Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum advenisset, ex consilio Cincii Romanorum Consulis ignem urbi injecit: Romani igitur rei novitate percussi, dum extinguendo igni toti incumberent, Dux ad arcem St. Angeli continuo properans." . . . Leo Ostiensis (a contemporary) ap. Baron., p. 553, in loc. cit.

Bertholdus has these stronger words: "Robertus Guiscardus, Dux Northmannorum in servitium Sancti Petri post kal. Maii Romam armata manu invasit, fugatoque Henrico totam urbem Gregorio Papæ rebellem penitus expoliavit, et magnam ejus partem igni consumpsit, eo quod Romani quendam ejus militem vulneraverunt."—Ap. Baron. loc. citat. p. 552. A poet, Hugo Flaviniacensis, says only, "Quibusdam ædibus incensis." Another author, "Immo ipse cum suis totam regionem illam, in qua Ecclesia Sancti Silvestri, et Sancti Laurentii in Lucina sitæ sunt, penitus destruxit, et fere ad nihil redegit ——— Regiones illas circa Lateranum, et Colisæum positas igne comburere."—Cardin. de Aragonia et alior. Vitæ Pontif. Rom. ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 313. And other writers, "Per diversa loca civitatis miscere jubet incendia . . . Ipsis ergo superatis, et civitate in magna sui parte collisa."—Anonymi Vaticani. *Historia Sicula.* ap. *Scriptor. Rer. Ital.*, tom. viii. p. 773. It is not known when he lived.

"Dux itaque Romam ingressus cepit maximam partem urbis, hostiliter incendens et vastans a Palatio Laterani usque Castellum S. Angeli, ubi Papa Gregorius oppugnabatur."—Romualdi Salernitani *Chronicon*, ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. vii. p. 175. He was

army, with the papal faction, burnt the town from the Flaminian gate to the Antonine column, and laid waste the sides of the Esquiline to the Lateran; thence he set fire to the region from that church to the Coliseum and the Capitol, or, according to some authorities, to the Tiber. He attacked the Coliseum for several days, and finished the ruin of the Capitol. It is reasonable to believe that the flames were arrested by the wilderness which had before existed to the south of these positions, and indeed in other quarters. Besides the former notice of farms in Rome, we find that there were *lands cultivated and uncultivated* in the ninth region of the city, about the Thermæ of Alexander, so early as the year 998.\*

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archbishop of Salerno from 1153 or 1154 to 1181. "Il che forse non merita molta credenza:" so Muratori thinks, *Annali ad an.* 1084.

"Urbs maxima ex parte incendio, vento admixto accrescente, consumitur."—Gauferdi Malaterræ, *ibid.*, tom. v. p. 588. *Hist. Sicula*.

Landulfus Senior, the Milanese historian, whom the writers all attack, because he declared against the mad ambition and celibacy of Gregory VII., and for the introduction of whom in his collection Muratori thought himself obliged to make an apology, has these strong expressions on Guiscard's fire: "Quid multa? tribus civitatis partibus, multisque palatiis Regum Romanorum adustis, Gregorius demum filiis male crismatis filiabusque pejus consecratis, cui jam spes ulla vivendi in civitate non erat, ab urbe exiliens cum Roberto Salernum profectus est. Ubi per pauca vivens tempora tamquam malorum pœnam emeritus est."—*Hist. Mediol.*, lib. iv. cap. iii. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iv. p. 120. Landulfus was a contemporary writer.

\* There were three churches also in these precincts rising amongst *crypts* and fragments of columns—a sign to whom the destruction should be referred.—See *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 357.

The conflagration of Guiscard created or confirmed a solitude much more extensive than is embraced by that "spacious quarter between the Lateran and the Coliseum," to which it is confined by our own historian. From that period at least must be dated the desolation of a great part of the Esquiline, and all the Viminal, and much of the Celian hill, including the irretrievable ruin perhaps of the Coliseum, and certainly of many of the remaining structures of the Forums and the Sacred Way.\* A contemporary writer † says, that all the regions of the city were ruined; and another spectator, who was in Rome ‡ twelve years afterwards, laments, that

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\* There was a proverb, even in this day, which speaks the beauty of the Roman edifices: "Unde in proverbium dictum est: Mediolanum in clericis, Papia in deliciis, Roma in ædificiis, Ravenna in ecclesiis."—Landulfi, *Sen.*, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 96.

Flavius Blondus quotes the epistles of Gregory VII. and his biographer Pandulphus, above cited, for the battles of the Coliseum, but they are not mentioned in the first, they may be in the second. He attributes the desolation of Rome, as he saw it, to Guiscard; this however was not Cæsarean Rome, but that restored by the Popes. "Ea nos et alia Henrici quarti temporibus gesta considerantes, conjicimus urbem Romanam quæ Pontificum Romanorum beneficio imminutas longe supra vires non parum *instauraverat*, tunc prima ad hanc quæ nostris inest temporibus rerum exiguitatem esse perductam."—Quoted in *Dissertazione*, &c., p. 342. Query *instaurata erat*.

† Boninzone, Bishop of Sutri, in *Dissertazione*, p. 340.

‡ Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours, was in Rome in 1106. William of Malmesbury, *De gestis Rer. Angl.*, lib. iii. p. 134, gives the following elegy:—

Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina  
 Quam magna fueris integra fracta doces.  
 Proh dolor! urbs cecidit cujus dum specto ruinas  
 Penso statum, solitus dicere; Roma fuit.

Non

although what remained could not be equalled, what was ruined could never be repaired. What chiefly excited his astonishment was the beauty of the statues, which the gods themselves might survey with envy, and which, in his opinion at least, were worthy of being worshipped on the sculptors' account. William of Malmesbury, who reports the elegy of the latter writer, also informs us, that, comparatively speaking, Rome was now become a little town. In those times the rage of the conflicting factions was often vented against the houses of their enemies, and their destruction must have involved that of the neighbouring monuments, or of those in which the towers of the Roman nobles were,

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Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ignis  
 Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.  
 Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans  
 Æquari possit, diruta nec refici.  
 Confer opes, ebur, et marmor, superumque favorem  
 Artificum vigilant in nova facta manus.  
 Non tamen aut fieri par stanti fabrica muro  
 Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.  
 Cura hominum potuit tantam componere Romam  
 Quantum non potuit solvere cura deum.  
 Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,  
 Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.  
 Non potuit natura deos hoc ore creare  
 Quo miranda deum signa creavit homo  
 Vultus adest his numinibus, potiusque coluntur  
 Artificum studio quam deitate sua.  
 Urbs felix si vel dominis urbs illa careret  
 Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.

George Fabricius gives a part of this elegy in his *Epistola Nuncupatoria* prefixed to his *Descriptio Romæ*, ap. Græv., tom. iii.



in many instances, built. In 1116, the citizens, revolting against Pope Paschal II., threw down\* several of the dwellings of the Pietro Leone family. The Emperor Lothaire II. in 1133 or 1134 pitched his camp on the Aventine. Innocent II. was in possession of the Lateran, the Coliseum, and the Capitol; and the partisans of the Antipope, Anaclete, had the Vatican, the castle of St. Angelo, and many other strong places of the city.† In the annals of the twelfth century these strong places of Rome are mentioned as if they stood not in a city, but in a province.‡ The struggles between the pontiffs and the people, the revolution of Arnold of Brescia,§ renewed the contests of Vitellius and Sabinus for the Capitol, from which were alternately driven the adherents of the new senate and the friends of the Pope. The Basilica of St. Peter's was fortified for the people,

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\* *Annali d' Italia*, tom. vi. p. 384.

† Mr. Gibbon says, "I cannot recover in Muratori's original *Lives of the Popes* (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. 1) the passage that attests this hostile partition," namely, "whilst one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and Coliseum," cap. lxxi. p. 420, vol. xii. The division is mentioned in *Vita Innocentii Papæ II. ex Cardinale Aragonio*, *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. part i. p. 435; and he might have found frequent other records of it at other dates.

‡ In the time of Innocent III., from 1195 to 1216, there were only 35,000 inhabitants within the walls.

§ It began in 1143, and was matured in 1145. Niccolini, in the *Life of Arnold*, prefixed to his tragedy of that name, defends his hero against the charge of destroying the palaces of the nobles, except those which were turned into fortresses. See *Vit. d' Arnoldo*, in *Firenze*, 1843.

and in those commotions (in 1145) it is recorded that many of the towers and palaces of the Roman nobles were levelled with the ground.\*

Antiquaries have been able to catch a glimpse of the ruins fifty years subsequently to the fire of Guiscard, in some account of the ceremonials and processions of the papal court, written by a canon and chorister of St. Peter's,† who, besides those monuments whose names

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\* *Annali d' Italia*, tom. vi. p. 481.

† *Benedicti Beati Petri Canonici*, &c., quoted before. He mentions the Arch of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, near the Ælian bridge; the Obelisk of Nero; the Circus of Alexander, in the Piazza Navona; the Temple of Concord, near the Arch of Severus; the Arch and Temple of Nerva (*Nerviæ*); a Temple of Janus; the Forum of Trajan; the Forum of Cæsar; the Arch of Titus and Vespasian, called *Septem Lucernarum*; the Arch of Constantine; the Coliseum; the Theatre of Pompey; the Pantheon, which he is thought to have called *Porticus Agrippinæ*, though in fact he calls it *Sancta Maria Rotunda*, *Militiæ Tiberianæ*, on the Quirinal; the Arch of Piety; the Memoria, or Temple, or Castle of Adrian; the *Templum Fatale*, near the Temple of Concord; the Pine, near the Palatine; the *Arcus Manus Carneæ*; the Mamertine dungeon; the Asylum, through the flinty road (*Silicem*) where Simon Magus fell, and near the Temple of Romulus; the *Meta Sudans*; the Sepulchre of Romulus, near the Vatican; a Portico of the Gallati before the Temple of the Sibyl; the Temple of Cicero; the Portico of the Comori, or Crinori; the Basilica of Jupiter; the Arch of Flaminius; the *Porticus Severinus*; the Temple of *Craticula*; the island *Milicena* and the *Draconorium*; the island of the Tiber, and the Temple of the Epidaurian Serpent; the *Via Arenula*; the Theatre of Antoninus; the Palace of Cromatius, where was the *Holomitreum*, or *Oloritreum*; the *Macellus Lunanus*, or *Eumanus* (an arch, probably that of Gallienus); the Temple of Marius, called *Cimber*; the *Merulana*; the *arcus* in Lathone; the house of Orpheus.—See *Museum Italicum*, tom. ii. p. 118 to 157, edit. Paris, 1724.

are recognisable, mentions several objects disfigured by the barbarism of the times.

The caution before given must be repeated. There is good reason to suspect that many of the monuments which he mentions were not entire, but were noted as landmarks, as they might be at this day. The same canon gives us to understand, that the *roads in the city* were then so bad, that in the short days the Pope was obliged to conclude his procession before he came to the station prescribed by the ritual.\* The language in which these ceremonies are described is as barbarous as the ceremonies themselves; of which a cardinal, who transcribed another ritual belonging to the same century, has also preserved an extraordinary specimen. It would be difficult to find a more deplorable picture of human vicissitude than that afforded by the contrast of the triumph of Pompey through republican Rome, and the progress of a Pope of the twelfth century, on the day of his coronation, preceded by his subdeacon with a spitting-towel, followed by the new senators with their provision of wine, meat, and towels, and picking his

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\* "Sed propter parvitatem diei et difficultatem viæ, facit stationem ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem, et vadit in secretarium."—*Ibid.*, num. 17, p. 126. The triumph of Aurelian lasted so long that it was dark before he reached the palace, but from a very different reason. "Denique vix nona hora in capitolium pervenit. Sero autem ad palatium."—Vopisc. *in Vita Aurelian.*

way amongst fallen fragments, from shrine to shrine, and ruin to ruin.\*

The monuments are occasionally mentioned in the struggles between the pontiffs and the emperors of the house of Suabia, and the intestine factions of the nobles, in which the strong places, the Coliseum, the Septizonium, the Mole of Hadrian, the Palatine castle of the Frangipani, were repeatedly assaulted and taken. In 1150 the people attacked and took certain towers belonging to the adherents of the Pope and William of Sicily.

We find, in the Annals for 1167, that the Germans of Frederic Barbarossa assaulted the Vatican for a week, and the Pope saved himself in the Coliseum.† The Colonna were driven from the mausoleum of Augustus. After the Popes had begun to yield in the unequal con-

\* "Ante dominum Papam aliquantulum sequestratus incedit prior subdiaconus regionarius cum toalea, ut cum voluit dominus Papa spueri possit illo gausape os suum mundare." Ordo Romanus XII. by Oricius de Sabellis, cardinal and chamberlain to Celestine III. He was afterwards Honorius III. The ritual was used before the year MCXCII.—See *Museum Italicum*, tom. ii. p. 165 to p. 220.

"Senatores, quando comedunt, habere debent *lavinam* mediam vini et mediam clareti in unaquaque die coronationis. Eiisdem etiam datur toalea, ubi comedunt, a panetariis, et postmodum redditur ipsis. Pro quadraginta comestione recipiunt unaquaque die coronationis." Onufrius Panvinius renders *lavinam* "psalmam, or salmam, quo nomine sagina seu onus ac sarcina equi aliusque animalis oniferi intelligitur."—*Ibid.*, num. xxxvi. p. 202. As the new senators had food for *forty* allowed them, we may guess at their usual number, which has been so uncertain.

† Annali, tom. vi. p. 576 et seq.



test with the senators and people, and had ceased to be constantly resident at their capital, the field was left open for the wars of the senators, that is, of the nobles themselves. The Colonna and Orsini then appear amongst the destroyers of the city; and when, to arrest their violence, the people elected the Senator Brancaleone (in 1252), the expedient of the Bolognese magistrate was to throw down not only 140 of the towers of the refractory nobles,\* but, if we are to believe the Augustan history† of Henry VII., “many palaces of kings and generals, the remains of ages since the build-

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\* “Brancaleo interim senator Romanus, turres nobilium Romanorum diruit et eorundem dominos incarcerationavit.”—Mat. Paris. *Henric. III.*, p. 972, edit. London, 1640.

“Eodem quoque anno senator Romanus Brancaleo videns insolentiam et superbiam nobilium Romanorum non posse aliter reprimi nisi castra eorum, qui erant quasi spoliatorum carceres, prosternerentur, dirui fecit eorundem nobilium turres circiter centum et quadraginta, et solo tenus complanari.”—*Ibid.*, p. 975.

“Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis maleus et extirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et iustitiæ imitator, et amator.”—*Ibid.*, p. 980.

† “Nec hactenus subsistit viri audentis [*Jacob-Joannis Arloti degli Stephanisci*] acerbitas ut si quidem Brancaleonem, Bononiensem (qui regum, ac ducum per tot ab urbe condita sæcula palatia, thermas, fana, columnas, verterat in ruinas) ipse memorabiliter supererat.”—Alberti Mussati, *Historia Augusta, de gestis Henrici VII.*, lib. xi. rubrica xii. *ap. Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. x. p. 508, edit. Mediol., 1727. Mussatus was a Paduan, born about the year 1260, a laureate poet, and an historian. See the preface by Muratori, prefixed to the collection, tom. x. &c.

Gibbon (cap. lxi. p. 286 to 288, vol. xii. 8vo.), who has copied the eulogy of Matthew Paris, does not seem at all aware that Brancaleone applied his *hammer* to the ancient fabrics. Mussatus, however, was a contemporary.

ing of the city, the thermæ, the fanes, and the columns," of the old town. If this was the case, the tumults and the repose of Rome were alike destructive of her ancient fabrics. This record must, however, be believed with some reserve; and indeed the same history informs us, that there were relics which escaped the vigour of this administration, and which a rival of the fame of Branca-leone (in 1313) intended to destroy. But his labours were confined to a single tower, which impeded the passage of the people across the Tiber, at the bridge of Santa Maria.

There were intervals between the death and choice of the Popes, when the city seems to have been unprovided with any recognised authorities, and the senate itself had no representative. Such an interregnum occurred after the death of Nicholas IV. in 1291, and six months of civil war\* are described by a spectator as having

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\* "Assumpti populi capitolia jussu  
 Ascendunt : sed morte ducis vis annua mense  
 Clauditur Ursini, timidoque furentis in arma  
 Descensu, dum scripta petit, dum fossa sigilla.  
 Quo gradior? quid plura sequor, quæ texere longum?  
 Hoc dixisse sat est; Romam caruisse senatu.  
 Mensibus exactis, heu! sex, belloque vocatum  
 In scelus, in socios, fraternaue vulnera patres.  
 Tormentis jecisse viros immania saxa  
 Perfodisse domos *trabibus*, fecisse ruinas  
 Ignibus, incensas turres . . . ."

See Vita Celestini Papæ V. opus metricum. Jacobi Cardinalis S. Georgii ad velum-aureum. Coævi et in Papatu familiaris. Script.

reduced Rome to the condition of a town *besieged, bombarded, and burnt*. The *petrariæ*, or engines for discharging stones, which unfortunately survived the loss of other ancient arts, had arrived, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the pernicious perfection of darting enormous masses, perhaps of 1200 pounds weight. They are noted amongst the instruments of destruction employed at Rome in this and the subsequent period, and were erected on the basilicas and towers.\*

A year previously to the attempt of the second Brancalone,† the Emperor Henry VII. had found that all the towers had not been thrown down by the Bolognese senator, for he was obliged to drive the Annibaldi from the Torre de' Militii, from the tower of St. Mark, and from the Coliseum; and so late as the reign of Martin V. there were forty-four towers in one borgo of the city.‡

Rer. Ital., tom. iii. p. 621, cap. iii. This classical cardinal chooses to correct *velabro*, the actual old word, into *velum-aureum*. The *trabes* were battering-rams, called *gatti*, cat's-head.

\* Antiq. Med. Ævi. Dissert. 26, p. 432, tom. i. Italian edition. The Romans used them in the ninth century.

† His name was James-John-Arloti-Stephanisci. The Abate Fea, *Dissertazione, &c.*, p. 361, 362, seems to overlook that this Stephanisci and his adherents did not succeed. "*Sed secus ac præmeditati sunt, fortuna, successusque vota eorum distraxere,*" says Mussatus, in *loc. citat.* The Abate believes he discovers signs of modern work on the portico of the temple of Faustina, and above the arch of Pantani, which he thinks were thrown down by Brancalone.

‡ *Dissertazione* 26, sopra le Antichità Italiane, p. 446, tom. i., edit. Milan, 1751.

The coronation of the Emperor Henry VII. was attended with battles fought in every quarter of the city from the Vatican to the Lateran; \* and whilst he received the ensigns of universal empire in the latter church, his rival John, the brother of Robert of Naples, was in possession of the fortress (the church) of St. Peter's, and of several other posts in the heart of Rome. The fall of houses, the fire, the slaughter, the ringing of the bells from all the churches, the shouts of the combatants, and the clanging of arms, the *Roman* people rushing together from all quarters towards the Capitol—this universal uproar was the strange, but not unusual, prelude to the coronation of a Cæsar. A spectator of these disasters records,† that they continued after the Emperor had retired from Rome to Tivoli, and that the cardinals apprehended the total destruction of the city.

It is doubtful to what period to assign an account of the ruins which a pilgrim saw and described before this last calamity. The book on "*the Wonders of Rome*" which has been before cited, would appear to have been

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\* "Historia Augusta, Albert. Mussati, in loc. citat., lib. viii. Rubrica IV. Conversatio Cæsaris cum Romanorum principibus, et cohortatio ad dandas fortilitias." Henry made a speech to these princes, and called them "*Quirites*."—See Rubrica V.

† See *Iter Italicum Henrici VII. Imperat. Nicolai episcopi Bontontinensis ap. Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ix. p. 885. "Rebus quas narrat interfuit." Muratori says, in his preface,—"*Deinde Cardinales videntes commotionem populi et urbis continuam destructionem.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 919.



written before Brancalone had commenced his operations against the towers of the nobles, for there are a great many of such objects noticed by the pilgrim. The eyes and ears of this "barbarous topographer"\* are not so valuable to us as Gibbon appears to have supposed; for notwithstanding his use of the present tense, he speaks certainly of many objects either partially ruined or totally overthrown. The number of the theatres and arches seen by him is nearly equal to that in the plan of old Rome: he talks of an imperial palace in the Palatine, of a palace of Romulus, and, in other respects, is ambitious of telling what he had heard, rather than what he had seen.† Of his antiquarian lore our historian has given a specimen in his account of the Capitoline bells and statues;‡ and to this may be added, that he calls the Fasti of Ovid the *martyrology*, because it contains mention of *nones* and *kalends*. The pilgrim was perhaps as learned as the people of Rome, some of whom, in the next century, believed that the sports of the Testacean mount, and the rolling cartloads of live

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\* Decline and Fall, &c., cap. lxxi. p. 399, vol. xxi. oct.

† "Palatia magna imperatorum ista sunt, palatium majus in Palentio monte positum."—See Montf., *Diar. Ital.*, in loc. citat., p. 284.

"Palatium Romuli inter S. Mariam novam et S. Cosmatem ubi sunt duæ ædes pietatis et concordiæ, ubi posuit Romulus statuam suam auream dicens." "Non cadet nisi virgo paret; statim ut parturit virgo, statua illa corrui."—Ibid.

‡ Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 395, tom. xii. octavo.

hogs down that hill, were the festal amusements of Cato and Cicero.\*

The absence of the popes from the year 1306 to 1376, has been esteemed peculiarly calamitous to the ancient fabrics ; but this supposition is founded upon the apparently false conception, that the bishops of Rome protected the monuments, and that the integrity of many, even of the larger structures, was protracted to the fourteenth century. The only protection of which the remains of the old town could boast, during the middle ages, proceeded from the popular government, which on one occasion prohibited the injury of the column of Trajan under pain of death.† The senate and the people were invested with the nominal guardianship of the edifices not occupied by the nobles, and in much later times may be discerned to have shown some respect to the memorials of their ancestors. A northern German, who came to Rome in the pontificate of Pius IV. and whom Flaminius Vacca calls a Goth, applied to the apostolic chamber for permission to excavate at the base of some of the ancient structures, in search of treasure, which his barbarous ancestors were supposed to have left behind them in the precipitancy of a three days' plunder. The German was told that permission must

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\* "Ludi fiunt agonales, aut in campo quem Testaceum appellant, quem nonnulli hodie ex vulgo putant veterum senatorum gestamen extitisse."—See *Frederici III. advent. Rom. ap. Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 258, edit. 1724.

† See previous notice of this in Chap. IX.

be obtained from the Roman people, to whom the monuments belonged. It seems that he procured leave to commence his labours; but having been observed to dig deeply, the populace, alarmed at his progress, which endangered their arch, and indignant that the Goths should return to complete the spoliation of Alarie, drove the excavator from his labours, with a violence which proved nearly fatal to him.\*

Had it been possible to establish the popular government which was the aim of Rienzi, during the absence of the popes, the Romans, whose love of liberty was to be kept alive by a constant reference to the institutions of their ancestors, would have been taught to venerate, though blindly, the trophies of their former glory. The tribune would not have partaken with Colonna alone the pride and pleasure to be derived from the study of those eloquent remains. Notwithstanding their pastor had deserted them, and they were a prey to the disorders occasioned by the struggles of their ferocious nobles, the period of the exile at Avignon is distinguished for the decency and magnificence with which their public functions were performed.† In proportion as they shook off

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\* *Memorie di Flaminio Vacca*, p. xvi. num. 103. The Memoirs are at the end of one of the Italian editions of Nardini.

† “Veniva la persona del Senatore con maestà a cavallo sopra bianca chinea, &c.

“Veniva il Gonfaloniere del Popolo Romano: e questa dignità si in pace, come in guerra porta lo stendardo grande della libertà Romana, il quale era di tabi cremisino con le lettere + S. P. Q. R.”

the papal yoke, they appear to have recovered some portion of their ancient splendour, and a change has been observed to have taken place in their manners so early as the middle of the thirteenth century. They received the unfortunate Conradin\* in 1268, with a state which surprised his suite. The desolation of the city during the papal residence at Avignon has been selected from ages of more rapid destruction, because it has been transmitted to us in all the colours of eloquence. Petrarch, however, has been unfairly quoted as a proof of what Rome suffered by the absence of the popes.† It should be remembered that his first wish was the establishment of the republic of Rienzi, and the second, the reign and presence of an emperor at Rome: whilst the reconciliation of the shepherd with his flock was only the last resource which remained for a patriot and a Roman who had lost all hope of liberty or empire.‡ One of those shepherds, Innocent VI., thought Petrarch a

—See *Ordine e Magnificenza de i Magistrati Romani nel tempo che la Corte del Papa stava in Avignone*.—*Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 855, Dissert. 29. The writer praises not only their scarfs and velvets, but their justice and virtue and republican pride.

\* *Antiq. Med. Ævi*. Dissert. 23, tom. ii. p. 313. Muratori, according to the old way of thinking, talks of “quel ladro del lusso.”

† By the Abate Fea in his Dissertation.

‡ Decline and Fall, c. lxx. p. 363, tom. xii. oct. See also *Mémoires pour la Vie de Pétrarque*, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 335, for Rienzi; also, liv. iv. tom. iii. p. 66, for the Emperor Charles. For what Petrarch thought of the church, see liv. iv. p. 277, tom. iii. edit. Amsterdam, 1747.



sorcerer. The poet of the Capitol \* was overwhelmed first with delight and then with regret. He complained that the very ruins were in danger of perishing; that the nobles were the rivals of time and the ancient barbarians;† and that the columns and precious marbles of Rome were devoted to the decoration of the slothful metropolis of their Neapolitan rivals. Yet it appears that these columns and marbles were taken from palaces comparatively modern, from the thresholds of churches, from the shrines of sepulchres, from structures to which they had been conveyed from their original site, and

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\* For the surprise of Petrarch, when he first came to Rome, see his letter to John Colonna, de Reb. Familiarib. Epist. lib. ii. Ep. xiv. p. 605, edit. Basil, 1581, "ab urbi Roma quod expectat," &c. Colonna, however, had told him not to expect too much. "Solebas enim, memini, me veniendo dehortari hoc maxime prætextu, ne ruinosæ urbis aspectu famæ non respondente atque opinioni meæ, ex libris conceptæ, ardor meus ille lentesceret." Colonna's evidence is better than Petrarch's, who would be astonished now, as we are, at what still remains.

† "Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis.  
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ  
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas  
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti  
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu!  
. . . . . Quod ille (*Hannibal*) nequivit  
Perfecit hic aries—tua fortia pectora mendax  
Gloria non moveat," &c.

—*Carmina Latina*, l. ii. Epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. p. 98. Petrarch presumed that the ruins around him had been occasioned by the mischiefs which he saw, and which were *partly* the cause of dilapidation.

finally from fallen ruins.\* The solid masses of antiquity are not said to have suffered from this spoliation, and the edifices, whose impending ruin affected the laureate, were the sacred Basilicas then converted into fortresses.† The great earthquake of 1349 may have been more pernicious than human violence, and would appear, from Petrarch‡

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\* The distinction is carefully to be observed. The words of Petrarch are,—“Denique post vi aut senio collapsa pallatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt) de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem questum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit.”—See *Epistola Hortatoria ad Nichol. Laurentium*. Trib. P. Q. R. de Capessenda Libertate, p. 536.

“Sed quo animo, da quæso misericors Pater temerariæ devotioni meæ veniam, quo, inquam, animo, tu ad ripam Rhodani sub auratis tectorum laquearibus somnium capis, et Lateranum humi jacet et ecclesiarum mater omnium tecto carens, et ventis patet, ac pluviis, et Petri ac Pauli sanctissimæ domus tremunt, et apostolorum quæ nunc ædes fuerat jam ruina est.” Petrarch wrote this to Urban V., who began his reign in 1352.—*Epist. Rer. Sen.*, lib. vii. Epist. i. opera. p. 815, tom. ii.

† “Quod templa celeberrima, et sanctissima in Christianitate, augusta illa monumenta pietatis Constantini Magni, ubi Summi Pontifices, cum insignibus supremæ suæ dignitatis capiunt possessionem Sedis Apostolicæ penitus neglecta maneant, sine honore, sine ornamentis, sine instauratione, et omni ex parte ruinas minentur.” This was the complaint of a deputation from the senate and Roman people to the cardinals in 1378.—*Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c.*, p. 369.

‡ “Cecidit ædificiorum veterum neglecta civibus, stupenda peregrinis moles,” says Petrarch, lib. x. Epist. ii. He confines, however, his individual mention to the Tor de' Conti, to the fall of a good part of the church of St. Paul, and of the roof of the Lateran.

“Turris illa toto orbe unica, quæ Comitum dicebatur, ingentibus ruinis laxata dissiluit, et nunc velut trunca caput superbi verticis honorem solo effusum despicit,” lib. x. Epist. ii. oper.

It may be suspected Petrarch did not distinguish exactly between

and from another authority,\* to have thrown down some of the ancient monuments; and an inundation of the Tiber in 1345 is faithfully recorded amongst the afflictions of the times. The summits of the hills alone were above the water, which converted the lower grounds to a lake for eight days.†

The absence of the popes might have been fatal to the modern city, and have reduced it to a solitude;‡ but such a solitude would have protected many a fragment, which their return and the subsequent rapid repopulation have for ever annihilated. Their return § was the signal of renewed violence. The Colonna and Orsini, the people and the church, fought for the Capitol and towers; and the fortress of the popes, the refitted mole of Hadrian, repeatedly bombarded the town. ||

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the old Roman remains and the buildings of the papal town. The Tor de' Conti was built in 1203.

\* “In urbe vero cecidit quædam columna de marmore quæ sustinebat ecclesiam Sancti Pauli cum tertia parte vel circa cooperti ipsius ecclesiæ, et multæ aliæ ecclesiæ ibi et ædificia mirabiliter ceciderunt.”—See *Chronicon Mutinense auctore Johanne de Bazano. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. xv. p. 615.

† *Historiæ Romanæ fragmenta*, cap. xv. de lo grandissimo diluvio e piena de acqua de lo Fiume Tevere.—See *Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 392.

‡ “Perche Roma senza la presenza de' Pontefici è piuttosto simile a una solitudine che a una città,” says Guicciardini, on the occasion of Adrian VI.'s entry into Rome.—See *Dell' Istoria d' Italia*, lib. xv. p. 1015, fol. There were, in fact, only 17,000 inhabitants in 1377, as stated by Cancellieri in his letter on the climate of Rome.

§ In 1378, in the reign of Urban VI., the great schism began.

|| In 1404, after the death of Boniface IX.—also in 1405—and again in the civil war between Innocent VII. and the Romans.

“E in

During the great schism of the West, the hostile entries of Ladislaus of Naples,\* and the tumultuary government of the famous Perugian, Braccio di Montone,† are known to have despoiled the Tomb of Hadrian.‡ Perhaps they were fatal to other monuments.

Yet that violence was probably less pernicious than

“E in quello subito lo castello di Sant’ Angelo si ruppe co i Romani e cominciò a bombardare per Roma.”—See Stephan. Infessura, *Scriba del Senato e Popolo Romano*, *Diario della città di Roma*, ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 1115.

\* Ladislaus came peaceably into Rome on the 15th of September, 1404: on the 20th of August, 1405, three thousand of his horse entered Rome, and a battle was fought in the streets near the castle. In April, 1408, Ladislaus besieged the city by sea and land, and was put in possession of all the strong places. The Colonnas and other banished nobles attacked the town in June. The Duke of Anjou and Paul Orsini, with 23,000 troops, endeavoured in 1408 to expel Ladislaus, but retired. Orsini, however, returned in December, and Ladislaus was driven out. In 1413 Ladislaus returned, broke down the walls at the gate of the Lateran, and got possession of the city and castle. He died in 1414: his title was, “hujus almæ Urbis Illuminator illustris.” Pieri, in his diary, relating his death, says, “Cujus anima benedicatur per contrarium.”—See Vendettini, *Serie Cronologica de’ Senatori di Roma*, p. 75, edit. Roma, 1778.

† The exploits of Braccio di Montone are contained in six books, a biography written by John Antony Campano, bishop of Terni. He flourished from 1368 to 1424.—See *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. xix. In 1417 he entered Rome with his troops, and attacked the castle of St. Angelo, which was in possession of the queen of Naples, Joanna, and was obliged to retreat.—*Ibid.* p. 545. He was captain of the people for seventy days, and when forced to retire, out of spite to the Romans, broke the banks of the lake *Pedelupo* (*pie di Lup*), in the Reatine territory, which caused a tremendous inundation of the Tiber in 1422. According to Step. Infessura, *Diar.*, &c., p. 1122, loc. citat., Braccio was killed in battle on the 2nd of June, 1424.

‡ See notice of the Castle of St. Angelo.



the peaceful spoliation which succeeded the extinction of the schism in the person of Martin V. in 1417, and the suppression, in 1434, of the last revolt of the Romans by his successor, Eugenius IV. From this epoch must be dated the consumption of such marble or travertine as might either be stripped with facility from the stable monuments, or be found in isolated fragments. A broken statue, a prostrate, or even a standing column, in the habitable part of the town, and the larger structures yet remaining in the vineyards, were considered by the owners of the land, within and without the walls, as their own property, and to be applied to their own use. The repairs commenced by Martin V., and carried on more vigorously by Eugenius,\* required a supply of materials and of cement, which was obtained from the ruins.

The triumph of superstition conspired with the ignorance and individual necessities of the Romans to render them more indifferent to the relics of pagan antiquity. Whatever nationality and patriotism they had evinced in the times of turbulence were degraded into a blind veneration for the shrines of the apostles and for the person of their successor. A secretary of the Popes, an antiquary, and one who may be surely cited as a favourable specimen of the better class of citizens,

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\* "Sed collapsa deformataque edificia multis in locis maximo instauras reficisque impendio."—*Præfatio ad Eugenium IV. Pont. Max. Flavii Blondi, Roma Instaurata*, edit. Taur. 1527.

modestly confesses that there was some difference between the Rome of Eugenius IV. and that of Pompey and the first Cæsars. "At the same time," says he, "our Pontifex is indeed a perpetual dictator, not the successor of Cæsar, but the successor of the fisherman Peter, and the vicar of the Emperor Jesus Christ.\* Besides," he adds, "there are still at Rome most high and admirable objects which can be seen nowhere else. For this very city has the threshold of the apostles and the earth purple with the blood of the martyrs. It has the handkerchief of St. Veronica; it has the place called 'Domine quo vadis,' where Christ met St. Peter and left the marks of his feet in the stone. It has the heads of Peter and Paul, the milk of the Virgin, the cradle and foreskin of our Saviour,† the

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\* Flavii Blondi, *Roma Instaurata*. "Dictatorem nunc perpetuum, non Cæsaris sed Piscatoris Petri successorem et Imperatoris prædicti Vicarium Pontificem," &c.—Lib. iii. fo. 41, edit. Taurin. 1527.

† This relic was shamefully neglected whilst the popes were at Avignon. At last the Virgin appeared to St. Brighth, exclaiming, "O Roma, Roma, si scires, gauderes utique, immo si scires fleres incessanter, quia habes thesaurum mihi carissimum, et non honoras illum." "E forse," says Marangoni, writing in the middle of the *eighteenth century*! "che la madre di Dio stessa indirizzò questo lamento agli ultimi secoli, e specialmente allo scorso XVI. nel quale, essendo quasi che spenta la venerazione, e memoria di questa Divina Reliquia in Roma, questa Città ricevette il castigo di esserne privata." The relic was stolen by one of the heretics and *loose livers* of Bourbon's army, *forse il più ardito e facinoroso degli altri*, but was found in an underground cell at Calcata, twenty miles from Rome, by a noble lady, Maddelena Strozzi, after Pope Clement VII.

chains of St. Peter, the spousal-ring sent from heaven to the maiden Agnes. To see, to touch, to venerate all which, and many more things, more than fifty thousand strangers from all parts of the world come to Rome in the time of Lent."

These relics certainly may have preserved the existence of Rome, but were no protection to her ancient structures. The same writer notices the daily destruction of monuments, which he avers to be so visible as to make him loathe the abode at Rome.\* The fatal lime-burning awakened the indignation of a poet,† to whom it appeared a new offence; and the testimony of Blondus and Æneas Sylvius shows that there was some ground for the exaggeration of the angry Florentine, who, having witnessed the destruction of some

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had in vain given every order to recover it. The discovery was attended with repeated miracles, of all which an authentic account may be seen in the *Istoria della Capella di sancta sanctorum di Roma*, cap. xxxix. edit. 1747, by the famous Marangoni, the author of the Memoir on the Coliseum.

\* "Cujus rei tanta singulos dies videmus exempla ut ea solum modo causa nos aliquantum Romæ fastidiat habitatio. Multis enim in locis vineas videmus ubi superbissima ædificia vidimus quorum quadrati lapides tiburtini in calcem sunt cocti."—Lib. iii. fol. 33.

† "Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas,  
Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.  
Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis  
Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.  
Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos,  
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit."

—Mabillon. *Mus. Italic.*, p. 95, tom. i., written by Piccolomini to Bartholomeus Roverella.

monuments, wonders that any remnant of antiquity should have escaped the fury and cupidity of the Romans.\*

Of Republican Rome, Poggio reckoned the double row of vaults in the Capitol, constructed by Catulus, then converted into a public magazine for salt; the Sepulchre of Publicius; the Fabrician bridge over the Tiber; an arch, over the road beneath the Aventine mount, made and approved by P. Lentulus Scipio and Titus Quintius Crispinus; the monuments called the Trophies of Marius (they belong to the time of Trajan); and the Cestian Pyramid (which is hardly of the time of the Republic).

Of Imperial Rome nothing was entire but the Pantheon. The fragments were, three arches and one column of the Temple of Peace; the Temple of Romulus, dedicated to Cosmas and Damianus; a few vestiges of the double Temple of Castor and Pollux, at Sta. Maria Nuova; the marble columns of the Portico of Antoninus and Faustina; the peripteral Temple of Vesta on the Tiber; a portion of the Temple of Minerva; a part of the portico of the Temple of Concord; the Temple of Saturn, or church of St. Hadrian; a Portico of the Temple of Mercury at the Pescaria; a Temple of Apollo, converted into a part of St. Peter's;

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\* "Quas sæpe miror insaniam demolientium effugisse." He is talking of two arches in the Flaminian Way.—*De Fortunæ Varietate*, &c., ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 500.



a very ancient temple of a single vault at the roots of the Tarpeian, called the Church of St. Michael in *Statera*, falsely supposed of Jupiter Stator; the Baths of Diocletian and Severus Antoninus, still so called, most perfect, with many columns and marbles; the smaller remains of the Constantine Baths in the Quirinal; the Baths of Alexander Severus, near the Pantheon (*pulchra et præclara vestigia*); the Domitian Thermæ (*perpauca rudera*), which were the Baths of Titus; the Arches of Severus, of Titus, of Constantine, almost entire; a part of one of Nerva; a part of one of Trajan, near what he calls the Comitium; two in the Flaminian Way, one called Triopolis (the Arcus Portogalli or Tres Facicellæ), the other without a name; another Arch of Gallienus in the Via Numentana;\* one alone of all the *nine* aqueducts (fourteen he should have said) entire; this was the Acqua Virgo, and had been repaired; the Coliseum, the greater part of it destroyed for lime; a portion of a theatre, called of Julius Cæsar, between the Tarpeian and the Tiber, together with many marble columns opposite to it; part of a portico of a round temple, built upon, with gardens within, called of *Jupiter* (this seems the Theatre of Marcellus); an amphitheatre of square

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\* Gibbon, cap. lxxi. p. 398, vol. xii., has made a careless blunder for the sake of a period by putting this in the Flaminian Way; the words are positive—"Duo insuper viâ Flaminîâ—est alter præterea Gallieno Principi dicatus ut superscriptio indicat *Via Numentana*."

brick, near Santa Croce in *Gerusalemme*, mixed with the city wall; \* a large open place where the people met *ad venationem et spectaculum*, called *agonis*,† the Mole *Divi Adriani et Divæ Faustinae*, in great part destroyed by the Romans; the Sepulchre of Augustus, a mound with a vineyard in the inside; the Column of Trajan, with the inscription; the Column of Antoninus Pius (Aurelius), without the inscription; the Sepulchre of Cecilia Metella, the greater part destroyed for lime; the Sepulchre of Marcus Antius Lupus, two miles in the Ostian Way, composed of three large stones with an inscription.‡

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\* Gibbon, equally careless as before, says, "After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggio might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the Prætorian camp;" but he did not overlook it; here it is.

† Gibbon unaccountably also reckons this amongst the objects not seen by Poggio, together with the Theatres of Marcellus and Pompey, and the Circus Maximus, whose remains, it is true, he does not mention, and therefore prevents us from saving his credit by thinking the phrase, *he might have overlooked*, capable of a double construction: our historian evidently meant *he had* overlooked them.

‡ No more is found in the treatise as published in Sallengre, tom. i. p. 501 to 508. Gibbon consulted the quarto edition, published in Paris, 1723; but the strangest contradiction has crept into his text. In cap. lxxi. he opens thus—"In the last days of Pope Eugenius IV. two of his servants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill:" the note to this runs thus—"I have already (notes 50, 51, in chap. lxv.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius, and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of Fortune." Turn to the cited note, 51, cap. lxv. p. 33, tom. xii. 8vo. "The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ was composed a short time before the death of Pope Martin V., and consequently about the end of the year 1430."

In the interval between the two visits of Poggio to Rome, the cell and a part of the Temple of Concord, and of the base of the Tomb of Metella, had been ground to lime. A portico near the Minerva was also demolished for the same purpose. The Romans had discovered that mortar made with white, and more particularly oriental marble, was more serviceable than that of common stone.\* The other scattered relics, particularly the columns strewn about the quarter between the Tarpeian rock and the Tiber, must have quickly disappeared in the subsequent re-

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How are the two to be reconciled? In fact, Poggio himself says, "Nuper cum Pontifex Martinus paulo antequam diem suum obiret, ab urbe in agrum Tusculanum secessit valetudinis causa," &c. &c.

\* Some years back some kilns were discovered near Ostia full of broken marbles. *Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, p. 374, note A. "Essendosi provato colla esperienza che la calce fatta col marmo bianco e coll' orientale in ispecie era maravigliosa."—*Ibid.* See also Flam. Vacca, *Mem.*, No. 12, 13, 14. In certain excavations made in his time, it was seen that the "Antichi moderni," as he calls them—the "middle-age barbarians,"—looked upon a statue or a frieze as so much marble to be used either as lime or broken to fill up holes in walls, or laid down to level pavements. Many fragments of statues were found near the ruins of kilns before the church of SS. Quatro Coronati. The hospital of St. John of Lateran was supported by a large massive foundation-wall, all composed of pieces of statues of the finest workmanship, evidently Greek, and of the style of the Belvedere Laocoon. In a modern antique structure in front of St. Lorenzo without the walls, the walls and foundations were made up of similar materials—amongst them were eighteen or twenty heads of Roman emperors. Well might Vacca exclaim, "What becomes of all the labours of us poor sculptors?" He finished his *Memorie* in 1594.

form and decorations of the new capital. Poggio's description of the ruins is, it may have been observed, not sufficiently minute or correct to supply the deficiency of his contemporary Blondus; but we may distinctly mark that the site of ancient Rome had arrived at the desolation in which it is seen at this day. The labours of succeeding topographers have enabled us to account for the loss of the monuments which he enumerates, and which are no longer to be seen. The fabrication of churches and other buildings was continued with so pernicious an activity during the reign of Nicolas V. (elected in 1447), the modern Augustus, that Pius II. enforced the complaints which he had uttered as a poet by issuing a bull in 1462 *de Antiquis ædificiis non diruendis*.\* This prudence was but a feeble check against the renewed demand for materials which ensued upon the total reform of the city by Sixtus IV. in 1480. The Rome of the Republic had soon been lost, the capital of the early Cæsars had been afterwards abandoned. But isolated structures of the latter city were found not only in the ancient site but in the Campus Martius. The Rome of the lower and middle ages was a mass of irregular lanes, built upon or amongst ruins, and surmounted by brick towers, many of them propped on ancient basements. The streets were as narrow as those

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\* Dissertazione, p. 373.



of Pompeii or old Rome;\* two horsemen could with difficulty ride abreast. Two hundred houses, three towers, and three churches choked up the Forum of Trajan.† The reformation of Sixtus IV., and the embellishments of his successors, have completely obliterated this town,‡ and that which we now see is a capital which can only date from the end of the fifteenth century.

This reformation has been justly fixed upon as the

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\* Vicinus meus est manumque tangi  
De nostris Novius potest fenestris.

Mart., lib. i. epig. 77.

Does this mean contiguous or opposite?

† They were removed by Paul III. on the occasion of Charles V.'s entry into Rome in 1536, April 5.

‡ The origin of this reform is attributed by Infessura in his diary (tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1145, *Script. Rer. Italic.*) to Ferdinand of Naples. "E parlando con Papa Sisto disse, che esso non era Signore di questa terra, per amore de i Porticali, per le vie strette, e per li mignani, e che bisognando di mettere in Roma gente d'arme le donne coi mortari da i detti mignani li fariano fuggire." The motive was as irresistible as the improvement was desirable, and Sixtus IV. followed the advice of Ferdinand. The Abate Fea (dissert. 372), to prove that the plan originated with Sixtus himself, says that the Pope makes no mention in his bull of having received the hint from any one. Nor does the Abate tell us that he borrowed his Greek knowledge from Latin translations, nor does that omission make us attach less value to his excellent dissertation on the ruins of Rome. The writer of this note will be more ingenuous than either Sixtus or the Abate; he will confess that the dissertation has been constantly open before him during the progress of his researches, and that, after disencumbering it of its learning, and arriving in many cases at conclusions entirely different, he has resorted to it freely, though never without acknowledgment, for such materials as could not be consulted without a reference to the Roman libraries.

epoch of the final destruction of whatever portion of the old city might have been confounded with the Rome of the middle ages. The enlargement and the straightening of the streets removed every obstacle, and must have consumed the bases of many ancient structures which had been buried under modern fabrics, and had escaped the notice of Blondus and Poggio. The practice before remarked continued during the succeeding pontificate of Julius II.: statues and marbles were still burnt for lime, and the antiquarian taste which arose with the revival of letters despoiled rather than protected the fabrics of Rome. Paradoxical as such an assertion may appear, it is indubitable that in the golden reign of Leo X. the barbarism of defacement and destruction was at its height. It was during the pontificate of another of the Medici, Clement VII., that one of the same family, Lorenzino, carried off the heads of the captives on the Arch of Constantine. The spoliation was only impeded by the plague of 1522, and by the distresses of the reign of the same Clement.

The sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V. has been loudly proclaimed\* more detrimental than that of the Goths. The complaint, however, comes from those who thought no hyperbole too extravagant to

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\* Da Barga says, "Atque utinam qui nostra ætate eandem urbem hostes ab se expugnatam depopulati sunt, hujusmodi exemplum sibi ante oculos posuissent."—*De ædificior. urb. Rom. eversor.*, p. 1816, loc. citat.

heighten the picture of that calamity. The churches and palaces were pillaged,\* and the chambers of the Vatican, the frescoes of Raphael, still bear witness to the barbarity of the Spanish, German, and Italian invaders. "Statues, columns, precious stones, and many monuments of antiquity," are noted amongst the spoil;† but no memory is preserved of the attack of the standing fabrics, except of the Mole of Hadrian, already a modern fortress. The nine months' ravage of the Imperialists‡ was preceded by the three hours' sack of the Colonnas§ in 1526, and was followed by that of

\* "Però sarebbe impossibile non solo narrare, ma quasi immaginarsi le calamità di quella città, destinata per ordine de' cieli a somma grandezza, ma eziandio a spesse distruzioni; perchè era l' anno novocento e ottanta, ch' era stata saccheggiata da' Goti; impossibile a narrare la grandezza della preda essendovi accumulate tante ricchezze, e tante cose pretiose e rare di cortigiani e di mercatanti."—Guicciard. *dell' Istoria d' Italia*, lib. xviii. p. 1266, edit. Ven. 1738.

"Non avendo rispetto non solo al nome de' gli amici, e all' autorità, e dignità de' prelati, ma eziandio a' templi, a' monasterii, alle reliquie, mirate dal concorso di tutto il mondo e delle cose sacre."—*Ibid.*, p. 1265.

† "Restò Roma spogliata dall' esercito non solo d' una parte grande de' gli abitatori con tante case desolate, e distrutte, ma eziandio spogliata di statue, di colonne, di pietre singolari, e di molti ornamenti d' antichità."—*Ibid.*, pp. 1302, 1303.

‡ Rome was assaulted by Bourbon, the 5th of May, 1527, and the Imperialists left it the 17th of February, 1528. Guicciard. p. 1302.

§ "Saccheggiavano il palazzo, e le cose e ornamenti sacri della chiesa di San Pietro: non avendo maggiore rispetto alla maestà di religione e all' orrore del sacrilegio, che avessero avuto i Turchi nelle chiese del regno d' Ungheria."—*Lib. xvii. p. 1218.*

the Abate di Farfa and the peasantry of the Orsini family. In 1530 a tremendous inundation of the Tiber is said to have ruined edifices both public and private, and to have been equally calamitous with the sack of Rome.\* Yet these disasters seem chiefly to have affected the houses and a few churches, and were soon repaired in the splendid pontificate of the succeeding Popes. So rapidly did they proceed with the embellishment of the new capital that the city of Paul III. was hardly to be recognised in the time of Urban VIII.† The former destruction was renewed. The bull of Paul III., issued in 1534, which made it a capital and unpardonable offence to grind down statues‡ or pieces of marble, and appointed an antiquarian commissary to enforce the law, extended nominally to the architectural remains; yet we know that portions of the ruins were employed in modern buildings by that Pope himself, and were afterwards consumed for the same purpose. The Farnese, the Mattei, the Borghese, and the Barberini, searched for and col-

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\* *Annali d' Italia* ad an. 1530, tom. x. p. 242. There was another terrible inundation in 1557, and another still more dreadful in 1598.

† It is Donatus who says, that if Charles V. were to come back to Rome in Urban VIII.'s time, he would not recognise the city which he had seen from the top of the Pantheon.—*Roma Vetus*, lib. i. cap. xxix.

‡ *Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, p. 375. The edict is there given, addressed to the commissary Lucio Manetti.



lected the statues,\* and inscribed marbles, to adorn their museums; but their palaces either levelled or consumed many fragments, which could not be preserved as the walls of modern buildings. The stupendous vaults of the Diocletian thermæ were converted into churches,† the walls of those of Constantine were adjusted into the Rospigliosi palace.‡ The Alexandrine thermæ supplied with columns the repairs of the Pantheon.§ A circus was gradually cleared away for the opening of the piazza Navona. The summer-house of the Farnese rose from the ruins of the Palatine. The marble threshold and broken columns from which Poggio|| had contemplated the vicissitudes of fortune were removed, and probably employed in the construction of the new Capitol of Michael Angelo. The marble of a temple on the Quirinal was cut into

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\* There were a great many portable *antiquities* dispersed in the time of Fabricius (1550)—bas-reliefs and other pieces of sculpture, scattered about in various parts of the city, and exposed to injury. Yet there were five antiquarian museums then in Rome.—*Descriptio Romæ*, cap. xx. and xxi. *ap. Græv. Antiq.* tom. iii.

† S. Maria degli Angioli, by Pius IV., who employed M. Angelo; and S. Bernardo alle terme, changed into a church by a private individual, Catherine Sforza, Countess of S. Fiora, in 1598.

‡ Great remains of the Baths of Constantine were seen in the age before Donatus. Lib. iii. cap. xv.

§ By Alexander VII.

|| “Consedimus in ipsis Tarpejæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim concontractas columnas.” . . . De Fortunæ Variet. Ap. 501, loc. citat.

the 124 steps which ascend to the church of Araceli.\* We have before noticed the destruction of ancient monuments by the Popes, and it is equally evident that the Pontiffs were, on the restoration of Rome, powerfully seconded by the luxury and taste of the prelates and princes. Flaminius Vacca† leads us to believe, that in his time, the latter half of the sixteenth century, it was usual for the sculptors to cut their statues from columns; and he narrates that Cardinal Cesi fitted up a chapel in Santa Maria della Pace with *statues and prophets*, worked from the pilasters found behind the conservators' palace on the Tarpeian rock, and believed to be a part of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The great palace of the Cancellaria of Riario‡ had before robbed a part of the Coliseum, and levelled some remains of baths, or of an arch of the Emperor Gordian. The infinite quantity of precious marbles which adorns the churches of Rome must have been chiefly extracted from the ancient relics; and, with the exception of those belonging to edifices *converted* to sacred purposes, or to pontifical buildings, the greater part of the superb columns of these churches must have been removed from their

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\* By gift of Otto the Milanese, Senator of Rome. This was at an earlier period, about 1348.

† Memor., num. 64, p. xi. in fin. Nardini.

‡ It was begun by Cardinal Mezzarota, and finished by Cardinal Raphael Riario. The architect was Bramante Lazari.—*Roma moderna*, da Venuti, &c., tom. i. p. 203, Rione vi.

ancient site. We are obliged to the designs of Raffael and Palladio for the appearance of some fabrics now destroyed; and those who peruse the topographers from Blondus to Nardini will assign to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the succeeding 150 years, a greater activity of destruction than to those immediately preceding ages in which we have no authentic writers to tell us what was left or what was lost.

Besides the devastation before noticed, it may be remarked, that Donatus gives an account of remains of *Thermæ Olympiadis*, *Thermæ Novatianæ*, on the Viminal hill;\* that the same topographer saw something of the *Thermæ* of Agrippa, and also of those of Nero or Alexander; that the fragment of a temple, supposed of the Sun, built by Aurelian, now in the Colonna gardens, was then raised upon a portion of the wall of that building; that Marlianus had seen the arch dedicated to Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius; that the circus called Flaminius had very determinable vestiges when seen by Lætus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, but is talked of by Nardini as no longer in existence; that the same writers had observed many more relics of the theatre of Pompey than could be traced in the next age, although they were so small, even before their time, as to be overlooked by Poggio; that a huge fragment behind the Pantheon, called by some *Templum Boni*

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\* Lib. iii. cap. xi.

*Eventus*, has disappeared since Nardini wrote ; that the remains of the Minervium, distinctly seen by Fulvius and Marlianus, and not altogether lost in the middle of the last century,\* are also consumed ; that the vaulted cell of a structure in the Vatican, called a temple of Apollo, or of Mars, and seen in the pictures of the Vatican library, has been incorporated or lost in the baptistery of St. Peter's.

The embellishment of the rising city, vigorously pursued till the middle of the seventeenth century, was the first object of the pontiffs : the preservation of the architectural remains appears to have been a rare and secondary design. When that embellishment had ceased to be the passion of the popes, the dilapidation may be supposed to have been discontinued. The last *recorded* destruction was that before mentioned of the arch in the Corso, by Alexander VII. No other ancient fabric can perhaps be proved to have been purposely thrown down or defaced since that period. A fragment of the Coliseum, which was shaken to the ground in the earthquake of 1703, was laudably employed in constructing the stairs of the Ripetta.

The frequent repairs of the Pantheon, those of the Antonine and Trajan columns, the erection of the obelisks, the restoration of the Cestian pyramid, and the late protection of the Flavian amphitheatre, with

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\* See Venuti *Roma Moderna*, tom. i. p. 272, Rione ix.



that of the arch of Constantine,\* seem to compose the sum of all the merits of all the popes, as far as respects the stable fabrics of antiquity. The Romans of the present day are not the last to allow, that until the late usurpation, either the will, or the means, or the method, had been wanting effectually to oppose the ravages of violence and time. The taste and magnificence of the popes must be sought, and will be found, in the museums of the Vatican and the Capitol. It was reserved for the conquerors who plundered those noble repositories to recompense Rome for her losses, by clearing away the offals and dirt which had accumulated for ages round the buried temples at the foot of the Capitol, and under the windows of the Senate House, by cleansing the base, and propping the porches of the Coliseum, by removing the soil in front of the Temple of Peace, by re-opening the Baths of Titus, and finally by excavating the Forum of Trajan, a work of itself superior to all the meritorious exertions of Sixtus Quintus and Braschi. The impulse given by the government of Napoleon† continued the

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\* In 1733, by Clement XII., to whom, in the interior of the wall, sunk round the arch, is the following inscription. Clementi XII. Pont. Max. quod arcum Imp. Constantino Magno erectum, ob re-latam salutari crucis signo victoriam, jam temporum injuriis fatiscen-tem veteribus redditis ornamentis restituerit. Anno D. 1733. Pont. iii. S. P. Q. R. Optimo Principi ac pristinae majestatis urbis adsertori, Pos.—The senate and people took care to record their credulity as well as their gratitude.

† For a detailed account of the efforts made by the French government to restore and preserve the ancient monuments of Rome,

labours in the Forum, and the repairs of the Coliseum; and the attention of the pontiffs being at last directed to the preservation of relics, which have succeeded to the attraction once possessed by their spiritual treasures, it may be hoped that the ruins of Rome have no more to dread from outrage or neglect. The inundations of the Tiber have of late years been either less violent, or are more easily reduced, than in the days of ignorance and distress.\* With the exception of the cell of the temple, now called Minerva Medica, which was

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I would refer to the Count de Tournon's second volume. His tenth and last chapter shows how much was done in four years, from 1810 to 1814, for that purpose. There is no doubt that, in that short period, more was planned and executed by the French administration than by all the Popes and other successive masters of the Eternal City, from the fall of the Empire to the beginning of the present century. (See *ETUDES STATISTIQUES SUR ROME, et la partie occidentale des ETATS ROMAINS*, par le COMTE DE TOURNON, *Pair de France*, &c. 2me édit. 1855, vol. ii. p. 258 et seq.) But it would be unjust not to acknowledge that recent Popes have not forgotten their duties in this respect. Gregory XVI. in particular, whose political policy has been denounced as cruel and unjust, cannot be said to have neglected the arts of peace; and Cardinal Wiseman is almost justified in saying that "scarcely any pontificate has their footsteps more deeply or more widely impressed in it than his" (*Four Popes*, p. 455). An affectionate tribute is paid to the memory of this Pope by the Cardinal, who, however, is somewhat afraid of being charged with forgetting the merits of the other three pontiffs, and concludes with saying that "he calls to mind the virtuous Gregory, not with deeper veneration than he entertains for Pius VII., not with warmer gratitude than for Leo XII., not with sincerer respect than for Pius VIII."—*Ibid.*, p. 531.

\* All the latter inundations of the Tiber are noted on the columns, which serve as hygrometers at the Ripetta.

thrown down in 1812, no earthquake has, since the beginning of the last century, materially injured the ancient fabrics. What remains of them so nearly resembles the earliest authentic account of the ruins, that we may indulge a persuasion that they will still resist for ages the unassisted assaults of time.

END OF VOL. I.

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# ITALY:

REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS

FROM

THE YEAR 1816 TO 1854.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHTON, G.C.B.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1861.

REVISED COPY.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,  
AND CHARING CROSS.

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# ITALY.

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### CHAPTER XII.

#### THE CAPITOL.

RUIN and restoration have entirely effaced every vestige of the domicile of all the gods. The greatest uncertainty hangs over this hill. On which side stood the citadel, on which the great temple of the Capitol—and did the temple stand in the citadel? \* Read everything that has been written on the topography of a spot four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth, and you will know nothing. Four temples, fifteen chapels (ædes), three altars, the great rock, a fortress, a library, an athenæum, an area covered with statues, the enrolment office, all these are to be arranged in the above space: and of these the last only can be with precision assigned to the double row of vaults corroded with salt, where the inscription of Catulus was dis-

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\* Nardini, lib. v. cap. xiv. Donatus and he are at issue. The division of Rycquius into Arx, Capitolium, and Saxum, does not make his book a bit more clear.

covered. The Athenæum, perhaps, may have been where the prisons and senator's palace now stand. The Tarpeian rock is divided, by the beggars who inhabit the cottages, between the two angles towards the Tiber; the highest is that called Monte Caprino,\* behind the gallery of the Conservators' palace; the most abrupt is the corner at the other end of the same Conservators' palace. Which of these two is the actual precipice whence the traitors were thrown, has not been yet resolved. The citadel may be believed to have extended along the whole side of the hill.†

The great capitoline temple was placed by Nardini on the Araceli; but doubts have again shaken this presumption, and the Feretrian Jupiter has put in his

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\* But, in order to judge of the pretensions of this angle, you must walk up a lane from the Via del Tor de' Specchi, which is called "Via del Rupe Tarpeia," until you come close under the hill, and see the only naked rock observable on the whole mount: a sketch of it is given in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (p. 771). If the ground were cleared away to the ancient level, the rock would be high enough for the old Tarpejan executions; nevertheless, the writer of the article in the Dictionary decides in favour of the other angle, now called popularly the Rocca Tarpeja, overlooking the Janus towards the Tiber. It is very distinctly seen from the Farnese gardens on the Palatine, just above the church of Sta. Maria della Consolazione. Nibby has no doubt on this point; and I confess I think Mr. Dyer's arguments in favour of this view unanswerable.

† Indeed, some of the large stones which served for the bulwarks of the hill on the side of the Monte Caprino were discovered in the time of Vacca, when the whole hill was called the Tarpejan Mount, as we may infer from an inscription of Pope Alexander's time in the church of St. Joseph above the prison.

claim to that elevation. An earlier topographer mentions a church of *St. Salvator in Maximis*, looking\* towards the west, as occupying the site of the temple, and such a title, if existing now, might aid us in our conjectures. But no such church now remains.

The revolutions of Rome were first felt on this hill. The Sabines, the Gauls, the republicans, the imperialists, the citizens of papal Rome, have all contended for dominion on the same narrow spot. After the repairs of Domitian† it appears that the citadel was lost in a mass of golden-roofed fanes, and the word *Capitol* seems to have been synonymous with the temple.‡ From that time the triumphs and studies of peace were celebrated and pursued amidst the trophies of victory. Poets were crowned with *oaken* wreaths,§ libraries were collected, schools opened, and professors taught rhetoric, from the reign of Hadrian to that of Theodosius the Younger. It is possible that part of the establishment mentioned in a law published by Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. may refer to Constantinople.|| There were, however, public schools in the Capitol. Three Latin rhetoricians,

\* Fabricius :—" In ea Capitolii parte quæ occasum versus forum Holitorium respicit."—*Descrip. Urb. Rom.*, cap. ix. That is, on the side exactly contrary to Aracœli.

† The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents, above two millions and a half sterling. See note 45 to cap. xvi. *Decline and Fall*, tom. ii. p. 413, 8vo.

‡ "Auratum squallet Capitolium."—Hieron. in loco cit.

§ *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx. notes 10, 11, tom. xii. p. 327.

|| Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 387.

five Greek sophists, ten Latin and ten Greek grammarians, formed a respectable university.

The change of religion bedimmed the glory of the Domitian Capitol, but did not destroy the structures, as Winckelmann heedlessly supposed.\* The first despoilment is, however, to be attributed to the piety or rapacity of Stilicho. Genserick is the next recorded plunderer; but Theodoric does not appear to have missed the gilding of the doors, or the tiles of the half uncovered roof of the great temple, or the chain of the goddess Rhea. In his time "the ascent of the *High Capitols* furnished a sight surpassing all that the human imagination could conceive."† How long these wonders were spared is unknown. It is probable that the robbery of the Emperor Constans extended to the ornaments of the capitoline temples; but an antiquary of great note has thought himself able to discover the temple of Jupiter as late as the eighth or ninth century.‡

The hill does not reappear for ages, but seems to have been put to its ancient use, if it be true that the anti-Pope, John, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock at the end of

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\* *Storia delle Arti*, &c., lib. xii. cap. iii. tom. ii. p. 419, note a. He went solely on the words of Saint Jerome, on which Baronius had observed long before, "Verum non sic quidem concidissee affirmat Capitolini Jovis templum, quod dirutum hoc anno fuerit, sed quod ornamentis tantum modo expoliatum."—*Annal. Eccles. ad an. 389*, tom. vi. p. 51, edit. Lucæ. 1740.

† "Capitolia celsa conscendere hoc est humana ingenia superata vidisse."—Cassiod. *Form. comitiv. formar. urbis*, lib. vii. p. 113.

‡ Bianchini: but he gives no reason for his conjecture.



the tenth century.\* It was again a strong place, and the Corsi family had fortified it, or occupied its fortifications, in the course of the next hundred years. Their houses on the hill were thrown down by the emperor Henry IV. in 1084, and Guiscard soon afterwards levelled whatever remained of the fortress.†

In 1118, however, it was still the place of assembly. The friends of Pope Gelasius II. and the *Heads of the regions* are said to have mounted into the Capitol, to rescue him from Cencio Frangipane.‡ In that century the Capitol is crowned with churches, and in the possession of monks. Aracœli and St. John the Baptist, the monastery of the Benedictines (who were settled there by the anti-Pope Anacleto II. about 1130 or 1134), some gardens and mean houses and shops had succeeded to the pagan temples and to the feudal towers.§

At the revolution of Arnold of Brescia (1143, 1144), in the same century, the Capitol was naturally selected for the restoration of the senate and the equestrian

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\* Dissertazione sulle Rovine, p. 330, note A. There seems some doubt here. Muratori, ad an. 998, tom. v. p. 509, is much amused at a story of Peter Damian's, that the anti-Pope had his eyes bored out, his ears cut off, and his tongue also cut out, and being then put on an ass, with his face to the tail, which he held in his hand, was paraded about Rome, and obliged to exclaim, "Such is the deserving punishment of him who endeavours to expel the pope of Rome from his seat." Damian tells this, with the exception of the tongue cut out; a Saxon annalist tells it with the exception of the exclamation; so that the joke is only in Muratori's confusion.

† See previous account of the destruction of Roman Remains.

‡ Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 389.

§ Dissertazione, &c., p. 357, 358.

order. The hill became the seat of the revolutionary government, and we find Pope Lucius II., in 1145, repulsed and killed with a stone in an attempt to drive the people from their post.\* The rebuilding of the capitoline citadel† was part of the proposed reform, and appears to have been carried, partially at least, into effect. From this period the Capitol resumed something of its importance, and, if those who saw it may be trusted, of its splendour. The people held a consultation there‡ before they attacked Frederic Barbarossa in 1155.

It appears in the transactions of the subsequent centuries as the centre of the city. The duties and ceremonies of the recovered senate, or senator, were rendered more respectable by being performed on the site of ancient dominion, and whilst the tomb of Hadrian was regarded with jealousy and affright, the tenant of the Capitol was looked upon as the lawful master of Rome. Here Rienzi planted the standard of the good estate—here Petrarch was crowned. The popular assemblies were convoked on this hill. The bell of the great tower was the signal of alarm, and was thought to watch over the new liberties of the Romans. The tolling is often heard in the night of those unhappy ages.

The importance of this station was fatal to the new

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\* *Annali d' Italia*, tom. vi. p. 480.

† “ Andava costui (Arnold of Brescia) predicando che si dovea rifabbricare il campidoglio.”—*Annali d' Italia*, tom. vi. p. 481.

‡ *Annali, &c.*, tom. vi. p. 517.

citadel, which, after being frequently assaulted and taken in the quarrels of the barons and the people, and the popes, seems to have lost all appearance of a fortress in the beginning of the fifteenth century. But the people were still summoned to the hill in the tumults which followed the death of King Ladislaus\* in 1414, and a house for the tribunals of the senator and his conservators was built upon the ancient enrolment office of Catulus.† Hear what was then the condition of the hill from a Roman, who, after describing its ancient glories, exclaims, “But now, besides the brick-house built for the use of the senator and his assessors by Boniface IX.,‡ and raised upon ruins, and such as an old Roman citizen of moderate fortune would have despised; besides the church of Aracœli, belonging to the brothers of the blessed Francis, constructed on the foundation of the temple of the Feretrian Jupiter, there is nothing to be seen on this Capitoline, or Tarpeian mountain, adorned once with so many noble

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\* Vendettini. *Serie cronologica*, &c., p. 75, 76.

† At the angle where the prisons now are a portion of the old structure is still preserved; and a still better specimen may be seen within the doorway immediately leading to the prisons. The portico of the Tabularium is so cased in the modern wall that, although distinctly seen, and one of the few certain remains, it produces less effect than any of the Roman antiquities.

‡ The towers of the Capitol were the work of this Pope, the fortifier of the Castle of St. Angelo; and an inscription under his picture, in the Borgian apartments at the Vatican, boasts of this exploit as the true foundation of the papal power.

edifices.”\* In this picture of desolation may be inserted the fragments of marble recorded by Poggio, and the cottages which served for the shops of the artisans who frequented the Wednesday market held there, until transferred, in 1477, to the Piazza Navona.†

The present state of the Capitol dates from the pontificate of Paul III. On the establishment of the papal power the castle of St. Angelo was to be the only fortress, and the genius of Michael Angelo was employed to make the ancient citadel not only accessible but inviting.‡ The broad and easy ascent, the façade and steps of the senatorial palace, the lateral edifices have accomplished this object; but they accord ill with our preconceptions of the Roman Capitol. It should, however, be recollected, that although the area may have

\* “Nunc vero præter lateritiam domum a Bonifacio IX. ruinis superædificatam qualem mediocris olim fastidisset Romanus civis usibus senatoris et causidicorum deputatam; præter Aræcæli fratrum beati Franc. ecclesiam in Feretrii Jovis templi fundamentis extructam, nihil habet is Capitolinus Tarpeiusve mons tantis olim ædificiis exornatus.”—Flav. Blond. *Rom. Inst.*, lib. i. fol. 10, edit. 1527.

† “Eodem anno et mense essendosi più volte ordinato lo consiglio nel Palazzo de’ Conservatori, che si dovesse fare lo mercato di Mercordi nella Piazza di Nagoni, *tandem* lo mercato fu cominciato alli tredici di Settembre dello detto anno (1477).”—Steph. Infess. *Diar. Rom. ap. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1146.

‡ Gregory XIII. added the ornaments on the balustrade—the Castor and Pollux, and horses, which were found in the time of Pius IV., where the synagogue now stands in the Borghetto. Pius IV. supplied the basalt lions. See Vacca, p. 54. Sixtus V. transferred the trophies—absurdly called of Marius—to this spot, and the same pontiff added the two Constantines. Of the two milestones only one is ancient.



been partially levelled, the principal eminence is probably as high as that of the ancient hill. The tops of the buildings below were on a level with the base of the Capitoline structures in the reign of Vitellius, and the ascent was by a hundred steps,\* which could hardly rise higher than the 124 steps of the church of Araçeli. Calpurnius, in his seventh eclogue, says that the top of the Coliseum towered above the Tarpeian rock. We can account for that rock appearing less terrific than might be expected, since a large piece of it, as big as a house of ample magnitude,† fell down in the reign of Eugenius IV. The Caffarelli palace and other edifices conceal the form of the summit itself.

Aracœli, whether on the site of the great temple or not, preserves the post which it occupied eight centuries ago. The Benedictines made way for the Franciscans in 1252, and popes and cardinals have been ambitious to contribute to the dignity of the substitute. The corporation, calling itself the Roman People,‡ affected to

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\* "Scandentes per conjuncta ædificia: quæ ut in multa pace, in altum edita, solum Capitolii æquabant."—Tacit. Hist., lib. iii. cap. lxii. "Et qua Tarpeja rupes centum gradibus aditur."—Ibid. Probably winding up from the corner under the Monte Caprino. See Smith's Dictionary, art. Rome—"But their exact situation it is impossible to point out" (p. 772). I have elsewhere noticed their supposed site.

† "Rupis Tarpeie, cujus pars maxima domus amplæ magnitudinis æquiparanda proximis diebus collapsa est."—Flav. Blond. *ibid.*, lib. ii. fol. 22.

‡ Venuti, *Descrizione, &c., di Rom. Mod.*, tom. ii. p. 341, edit. 1766.

emulate, in behalf of this church, the splendours of Catulus and Domitian, and gilded the whole interior roof, in gratitude for the victory obtained over the Turks in 1571. On the return of Marc Anthony Colonna from the victory of Lepanto, on the 16th of December in that year, he was received in triumph in the Capitol, and Araceli was the new temple which served, instead of the Jove, Best and Greatest, to receive the vows of the Christian conqueror. The religious community amounted to 400, when the French dispersed them and reduced their treasures to the base of the altar, which Augustus Cæsar erected to the First-born of God, and to the picture of the Virgin painted by St. Luke.\* The restored remnant is only a hundred.†

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\* Venuti (Descrizione, *ibid.*) has the grace to say, “Un altare che *pretendesi* eretto da Augusto, col titolo d’*ara Primogeniti Dei.*”

† The festival of their six hundredth anniversary was celebrated on the 3rd of October (1842), and the two following days: on that occasion the hundred and twenty-four marble steps of the ascent to Araceli were blackened with an assemblage as numerous as ever worshipped at the shrine of the Capitoline Jove. The façade of the church itself was decorated with coloured lamps, and the interior of the building was brilliantly illuminated; but the show was rendered still more theatrical by a transparency behind the high altar representing St. Francis as large as life, standing in a golden cloud, amidst a blaze of glory, with angels above and cherubims below, each of them holding his palm and harp, whilst the real musicians praised the saint from behind a latticed tribune in front of the episcopal throne. The spectacle without the church was not rendered more imposing by the retailers of a halfpenny prayer of St. Francis, which, however, found purchasers amongst the highest and most dignified of the worshippers.

The Monte Caprino, behind the Conservators' palace, is choked up by dirty cottages, through one of which you are led to look over one of the Tarpeian precipices. The height of the hill on the side of the Forum is rendered more imposing by the clearing away of the soil, which rose to the base of the senatorial palace, and formed a platform of dirt and rubbish, over which carriages are seen driving in the old views of Rome.\* As, however, the stranger cannot have the satisfaction of climbing the Capitol by the ancient triumphal road, whose exact position has not been ascertained, he should pay his first visit on the other side, by the modern approach, where the colossal figures and the trophies of Trajan in front, and the equestrian Aurelius† rising before him as he mounts, have an air of ancient grandeur suitable to the sensations inspired by the genius of the place.

#### TEMPLE OF JUPITER.

The preceding pages referring to the Capitol were, for the most part, written many years ago, and in 1854

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\* See *Descriptio faciei variorum locorum quam prospectum vocant urbis Romæ*. Fifteen engravings by Livinus Cruylus, prefixed to the fourth volume of Grævius. See also the Atlas to Count Tournon's volumes on Rome, plates 18, 19.

† The Marcus Aurelius has been placed higher by a single slab of stone since 1843. In the unhappy struggle of 1849 a priest was put on horseback behind the Emperor, and from that absurd position preached to the people. After the shells of the French army had driven the Roman parliament from the palace of the Cancellaria, in 1849, their meetings were held in the great room of the Senator's palace.

I found that the site of the ancient buildings on that hill was as little decided as in 1817. The controversy respecting the position of the great temple of Jupiter was far from being settled; on the contrary, the German hypothesis, which had removed that important structure from Araceli to the south-west corner of the Capitoline hill, had been upset by the Italian topographers, and I confess that the learned and candid writer of the article "Rome," in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, seems to me to have demolished Becker's arguments in favour of the Caffarelli height,\* although perhaps he has not removed all the objections to the other summit. Indeed, Mr. Dyer, the writer of the article, with a fairness that does him honour and adds weight to his opinions in general, confesses that "the question will not admit of complete demonstration; but," he adds, "we hope that the balance of probability may be shown to predominate very considerably in favour of the north-east height."

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\* For example, Becker's reference to the landing of Herdonius, as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is wholly beside the question, and is moreover founded on a mistranslation of the passage relating to that event in the Greek historian. And the story of the famous Vitellian attack on the Capitol, as told by Tacitus, is completely perverted in order to make it suit the German theory; and Mr. Dyer is fully entitled to exclaim, "Our chief objection to this account is its impossibility." This is true; but I must say at the same time that I do not see how the difficulty in regard to Caligula's bridge is to be got over if the temple stood on Araceli.



## THE VIRGIN TARPEJA.

Several years ago I was much struck by what appeared to me a singular instance of the credulity of scepticism. The great German who has re-written Roman history and deprived us of a good deal of our schoolboy belief, states that he was informed by some girls, the inhabitants of the cottages on the Capitoline hill, that "in the heart of the hill the fair Tarpeja is sitting, covered with gold and jewels, and bound by a spell; that no one, try as he may, can ever find out the way to her, and that the only time she had ever been seen was by the brother of one of the girls."\* Now, I have wandered about this famous hill a hundred times, and have been often joined in my way by some of the very guides to whom Niebuhr alludes, yet did I never hear of this living popular legend of the guilt of Tarpeja, or, as the German terms it, "that genuine oral tradition which has kept Tarpeja for five and twenty hundred years in the mouths of the common people;" nor did I ever hear from any one of the professed antiquarian guides of Rome that such a story still might be heard on the Capitoline hill. I am persuaded that some one practised upon the propensity of Niebuhr to believe in such traditions.

Since making this remark I find that our late most learned Chancellor of the Exchequer † has entertained

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\* History of Rome, vol. i. p. 227, Trans. by Thirlwall.

† Now (1860) Secretary of State for the Home Department.

similar doubts of the existence of the legend. They may be found in his work on the Credibility of Early Roman History (vol. i., p. 99, note, and p. 425), and also in the pleasing miscellany, called 'Notes and Queries,' in the number for May 2, 1857.\* Sir George Lewis took, it seems, the pains to inquire of an intelligent resident at Rome, Dr. Pantaleoni, whose answer to the query concerning the said legend was given in these words: "With respect to the popular legend described by Niebuhr, I have made all possible inquiries through people living in that quarter of the town, and by their profession and character conversant with the lower orders, but I have not discovered any trace of it; and it is certain that I could not have failed in verifying it if it at all deserved the name of popular;" and the Doctor subjoins to this the following remarks: "I may, perhaps, be allowed to add that, even if this tradition were really in existence, I could by no means agree with Niebuhr in supposing it to have been preserved for 2500 years. Almost all the oral traditions of Roman antiquities, which are locally current at Rome, had their origin during the middle ages, and were the fanciful invention of ignorant antiquaries. Thus a medieval tower—the tomb of Nero on the Flaminian road—is shown as the place where Nero was singing during the fire of Rome." Sir George Lewis cites several German stories of dead

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\* The quotation from Niebuhr, made by Sir G. Lewis, changes the brother into a mother of one of the girls.

emperors and others spell-bound in subterranean abodes, and equally authentic with the enchanted virgin of the Tarpejan rock.

### THE MUSEUMS OF THE CAPITOL—THE WOLF.

Ancient Rome, like modern Sienna, abounded most probably with images of the foster-mother of her founder; but there were two she-wolves of whom history makes particular mention. One of these, *of brass in ancient work*, was seen by Dionysius\* at the temple of Romulus, under the Palatine, and is universally believed to be that mentioned by Livy as having been made from the money collected by a fine on usurers, and as standing under the Ruminal fig-tree.† The other was that which Cicero‡ has celebrated both in prose and verse, and

\* *Χάλκεα ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας.*—*Antiq. Rom.*, lib. i.

† “Ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupæ posuerunt.”—*Liv. Hist.*, lib. x. cap. lxix. This was in the year U. C. 455, or 457.

‡ “Tum statua Nattæ, tum simulacra Deorum, Romulusque et Remus cum altrice bellua vi fulminis icti conciderunt.”—*De Divinat.*, ii. 20. “Tactus est ille etiam qui hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis.” In *Catilin.* iii. 8.

“Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix  
Marta, quæ parvos Mavortis semine natos  
Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigeat  
Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu  
Concidit, atque avulsa pedum vestigia liquit.”

*De Consulatu*, lib. ii. (lib. i. de *Divinat.* cap. ii.)

which the historian Dion also records as having suffered the same accident as is alluded to by the orator.\* The question agitated by the antiquaries is, whether the wolf now in the Conservators' palace is that of Livy and Dionysius, or that of Cicero, or whether it is neither one nor the other. The earlier writers differ as much as the moderns: Lucius Faunus† says that it is the one alluded to by both, which is impossible, and also by

\* Ἐν γὰρ τῷ καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τὲ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχυνέθησαν, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε, καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἰδρυμένον, εἰκὼν τέ τις λυκαίνης σὺν τε τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἰδρυμένη ἔπεσε. Dion. Hist., lib. xxxvii. c. 37. edit. Robt. Steph. 1548. He goes on to mention that the letters of the columns on which the laws were written were liquefied and become ἀμυδρά. All that the Romans did was to erect a large statue to Jupiter, looking towards the east: no mention is afterwards made of the wolf. This happened in A. U. C. 689. The Abate Fea, in noticing this passage of Dion (Storia delle Arti, &c., tom. i. p. 202, note x.), says, "Non ostante, aggiunge Dione, che fosse ben-fermata" (the wolf), by which it is clear the Abate translated the Xylandro-Leuclavian version, which puts *quamvis stabilita* for the original ἰδρυμένη, a word that does not mean *ben-fermata*, but only *established*, as may be distinctly seen from another passage of the same Dion—Ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαι. Hist. lib. lvi. Dion says that Agrippa "wished to establish a statue of Augustus in the Pantheon."

† "In eadem porticu ænea lupa, cujus uberibus Romulus ac Remus lactantes inhiant, conspicitur: de hac Cicero et Virgilius semper intellexere. Livius hoc signum ab Ædilibus ex pecuniis quibus mulctati essent fœneratores, positum innuit. Antea in Comitibus ad Ficum Ruminalem, quo loco pueri fuerant expositi locatum pro certo est."—Luc. Fauni, *de Antiq. Urb. Rom.*, lib. ii. cap. vii. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 217.



Virgil, which may be. Fulvius Ursinus\* calls it the wolf of Dionysius, and Marlianus† talks of it as the one mentioned by Cicero. To him Rycquius *tremblingly* assents.‡ Nardini is inclined to suppose it may be one of the many wolves preserved in ancient Rome; but of the two rather bends to the Ciceronian statue.§ Montfaucon|| mentions it as a point without doubt. Of the latter writers the decisive Winkelmann¶ proclaims it as having been found at the church of Saint Theodore, where, or near where, was the temple of Romulus, and consequently makes it the wolf of Dionysius. His authority is Lucius Faunus, who, however, only says that it *was placed*, not *found*, at the Ficus Ruminalis by the Comitium,\*\* by which he does not seem to allude to the church of Saint Theodore. Rycquius was the

\* Ap. Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. v. cap. iv.

† Marliani. Urb. Rom. topograph., lib. ii. cap. ix. He mentions another wolf and twins in the Vatican, lib. v. cap. xxi.

‡ “Non desunt qui hanc ipsam esse putent, quam adpinximus, quæ è comitio in Basilicam Lateranam, cum nonnullis aliis antiquitatum reliquiis, atque hinc in Capitolium postea relata sit, quamvis Marlianus antiquam Capitolinam esse maluit a Tullio descriptam, cui ut in re nimis dubia, trepidè adsentimur.”—Just. Rycquii *de Capit. Roman. Comm.*, cap. xxiv. p. 250, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1696.

§ Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. v. cap. iv.

|| “Lupa hodieque in capitolinis prostat ædibus, cum vestigio fulminis quo ictam narrat Cicero.”—*Diarium Italic.*, tom. i. p. 174.

¶ Storia delle Arti, &c., lib. iii. cap. iii. § ii. note 10. Winkelmann has made a strange blunder in the note, by saying the Ciceronian wolf was *not* in the Capitol, and that Dion was wrong in saying so.

\*\* Luc. Fauni, *ib.*, chap. xvii.

first to make the mistake, and Winkelmann followed Rycquius.

Flaminius Vacca tells quite a different story, and says he had heard the wolf with the twins was found\* near the arch of Septimius Severus. The commentator on Winkelmann is of the same opinion with that learned person, and is incensed at Nardini for not having remarked that Cicero, in speaking of the wolf struck with lightning in the Capitol, makes use of the past tense. But, with the Abate's leave, Nardini does not positively assert the statue to be that mentioned by Cicero, and, if he had, the assumption would not perhaps have been so exceedingly indiscreet. The Abate himself is obliged to own that there are marks very like the scathing of lightning in the hinder legs of the present wolf; and, to get rid of this, adds that the wolf seen by Dionysius might have been also struck by lightning, or otherwise injured.

Let us examine the subject by a reference to the words of Cicero. The orator in two places seems to particularize the Romulus and the Remus, especially the first, which his audience remembered to *have been* in the Capitol, as being struck with lightning. In his

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\* "Intesi dire, che l' Ercole di bronzo, che oggi si trova nella Sala di Campidoglio, fu trovato nel foro Romano appresso l' arco di Settimio; e vi fu trovata anche la lupa di bronzo che allatta Romolo e Remo, e stà nella Loggia de' conservatori."—Vacca, *Memorie*, num. iii. p. 1, *ap. Montfaucon Dia. Ital.*

verses he records that the twins and wolf both fell, and that the latter left behind the marks of her feet. Cicero does not say that the wolf was consumed; and Dion only mentions that it fell down, without alluding, as the Abate has made him, to the force of the blow, or the firmness with which it had been fixed. The whole strength, therefore, of the Abate's argument hangs upon the past tense; which, however, may be somewhat diminished by remarking that the phrase only shows that the statue was not then standing in its former position. Winkelmann has observed that the present twins are modern; and it is equally clear that there are marks of gilding on the wolf, which might therefore be supposed to make part of the ancient group. It is known that the sacred images of the Capitol were not destroyed when injured by time or accident, but were put into certain underground depositories called *favissæ*.\* It may be thought possible that the wolf had been so deposited, and had been replaced in some conspicuous situation when the Capitol was rebuilt by Vespasian. Rycquius, without mentioning his authority, tells that it was transferred from the Comitium to the Lateran, and thence brought to the Capitol. If it was found near the arch of Severus, it may have been one of the images which Orosius† says was thrown down in the Forum by lightning when Alaric took the city.

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\* Luc. Faun. *ibid*.

† See previous notice of the Destruction of Roman Remains.

That it is of very high antiquity the workmanship is a decisive proof; and that circumstance induced Winkelmann to believe it the wolf of Dionysius. The Capitoline wolf, however, may have been of the same early date as that at the temple of Romulus. Lactantius\* asserts that in his time the Romans worshipped a wolf; and it is known that the Lupercalia held out to a very late period† after every other observance of the ancient superstition had totally expired. This may account for the preservation of the ancient image longer than the other early symbols of Paganism.

It may be permitted, however, to remark that the wolf was a Roman symbol, but that the worship of that symbol is an inference drawn by the zeal of Lactantius. The early Christian writers are not to be trusted in the charges which they make against the

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\* "Romuli nutrix Lupa honoribus est affecta divinis, et ferrem si animal ipsum fuisset, cujus figuram gerit" (Lactant. *de Falsa Religione*, lib. i. cap. xx., p. 101, edit. varior. 1660); that is to say, he would rather adore a wolf than a prostitute. His commentator has observed that the opinion of Livy concerning Laurentia being figured in this wolf was not universal. Strabo thought so. Rycquius is wrong in saying that Lactantius mentions the wolf was in the Capitol.

† To A.D. 496. "Quis credere possit," says Baronius (*Ann. Eccle.* tom. viii. p. 602, in an. 496), "viguisset adhuc Romæ ad Gelasii tempora, quæ fuere ante exordia urbis allata in Italiam Lupercalia?" Gelasius wrote a letter, which occupies four folio pages, to Andromachus, the senator, and others, to show that the rites should be given up.



Pagans. Eusebius accused the Romans to their faces of worshipping Simon Magus, and raising a statue to him in the island of the Tiber. The Romans had probably never before heard of such a person, who came, however, to play a considerable, though scandalous part in the church history, and has left several tokens of his aërial combat with St. Peter at Rome, notwithstanding that an inscription found in this very island of the Tiber showed the Simon Magus of Eusebius to be a certain indigenal god, called Semo Sangus or Fidius.\*

Even when the worship of the founder of Rome had been abandoned it was thought expedient to humour the habits of the good matrons of the city by sending them with their sick infants to the church of Saint Theodore, as they had before carried them to the temple of Romulus.† The practice is continued to this day ; and the site of the above church seems to

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\* Eusebius has these words,—καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῖν ὡς θεὸς, τιμῆται, ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην Σίμωνι θεῷ Σαγκτῷ.—*Ecclesi. Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 40. Justin Martyr had told the story before ; but Baronius himself was obliged to detect this fable.—See Nardini *Roma Vet.*, lib. vii. cap. xii.

† “In essa gli antichi pontefici, per toglier la memoria de' giuochi Lupercali istituiti in onore di Romolo, introdussero l' uso di portarvi Bambini oppressi da infermità occulte, acciò si liberino per l' intercessione di questo Santo, come di continuo si sperimenta.”—Rione xii. Ripa—accurata e succinta descrizione, &c., di Roma Moderna dell' Ab. Ridolf. Venuti, 1766.

be thereby identified with that of the temple; so that if the wolf had been really found there, as Winkelmann says, there would be no doubt of the present statue being that seen by Dionysius.\* But Faunus, in saying that it was at the Ficus Ruminalis by the Comitium, is only talking of its ancient position as recorded by Pliny; and even if he had been remarking where it was found, would not have alluded to the church of Saint Theodore, but to a very different place, near which it was then thought the Ficus Ruminalis had been, and also the Comitium,† that is, the three columns by the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, at the corner of the Palatine looking on the Forum.

It is, in fact, a mere conjecture where the image was actually dug up; and perhaps, on the whole, the marks of the gilding and of the lightning are a better argument in favour of its being the Ciceronian wolf

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\* Nardini, lib. v. cap. xi., convicts Pomponius Lætus *crassi erroris*, in putting the Ruminal fig-tree at the church of St. Theodore; but as Livy says the wolf was at the Ficus Ruminalis, and Dionysius at the temple of Romulus, he is obliged (cap. iv.) to own that the two were close together as well as the Lupercal cave, shaded, as it were, by the fig-tree.

† “Ad comitium ficus olim Ruminalis germinabat, sub qua lupæ rumam, hoc est, mammam, docente Varrone, suxerant olim Romulus et Remus; non procul a templo hodie D. Mariæ Liberatricis appellato ubi *forsan* inventa nobilis illa ænea statua lupæ geminos puerulos lactantis, quam hodie in capitolio videmus.” — Olai Borrichii *Antiqua Urbis Romana facies*, cap. x.; see also cap. xii. Borrichius wrote after Nardini in 1687.—*Ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom.* tom. iv. p. 1522.

than any that can be adduced for the contrary opinion. At any rate, it is one of the most interesting relics of the ancient city,\* and is certainly the figure, if not the very animal, to which Virgil alludes in his beautiful verses :

“Geminos huic ubera circum  
Ludere pendentes pueros et lambere matrem  
Impavidos : illam tereti cervice reflexam  
Mulcere alternos, et fingere corpora lingua.” †

### THE CONSERVATORS' PALACE.

The Conservators' palace exhibits vestiges of the reform of Arnold of Brescia, and of his re-established senate. In apartments contiguous to that which contains the old Fasti, the modern series of inglorious magistrates is ranged, in humble imitation of the venerable list of ancient conquerors and triumphs.‡ The initials of the modern title are so given that what must be read *Conservators* looks like Consuls. It does not seem to be known at what precise period the modern senate of Rome was diminished from a council,§

\* Donatus, lib. xi. cap. 18, gives a medal representing on one side the wolf in the same position as that in the Capitol; and on the reverse the wolf with the head not reverted. It is of the time of Antoninus Pius.

† *Æn.* viii. 631. See Dr. Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, who inclines to the Ciceronian wolf, but without examining the subject.

‡ See *Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c.*, p. 410, ad fin.

§ See *Serie Cronologica de' Senatori di Roma* dal Conte Antonio Vendettini in Roma, 1778.

which at one time amounted to fifty-six persons, to a single magistrate; nor does it appear, that after that reduction the government of the city was invariably trusted to one alone.\* The senate, in the modern sense, was an office exercised by one or more persons for a term which was at first annual; and we read of this senate long after the duties had been exercised by an individual.† Notwithstanding the re-establishment dates from 1143, the chronological series does not begin before the year 1220. The Senator then was Parenzio Parenzi. The names for the next year will sound powerfully to our ears—

#### 1221, HANNIBAL AND NAPOLEON.

Napoleon of the Orsi is a frequent name in the early fasti. The chief magistrate was assisted by three assessors, to administer criminal and civil justice; but the next in dignity and power to *those* or to *him* who composed the senate were the three Conservators; and in addition to these the same list contains the names of the Capo-Rioni, who are often enrolled with the Conservators. There were Marshals also, of whom one is recorded, and Præfects, or Notaries of the præfec-

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\* “E primieramente vediamo dall’elenco medesimo che i Senatori ora erano più, ora un solo, e prima di questo tempo or uno or due.”—Vendett. loc. citat.

† His title was *Illustris* first, and then *Illustrissimus*, with the addition *Dei gratia*.



ture. In an interregnum, or during the absence of the senators, the Conservators exercised the functions, unless they were entrusted to those who, under various names of Reformers of the Roman republic, Chamberlains, Good men, Deputies of the people, supplied the place of the regular government, and were sometimes dependent on the *bene placitum* of the Pope, sometimes derived their authority from the people.

The law by which an alien alone could be chosen for senator does not apply to those first on the list, who are specified as Romans, nor did it constantly obtain, in subsequent periods, until the reform of the statutes in 1580.

When Brancaloneo was elected, in 1252, this was the usage, but in the next century the office was divided frequently between the Colonna and Orsini. Muratori\* mentions that the custom of choosing foreigners for magistrates was introduced into Italy before the year 1180. The choice of foreign arbitrators in the controversies of states and princes seems to have been the fashion of the thirteenth century. Thus the English referred to Philip of France; thus the kings of France and Arragon, and other princes—the Scotch for instance—submitted their claims to the judgment of King Edward I.†

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\* Dissertazione sopra le antichità Ital, diss. xlvi. p. 67, tom. iii.

† See Hume, Hist. of England, Edw. I. cap. xiii.

The ancient statutes have been traced back to the year 1364.

Every vestige of the popular government \* which those statutes were meant to preserve has been gradually abolished, and the Senate and Roman People, after nearly seven centuries of feeble, dubious existence, are now at their last gasp.

The pageant, however, remains. The three Conservators act certain parts in certain ceremonies: they stand on the second step of the papal throne, and they have a right to carry the sacramental vessels between the high altar and his holiness on Easter Sunday. The Senator of Rome bears a still more conspicuous part in these scenes of humiliation. When the Pope pontificates, the Senator stands amidst a seated assembly, but stands at the right hand of the hierarch, on a level with the throne, and a step above the Conservators. His cloak of golden brocade, and his depending rolls of borrowed hair, suit well with the meek ministerial attitude of the gentleman-usher; but they are dwindled into nothing amidst the purple of the cardinals and the seven-fold robes of the holy

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\* For a short account of the statutes and government of Rome, see the *Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx. p. 380, tom. xii. oct. What has been said above was inserted merely in explanation of the modern *Fasti Consulares*. The civil and criminal justice of Rome previously to the French revolution was esteemed, and with reason, the most iniquitous in Italy.

father : even his patient resignation is obscured by the incense and awful bustle of that pious pantomime.

The half-starved porters of the Campidoglio make their boast to strangers that their Senator is placed for life, and cannot be degraded from his office, even by the Pope himself. But the pontiffs have shown their conviction of his impotence by dispensing with the statute which enacted that no one but an alien could be chosen. Pius VII. did not think it expedient to nominate a relation, as Rezzonico had done, but gave the idle title to the young Patrizzi, the representative of a noble Siennese family transplanted to Rome.\*

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\* The successor of Patrizzi was Prince Corsini, but he claimed certain privileges which the Pope thought fit to refuse ; and Altieri, another Roman prince, was called to the unimportant dignity. He has, or rather is, a tribunal of his own. He and his assessors take cognisance of various matters, both civil and criminal. He can condemn to imprisonment and to the galleys, and might condemn to death, but he never exercises that power. The Jews are under his peculiar authority. They swear and pay tribute to him on the first day of carnival, in the Capitol. He and the four conservators sometimes sit together on days of ceremony, but rarely on official occasions. The conservators have a court of their own. They superintend the public spectacles, and several minor affairs, such as the care of small debts, in Rome itself ; and over four towns, of which Cora is chief, containing altogether about 20,000 souls, they have absolute authority, including the power of life and death, but with appeal in that case to the Pope. In one of the rooms of the Capitoline palace, the conservators, with the caporioni and other subordinate magistrates, hold their sittings in chairs, and at a table as worn out and decayed as their own authority ; and the next change will probably deprive them of all the remains of their ancient power. Cardinal

The eloquent initials of the S. P. Q. R. are still to be seen multiplied on all the escutcheons and inscriptions of the modern city; and the same ambitious formula has been imitated by the little tributary towns of the pontifical state. We read, on the stuccoed gateway at Tivoli, of a modern "Senate, and Tiburtine People."

### THE GLADIATOR.\*

Whether the gladiator of the Capitol be a laquearian gladiator, which in spite of Winkelmann's criticism has been stoutly maintained,† or whether it be a Greek

Consalvi contemplated that consummation. Pius VII. visited the Capitol only at the feast of Araceli. Leo XII. never deigned to ascend it once during his whole reign (1828).

\* "A most beautiful and precious work, and of peculiar interest, as bringing so forcibly into evidence the power which the art of statuary may possess of touching the heart."—Bell, *Observations on Italy*, p. 96, edit. 1834. The whole description of this great work by the anatomist is very masterly.

The Gladiator has been thought to belong to the same group as the Arria and Pætus, or Gaul killing his wife, in the Ludovisi collection; and the whole group was conjectured to have been contained in the pediment of a temple erected at Delphi to commemorate the flight of the Gauls. It ought to be recollected that the name of Gladiator was often given to statues of warriors: the Atreus with the son of Thyestes was formerly so called, as we find by the memorials of Aldroandi, p. 18, in the *Miscellanea* of Fea.

† By the Abate Bracci, in his 'Dissertazione sopra un clipeo votivo' (Preface, p. 7), who accounts for the cord round the neck, but not for the horn, which it does not appear the gladiators ever used.—Note A, *Storia delle Arti*, tom. ii. p. 205.



herald, as that great antiquary positively asserted,\* or whether it is to be thought a Spartan or Barbarian shield-bearer, according to the opinion of his Italian editor,† it must assuredly seem *a copy* of that masterpiece of Ctesilaus which represented “a wounded man dying, who perfectly expressed what there remained of life in him.” ‡ Montfaucon § and Maffei || thought it the identical statue; but that statue was of bronze. The Gladiator was once in the villa Ludovisi, and was bought by Clement XII. The right arm is an entire restoration by Michael Angelo.¶

Gladiators were of two kinds, compelled and voluntary, and were supplied from several conditions: from slaves sold for that purpose; from culprits; from Barbarian captives, either taken in war, and, after being led in triumph, set apart for the games, or those seized and condemned as rebels; also from free citizens, some fighting for hire (*auctorati*), others from a depraved

\* Either Polyfontes, herald of Laius, killed by Ædipus; or Cereus, herald of Eurystheus, killed by the Athenians when he endeavoured to drag the Heraclidæ from the altar of mercy, and in whose honour they instituted annual games, continued to the time of Hadrian; or Anthemocritus, the Athenian herald, killed by the Megarenses, who never recovered the impiety. See *Storia delle Arti*, &c., tom. ii. pp. 203-207, lib. ix. cap. ii.

† *Storia*, &c., tom. ii. p. 207, note A.

‡ “Vulneratum deficientem fecit in quo possit intelligi quantum restat animæ.”—Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxiv. cap. viii.

§ *Antiq.*, tom. iii. par. ii. tab. 155.

|| *Racc. stat.* tab. 64.

¶ *Mus. Capitol.*, tom. iii. p. 154, edit. 1755.

ambition: at last even knights and senators were exhibited, a disgrace of which the first tyrant was naturally the first inventor.\* In the end, dwarfs, and even women, fought; an enormity prohibited by Severus. Of these, the most to be pitied undoubtedly were the Barbarian captives; and to this species a Christian writer † justly applies the epithet "*innocent*," to distinguish them from the professional gladiators. Aurelian and Claudius supplied great numbers of these unfortunate victims; the one after his triumph, and the other on the pretext of a rebellion.‡ No war, says Lipsius,§ was ever so destructive to the human race as these sports.

In spite of the laws of Constantine and Constans, gladiatorial shows survived the old established religion more than seventy years; but they owed their final extinction to the courage of a Christian. In the year 404, on the kalends of January, and they were exhibiting

\* Julius Caesar, who rose by the fall of the aristocracy, brought Furius Leptinus and A. Calenus upon the arena; but our English poet has adopted a common mistake in saying that he forced a knight upon the stage; the truth is, he made Laberius, who was an actor, a knight, not a knight an actor.

† Tertullian, "certe quidem et innocentes gladiatores in ludum veniunt, ut voluptatis publicæ hostiæ fiant."—Just. Lips. *Saturn. Sermon.*, lib. ii. cap. iii.

‡ Vopiscus. in Vit. Aurel. and in Vit. Claud., *ibid.*

§ "Credo, immo scio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatem ludos."—Just. Lips. *ibid.* lib. i. cap. xii.

the shows in the Flavian amphitheatre before the usual immense concourse of people, Almachius or Telemachus, an eastern monk, who had travelled to Rome intent on his holy purpose, rushed into the midst of the arena, and endeavoured to separate the combatants. The prætor Alypius, a person incredibly attached to these games,\* gave instant orders to the gladiators to slay him; and Telemachus gained the crown of martyrdom, and the title of saint, which surely has never either before or since been awarded for a more noble exploit. Honorius immediately abolished the shows, which were never afterwards revived. The story is told by Theodoret† and Cassiodorus,‡ and seems worthy of credit, notwithstanding its place in the Roman martyrology.§ Besides the torrents of blood which flowed at the funerals, in the amphitheatres, the circus, the forums, and other public places, gladiators were introduced at feasts, and tore each other to pieces amidst the supper tables, to the great delight and applause of the guests.

Yet Lipsius permits himself to suppose the loss of courage, and the evident degeneracy of mankind, to

\* Augustinus (lib. vi. confess. cap. viii.) "Alypium suum gladiatrii spectaculi inhiatu incredibiliter abreptum," scribit. ib. lib. i. cap. xii.

† Hist. Eccles. cap. xxvi. lib. v.

‡ Cassiod. Tripartita. l. x. c. xi. Saturn. ib. ib.

§ Baronius ad ann. et in notis ad Martyrol. Rom. 1 Jan. See Marangoni Delle memorie sacre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio, p. 25, edit. 1746.

be nearly connected with the abolition of these bloody spectacles.\*

When one gladiator wounded another he shouted, "*He has it!*" "*Hoc habet*" or "*Habet*," the wounded combatant dropped his weapon, and advancing to the edge of the arena, supplicated the spectators. If he had fought well, the people saved him; if otherwise, or as they happened to be inclined, they turned down their thumbs and he was slain. They were occasionally so savage that they were impatient if a combat lasted longer than ordinary without wounds or death. The emperor's presence generally saved the vanquished; and it is recorded as an instance of Caracalla's ferocity, that he sent those who supplicated him for life, in a spectacle at Nicomedia, to ask the people; in other words, handed them over to be slain. A similar ceremony is observed at the Spanish bull-fights. The magistrate presides; and after the horsemen and picadores have fought the bull, the matadore steps forward and bows to him for permission to kill the animal. If the bull has done his duty by killing two or three horses, or a man, which last is rare, the people interfere with

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\* "Quod? non tu Lipsi momentum aliquod habuisse censes ad virtutem? Magnum. Tempora nostra, nosque ipsos videamus. Oppidum ecce unum alterumve captum, direptum est; tumultus circa nos, non in nobis: et tamen concidimus et turbamur. Ubi robur, ubi tot per annos meditata sapientiæ studia? ubi ille animus qui possit dicere, *si fractus illabatur orbis?*" &c., *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. xxv. The prototype of Mr. Windham's panegyric on bull-baiting.



shouts, the ladies wave their handkerchiefs, and the animal is saved. The wounds and death of the horses are accompanied with the loudest acclamations, and many gestures of delight, especially from the female portion of the audience, including those of the gentlest blood. Everything depends on habit.

Lord Byron, myself, and one or two other Englishmen, who had certainly in other days borne the sight of a pitched battle, were, during the summer of 1809, in the governor's box at the great amphitheatre of Santa Maria, opposite to Cadiz. The death of one or two horses completely satisfied our curiosity. A gentleman present, observing us shudder and look pale, noticed that unusual reception of so delightful a sport to some young ladies, who stared and smiled, and continued their applauses as another horse fell bleeding to the ground. One bull killed three horses. He was saved by acclamations which were redoubled when it was known he belonged to a priest.

An Englishman who can be much pleased with seeing two men beat themselves to pieces, cannot bear to look at a horse galloping round an arena with his bowels trailing on the ground, and turns from the spectacle and the spectators with horror and disgust.

#### JULIUS CÆSAR.

It is possible to be a very great man and to be still very inferior to Julius Cæsar, the most complete cha-

racter, so Lord Bacon seems to think, of all antiquity. Nature appears incapable of such extraordinary combinations as composed his versatile capacity, which was the wonder even of the Romans themselves. The first general—the only triumphant politician—inferior to none in eloquence—comparable to any in the attainments of wisdom, in an age made up of some of the greatest commanders, statesmen, orators, and philosophers that ever appeared in the world—an author who composed a perfect specimen of military annals in his travelling carriage—at one time in a controversy with Cato, at another writing a treatise on punning, and collecting a set of good sayings—fighting and making love at the same moment,\* and willing to abandon both his empire and his mistress for a sight of

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\* Sanguine Thessalicæ cladis perfusus adulter  
Admisit Venerem curis, et miscuit armis.

Lucan. *Phar.* 10.

After feasting with his mistress he sits up all night to converse with the Ægyptian sages, and tells Achoreus,

Spes sit mihi certa videndi  
Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.  
“Sic velut in tuta securi pace trahebant  
Noctis iter medium.”

Immediately afterwards he is fighting again and defending every position.

“Sed adest defensor ubique  
Cæsar et hos aditus gladiis, hos ignibus arcet  
. . . . . cæca nocte carinis  
Insiluit Cæsar semper feliciter usus  
Præcipiti cursu bellorum et tempore raptō.”

the Fountains of the Nile. Such did Julius Cæsar appear to his contemporaries and to those of the subsequent ages, who were the most inclined to deplore and execrate his fatal genius.

But we must not be so much dazzled with his surpassing glory or with his magnanimous, his amiable qualities, as to forget the decision of his impartial countryman :—

HE WAS LAWFULLY SLAIN.\*

### BUSTS AND STATUES.

The head of Julius Cæsar in the Capitoline Museum is not considered authentic ; but the head of the statue in the porch of the Conservators' palace is better than the bust in the Museum, and more like the portrait on the small bronze coin of that wonderful man.† Of the several busts and statues of emperors, statesmen, and

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\* “Prægravant tamen cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut et abusus dominatione, et jure cæsus existimetur,” says Suetonius after a fair estimation of his character, and making use of a phrase which was a formula in Livy's time. “Melium jure cæsum pronuntiavit, etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit” [lib. iv. cap. 48]; and which was continued in the legal judgments pronounced in justifiable homicides, such as killing housebreakers. See Sueton. in vit. C. J. Cæsar. with the commentary of Pitiscus, p. 184. Dr. Arnold, however, comes to a very different conclusion ; and, certainly, it must be confessed that the Romans gained nothing by the death of Cæsar. The Emperor Louis Napoleon was right in saying that (1858).

† Unico ritratto riconosciuto di quel grande uomo che esiste in Roma.—*Itin. di Roma* da A. Nibby, p. 136.

philosophers in this Museum, the most interesting are, with a few exceptions, the most authentic. Of M. Aurelius, Titus, and Trajan, there can be no doubt. But the sitting Agrippina is accounted doubtful. The Cicero is not allowed to be actually the great orator, he has not the long neck, an indispensable requisite; but the portrait is that of a very old man, and as the head and shoulders do not belong to each other, the shortness of the neck is not a conclusive objection. Whoever was the original he had many busts taken of him, and the portraits were well known in old Rome.

The Scipio Africanus is admitted to be the real hero. Besides the scar on the skull, the bust has other pretensions to authenticity. It resembles much the Scipio in the Herculanean painting which represents his interview with Sophonisba. His cast of countenance was very well known in the latter days of Rome, for the younger Gordian was reckoned to be a strong likeness of him. In the Pallavicini gallery there is a black Scipio with two scars on his skull.

The Galba has too much hair on his head, unless, like some modern monarchs, that emperor chose to be represented full curled when he was notoriously bald. The soldier who cut off his head could not find a single lock of hair, but was obliged to put his finger into his mouth in order to carry the head to Otho. The Nerva is a modern bust, and a very good one. The Marcus Brutus is thought to have the projecting lips of the patriot, but is by no means of unquestioned authenticity.



The Marius, a statue, is a mere gratuitous baptism. Alexander the Great is not a certainty, his coins are so common that the sculptor who wanted to make a resemblance could scarcely fail, but this bust is not a strong likeness.

Of the Greek busts it is sufficient that many passed for portraits in ancient times, although some are notorious forgeries. The Plato is a bearded Bacchus. The Homers are all copies of the same traditional portrait. The Pindar is a Sophocles, or the Sophocles is a Pindar, for they are both the same. Some of the statues still preserve the name once given to them, although now understood to be incorrect. The Philosopher having been once called Zeno still retains that name. The Mercury, also, is still called Antinous. The Venus and Mars, probably portraits, are Vetturia and Coriolanus. According to the former fashion of giving Roman names to Grecian groups, the so-called Faun of Praxiteles, the Cupid either of Myron or Praxiteles, so often copied, the Boy and the Goose, the Boy and the Mask, both mentioned by Pliny; the two statues of Amazons,—all of these, beautiful as they are, are but copies from the bronze originals.

### THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS.

The Amazons were in the vestibule of the Temple of Ephesus. The real Greek Amazons were never represented with only one breast, a fable for which, I

believe, no higher authority can be quoted than that of Justin.\*

The reliefs on the sarcophagi generally represent the same set of subjects as appear to have been favourites with the ancients, and to have been ready made for any purchaser: such as the "Boar Hunt," Diana and Endymion, the Battle of the Amazons. One of these, in the Sala del Fauno, is evidently the copy of some excellent original; nothing can be more striking or correct than the design, especially of the captives on the rim of the cover, but the workmanship is of very inferior quality.

In this Museum, as at the Vatican, everything is ancient. The statues are raised on pedestals which are, themselves, sepulchral cippi, or inscribed marbles. The Antinous stands on a stone which contained the ashes of a freed woman in the family of Tiberius Cæsar, whose beauty and accomplishments are extolled in a long epitaph not altogether worthy of the Augustan age; the name was Claudia Homonæa. The stone on which the Faun stands contains an inscription to a certain Petronius: *Nobilitatis culmini—Litterarum et eloquentiæ fulmini—Auctoritatis Exemplo—Provisionum et dispositionum magistro—Humanitatis—Devotionis, &c.* This prodigy was Proconsul of Africa in the reign of Valens, whose bust in another room is worthy of the style of

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\* But the Amazons checked the growth of the right breast. See Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, chap. xi. p. 292, *note*.

the panegyric; compare it with the inscription on Scipio Barbatus, or Scipio Asiaticus: "HE SUBDUED KING ANTIOCHUS." It may be remarked that, besides other tokens of barbarism, the Petronian eulogy gives us something like the jingle of rhyme.

The antiquities of the Conservators' palace, if they were all authentic, would be the most interesting of Roman remains. The *Fasti Consulares* have, since my first visit, received some small additions, and a large record of the merit of Pius VII. in placing them there. In one of the fragments Mark Antony is called Triumvir. The imperial fragments were found at the Sapienza. But many of the names given to the marbles and bronzes in this quarter of the Capitol are more than questionable. The Duillian column is modern, and the fragments of inscriptions on it are copies; the colossal bronze fragments, said to belong to a statue of Commodus, are not certainly his. The Geese called the saviours of the Capitol may be ancient, but they look like ducks. The Boy extracting the thorn is not what it is called, the Shepherd Martius; the bronze Junius Brutus is a baptism; the Cæsar is a forgery; so are the Appius Claudius, the Mithridates, the Ariadne, the Sappho, the Virgil, the Cicero, and the Poppæa. No such uncertainty attaches to the collection of modern worthies in the Protomoteca, many of them removed from the Pantheon; but most of the recent busts were supplied by the munificence of Canova.

The name PROTOTECA, and the regulations under

which admission may be obtained into this Temple of Fame, written in old Latin (*e. g.* *siet* for *sit*), are sufficiently pedantic ; but there is nothing very classical in the guardians of this repository, for they are no other than the Conservators of Rome, assisted by the various academies, and referring to the final decision of his Holiness for the time being. One of the rules lays down that none but those notoriously possessed of a genius of the first order, and none but the dead, shall have a place in the collection—yet the busts seemed to me to have increased exceedingly since 1822—and if such men as Sterne, the architect of the Braccio Nuovo (though he had much merit) are to be admitted, another room will soon be wanted for the reception of these memorials. The law against admitting the living was violated for the sake of the sovereign, for Leo XII. was already there in 1828.

The modern Romans at one time declared that flattery of the living was infamous ; but they repented of their decree, and having removed the stone on which it was inscribed, replaced it by a milder sentence, denouncing only those who, WITHOUT GOOD CAUSE, should propose to receive a statue to a reigning pope or his relations. The sufficing reason included the enlargement of the papal dominions, the service of the people, or *any other exploit* above the common, by which the great man of the day might appear to have deserved to be remembered by posterity. Since the Senate and Roman People of 1634 relented from their former stern severity, more



than 200 years have elapsed, and not one sovereign has ruled them whose good deeds might not, by his contemporary Conservators and Academies, be allowed to have done something above the common run of kings.

This is the inscription :—

Quod in malas adulatorum artes sancitum erat, id ne civibus de republica præter morem meritis officiat, atque adeo in ingrati animi vitium ducat assentationis fuga—Visum est Senatui Populoque Romano assentiente Principe vetus decretum æqua ratione moderari, atque amoto lapideo decreti monumento aliud his consignatum verbis reponere.

Infamiae nota inurendos tantummodo eos atque a publicis officiis removendos qui sine causa maximum reipub. commodum respiciente de erigendis statuīs aut insignibus viventi Principi aut Princip. sanguinis conjunctis in Senatu verba fecerint. Non autem illos qui vel aucta ditione vel servato Populo vel re quapiam in commune bonum supra communem modum gesta meruisse posteritatis memoriam videbantur.—Die 26 mens. Jan. 1634.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CAPITOLINE ASCENTS.

THE excavations of late years have done much, if not all that can be wanted, towards the discovery of the ancient ascents from the Roman Forum to the Capitol. I found in 1854 that many more of the basalt polygons of the Clivus Capitolinus had been laid bare than were discoverable in 1843. The direction in which that famous road ascended the hill is now distinctly seen. It passed from the Arch of Severus under the three columns, once called the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, and now ascribed either to Saturn, or Vespasian and Titus. It then turned under the temple of the eight columns, given by some to Saturn, by others to Vespasian; thence its present progress is soon stopped by the mound on which the modern ascent has been raised. It proceeded, however, in all probability, pretty much in the direction of the modern pathway up the Monte Caprino. My late friend Antonio Nibby is accused of having stopped the further clearing of the ascent, because he was afraid it would disprove his plan in regard to the direction of the Clivus Capitolinus, and also to the site of the great Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter

which he placed on Aracœli. But it appears to me that the latter objection need not have alarmed him, for there is no reason why the triumphal road should not have wound round the western corner of the Tabularium of Catulus, where the modern prisons are now built, and have crossed the Capitoline area, or intermontium, to the eastern summit of the hill. Indeed there are some polygons of the old road to be seen close under the recently opened entrance on that side into the Tabularium.

The theory that the Triumphal Way was a continuation of the Via Sacra derives some support from the discovery of the lines of basalt polygons running alongside of the base of the Basilica Julia to the ruins of the temples under the Capitol. It seems ascertained that this part of the road was anciently called the Clivus Sacrus as well as the Via Triumphalis; but the conjecture that identifies this ascent with the "Clivus Asyli" appears unfounded. That road is, with greater probability, carried from the Arch of Severus, where some of its flag-stones were discovered, in 1803, to the back of the Mamertine Prisons, corresponding perhaps with a lane passing in that direction into the Via del Arco di Settimio, and called the Via di S. Pietro in Carcere. Some modern brick-walls, of considerable height, supporting a terrace attached to the convent and church of Aracœli, rise immediately above this lane, and, together with other mean buildings, entirely disfigure the ancient site and appearance of this angle of the Capitoline Hill.

## THE HUNDRED STEPS.

The hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock were at the angle opposite to that of the Clivus Asyli, namely, the south corner of the Capitoline Hill towards the Tiber. Vestiges of them were remaining early in the twelfth century, as appears by a document referable to that period; but that they followed the direction of the modern pathway from the "Piazza della Consolazione," called "Via del Monte Caprino," is only a conjecture. On this side the Capitoline Hill is ascended by three roads. The first, so frequently before alluded to, and the most modern, for it was made by Leo XII., winds upwards from the eight columns to the modern prisons: it is a carriage-way, and is called the Via del Campidoglio. It is constructed on an artificial mound: underneath this road a filthy lane follows the same line. The next ascent, to the westward, is called Via del Monte Tarpejo; and further on towards the Tiber is the "Via del Monte Caprino." The two last are only footways, and both lead into a street on the declivity of the hill, composed of mean dwelling-houses. A little higher up, on the same angle of the hill, is another street, half buried in filth and rubbish: on one of the houses of this street are this quotation and inscription:

Hinc ad Tarpejam sedem et Capitolia ducit  
Pervia nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.

Gregorius xiii. P.M. viam Tarpejam aperuit.

Hier. Alterius Ædilis secundo,	} curabant.
Paulus Bubalies Ædilis sexto,	



The whole of this acclivity, the base of which is formed by a line stretching from the "Campo Vaccino" to the "Piazza della Consolazione," is choked up by houses of the meanest description, ascending to the back of the Caffarelli Palace, on the south-west summit of the hill. Gregory and his *Ædiles* were modest enough to omit the golden epithet of Virgil ("aurea"); but there was little to boast of in the actual exploit.

Before my visit to Rome in 1842 (I believe in 1835), the excavations immediately under the modern ascent, the "Via del Campidoglio" and the corner of the Tabularium, had laid bare three fragments of the arched chamber and portico of the so-called *Schola Xantha* and the colonnaded structure assigned to the *Di Consentes*. The remains are so considerable and so clearly defined, that an antiquarian artist would have no difficulty in constructing a probable restoration of these edifices; but the comparatively late date of them, the reign of Valentinian, a little detracts from their importance. Mr. Dyer (*Smith's Dict.*, p. 788) thinks that Cicero alluded to those more ancient offices of the scribes of the *ædiles* in his "fatally divine" *Philippic*. The inscription in the dedication to the divinity of the twelve "*Deum Consentium*," and not *Consentum*, which was found under the Tabularium, seems to deprive the temple of any high antiquity; but as the quotation from Varro, cited by Mr. Dyer,\* would, as that writer justly remarks,

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\* The words from Varro are as follows:—"Et quoniam, ut aiunt, Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos; nec ut Homerus et

include the Clivus Capitolinus in the Forum, I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of this designation. No plausible scheme can bring the Clivus within the Forum.

The fragment of an architrave, on which the inscription was carved, may not have belonged to a building anciently placed in this spot. So little care was taken by the restorers of temples, that one of the columns of the temple of Saturn or Vespasian is found to be upside down.

The ascent called Monte Caprino is continued from the Piazza del Campidoglio to the portico above, belonging to the Conservators' Palace. The mean buildings on the left hand (south) of this ascent were once the property of the little corporations of modern Rome, now as much forgotten as the Tribes of the Republican City. On the doorways of these wretched dwellings may be seen these inscriptions:—"The University of the Cobblers;" "The Consuls of the Masons;" "The University of the Whitewashers."

Some merit may have been justly claimed by Gregory XIII. and his *Ædiles* for opening the Tarpejan ascent; but the old carriage-road, seen in modern pictures, from the Campo Vaccino to the Capitol, was certainly one of the most barbarous of

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Ennius, *Musas, sed xii deos consentis; neque tamen eos urbanos, seu quorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant, sex mares et feminæ totidem, sed illos xii deos qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt.*"

all the Papal exploits, inasmuch as, by half choking up and pressing down the great remains of the temples in that quarter, it served to perpetuate the deformity of those majestic ruins. Yet an inscription on the wall facing the prisons records, that this was the work of Pope Clement XI. and his Conservators in 1709. The first labour of the French administration was devoted to breaking up this hideous causeway.

The Via del Arco de Settimio is a paved road, large enough, and not too steep, for carriages. It is, however, but seldom used, and a chain has been drawn across the upper end of it. The ancient building of the Capitol has been recently cleared on this side, and the large travertine blocks of which it is composed, being exposed, show what must have been the massive solidity of the ancient citadel. The contrast between them and the before-mentioned brick wall under the terrace is exceedingly striking.

#### THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

The reader may recollect a fine passage in Middleton's letter from Rome: "For my own part, as I have been rambling about in the very *rostra of old Rome*, or in that *temple of Concord* where Tully assembled the senate in Catiline's conspiracy; I could not help fancying myself much more sensible of the force of his eloquence, whilst the impression of the place served to warm my imagination to a degree almost equal to that of his *old audience*."

The author of the 'Free Enquiry' was no enthusiast, even in the cause of his favourite Cicero, and the emotions which he confesses himself to have felt will be assuredly partaken by any one imbued with a moderate respect for the wisest and best man of all antiquity. Every site and relic that can remind us of him must be regarded with that veneration with which he himself contemplated the porticoes and seats of the Athenian philosophers: and we treasure up the little dies of the pavement which lie scattered on the Formian shore, and may possibly have been trodden by the saviour of his country, with an affectionate regard scarcely inspired by the masterpieces of ancient art.\*

There is certainly no delight comparable with that derived from the sight of objects connected with the writings and actions of those, some of whom, according to the panegyric of Dryden,—

“Better lived than we, though less they knew.”

How fully such a delight is enjoyed at Rome may be understood by the most ignorant, and is experienced by the most indifferent observer. The fear of ridicule, the vice of the age, is, in this instance, insufficient to check the honest indistinct admiration, which, it may be some consolation for the timid to learn from competent authority, is not the sign of folly, but of superior sense,

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\* Cicero is the hero of Mola di Gaeta; a tomb and a villa, said to belong to him, are shown by the antiquary at the inn of that town.



and is the sole origin of wisdom.\* The memory of the great orator was preserved at Rome even in the ages of ignorance. In the twelfth century, an ancient structure was known by the name of the temple of Cicero. He had not a temple raised to him, but no man that ever lived was more deserving of one.†

We must be content with the site, for we cannot trust much to the objects of the Roman Forum. It will have been seen that when Middleton was at Rome the eight columns under the Capitol with the inscription, "*Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit*," were usually supposed those of the Ciceronian Temple of Concord. In fact, they had gone by that name in the fifteenth century, when seen by Poggio, who witnessed the destruction of the cell and part of the portico.‡ The author of the '*Ordo Romanus*,' in

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\* *Μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο το πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη.* Platon. Theætet. dialog. oper. tom. i. p. 155. The reader may remark the use the eloquent Winkelmann has made of this authority. *Storia delle Arti*, &c. lib. v. cap. vi. tom. i. p. 393.

† Benedict, in his *Ordo Romanus*, says, "Mane dicit missam ad sanctam Anastasiam, qua finita descendit cum processione per viam juxta porticum Gallatorum ante templum Sybillæ et inter templum Ciceronis et porticum Cimorum."—Ap. Mabillon. *Mus. Ital.*, tom. ii. p. 125, num. 16.

‡ "Romani postmodum ædem totam et porticus partem disjectis columnis sunt demoliti."—De Variet. Fortunæ ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 501. Mr. Lumsden, who published his volume on the antiquities of Rome in 1797, talks as if the doubts respecting these ruins were unfounded. He says, "But as the Temple of Concord is not mentioned in the inscription, some antiquaries, contrary to tradition,

the twelfth century, places it near the Arch of Severus,\* a position which seems to accord with that given to the Temple of Concord by Dion Cassius,† and by Servius,‡ the first of whom says it was near the prisons, and the second near the Temple of Saturn, on the Clivus Capitolinus. Plutarch, in his life of Camillus, mentions that it looked towards the Forum. An inscription found near the ruins, as Marlianus§ and Faunus ||

have doubted if this was it.”—p. 360. Of this very unsafe guide an equally credulous writer says—

“ And Lumsden taught him to converse of Rome.”

And then follows a note extolling Mr. Lumsden. See Dial. iv. of ‘Pursuits of Literature,’ a work which enjoyed the most marvellous popularity, and the author of which, amongst other proofs of scarcely sane self-importance, actually goes the length of comparing his foolish fears to the Passion of our Saviour. “It is written,” says he, “I hope we all know where, ‘and being in an agony he prayed yet more fervently.’” ‘Pursuits of Literature,’ Dial. iii., note. The quotation from the New Testament is given in Greek.

\* “Descendit ante privatam Mamertini; intrat sub arcu triumphali inter templum fatale et templum Concordiæ.” Ordo Roman. Auct. Benedict. ap. Mab. ib. p. 143, num. 51. The author of the ‘De Mirabilibus Romæ’ also says, “Templum Concordiæ juxta Capitolium, ante quod arcus triumphalis.”—Ap. Montfaucon *Diar. Italic.*, cap. xx.

† Hist. Rom. lib. lviii. cap. ii. tom. ii. p. 885. Near the prison, he says, that is the *Mamertine*, ἀλλ’ αὐθημερόν η γερύουσια πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ ‘Ομονοείῳ, &c. vol. ii. p. 885, edit. Hamb.

‡ “Templum Saturni, quod est ante Clivum Capitolium, juxta Concordiæ templum.”—*Ad Æneid.* lib. ii. ver. 116.

§ Marlian. Topog. Urb. Rom. cap. x. lib. ii. only says, “Inventus est autem lapis,” without saying where.

|| Faunus, lib. ii. cap. x. de Antiq. Urb. Rom. “In marmore præterea quodam aliquando in ruinis reperto.” Is the Abate Fea justified from this in saying, “Che vi fu trovata per testimonianza

attest, and transferred afterwards to the Lateran, records that the Temple of Concord having fallen from old age was restored by the Senate and the Roman people in the time of Constantine. Donatus\* was positive of the authentic claims of the eight columns. The first to establish a doubt was Nardini,† and his opinion prevailed with Winkelmann,‡ and with Winkelmann's editor,§ who, however, was converted before

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del Marliano e di Lucio Fauno?"—*Dissertazione*, &c. p. 299. This inscription is given elsewhere.

\* Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

† Lib. v. cap. vi.

‡ Storia delle Arti, &c. lib. xii. cap. xiii. tom. ii. p. 413.

§ *Dissertazione*, &c. tom. iii. p. 299, *ibid.*

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#### ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Fragments of the cell of the Temple of Concord have been discovered since this was written, and also four inscriptions given in Nibby's edition of Nardini, tom. ii. p. 196. Nibby (*For. Rom.*, p. 137) thinks that the one inscription was two, and that the S. P. Q. R. was repeated "per confusione maggiore." Confusion indeed—I must confess that in my opinion the confusion has not been entirely cleared away by the able writer in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (p. 781-2). It is indeed agreed that the words "S. P. Q. R. aedem Concordiæ vetustate collapsam in meliorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituerunt" must have belonged to the Temple of Concord. Such was the inscription on the stone which was formerly in the Lateran, and which is given in a MS. still preserved, but those words have nothing to do with the inscriptions now seen on the ruined edifices under the Capitol, namely—"Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit" on the eight-columned ruin, and the letters "Estituer" on the three-columned ruin; and the accident of the three inscriptions being given together has by no means solved the problem. I do not think it at all certain that the

ESTITVER

he had finished his labours, and to get rid of the difficulty respecting the two inscriptions (the one in the Lateran and the other now on the frieze), supposes that they both may have been affixed to the porch, and that the restoration was made, *first* under Constantine, and *afterwards* perhaps at the time that the Emperor Eugenius encouraged the Pagan worship.

The fall and the fire and the modern Romans have left but little of the temple where Cicero assembled the

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ESTITVER belonged to either of the three. The words supplied from the anonymous collector of inscriptions, whose MS. is preserved at Einsidlen, are "Divo Vespasiano Augusto S. P. Q. R. imp. p. Caes. Severus et Antoninus pii. fel. Aug.," and "unt," and hence the very recent name assigned to the three columns, but not without a struggle; for though the Italian Canina, followed by Dyer, prefers Vespasian and Titus, Bunsen and Becker insist upon Saturn having been the god of this temple. The Abate Fea, *Diario di Roma*, vol. i. p. 258, asserts positively that in the middle of the eighth century the inscription was seen and began with the S. P. Q. R. This eliminates Vespasian and his son, but the Abate is obliged to suppose that the S. P. Q. R. were prefixed by the half republican authorities after the invasion of Totila. If that was so, the senate and the Roman people of that unhappy period must have thought it immaterial, whether or not an inscription admitted of a sensible or even a grammatical construction. It has been remarked that the architrave and frieze of these columns have been blended together so as to form an uniform surface for the insertion of the inscription. The same peculiarity is observable on the Portico of Octavia, in the Pescaria, which was restored by the above mentioned Emperors. Severus has left more records of his architectural exploits than any other master of the Roman world. The Pantheon, the Portico of Octavia, the two arches which bear his name, and the inscription now under discussion, are all proofs of his attachment to the arts and to the imperial city; but in order to make him worthy of the praise bestowed upon him by Spartianus, it is necessary to adopt an alteration



senate, but it is something to hope that we tread the site and may touch a fragment of the Porch which was guarded by the equestrian patriots who escorted the consul and menaced Cæsar and the friends of the conspirators with their swords.\* If this, however, was the Temple of Concord, it is not easy to understand why such a position should have been thought peculiarly secure. It does not certainly correspond with the usual incorrect notion that the temple was in the Capitol. The ruins can hardly be said even to be on the Capitoline ascent, which is supposed by some to be included in the Capitol itself.†

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alteration lately proposed for the text of that author—"magnum vero illud in vita ejus, quod Romæ omnes ædes publicas, quæ vitio temporum labebantur instauravit, nusquam prope suo nomine ascripto, servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum." For "tamen" read "nisi," says Nibby, and justly—for if Severus *almost never* "marked the marble with his name," how comes it that all his existing works should be exceptions to that modest indifference to renown?

\* Philip x. "Equites Romani qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiæ steterant," &c.

† Varro places the temple between the Capitol and the Forum. Festus also (in voc. Senatula), "inter Capitolium et Forum." See Marlian. in loc. citat. and Nardini; also P. Victor, "Unum (Senaculum) ubi nunc est ædes Concordiæ, ubi magistratus cum Senioribus deliberant," de regionibus urbis. Ap. Græv., tom. iii. p. xi. I leave the text above as written in 1817; but there can be little doubt now as to the real position of the old temple. The fragments are in part buried under the mound on which the modern "Via del Arco di Settimio" is constructed; but a portion of the marble flooring of the cella has been disinterred, and is distinct evidence of the position of  
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The doubts respecting the other three columns are of an earlier date than those concerning the Temple of Concord. Fulvius Ursinus considered the name of Jupiter Tonans a rash conjecture when applied to any certain position in the Capitol, and particularly near the modern prisons;\* but the regionary Victor finds that temple in the Capitoline declivity,† which Suetonius had placed in the Capitol. It is in order to reconcile these contending notices, that the dilation of the Capitol has been adopted by the antiquaries.‡ The letters left on the frieze, ESTITVER, correspond with the Lateran inscription thought to belong to the other temple, yet nothing has been gained by the coincidence.

#### ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

A coin of the time of Caracalla is the only ancient record of this considerable monument, and this shows us that the arch was formerly surmounted with a triumphal car. Two figures are seen in the car, which is drawn by six horses, and has a foot-soldier on each side

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the Temple. Much importance is attached to a figure of the caduceus cut into the marble; originally the figure was inlaid with bronze, which has been removed, but the shape of the wand has been carefully preserved. The emblem of the God of Eloquence is supposed to have reference to the harangues occasionally delivered in this famous place of assembly (1842-1854).

\* Marlian., *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. iii. note 3.

† “*Ædes Jovis Tonantis in Clivo Capitolii, dedicata ab Augusto.*”  
*De Region. Urb.* Regio viii. in loc. cit. p. 105.

‡ Donatus, lib. ii. cap. xi.

of it. At each of the corners there is also a soldier on horseback. The most interesting particular connected with this arch is, perhaps, the visible erasure of the name and titles of Geta, for which have been substituted the concluding two letters of the third line and the whole of the fourth line. A similar substitution is observable in the inscription on the Janus in the Velabrum, and also in that of the bronze tablet in the Capitoline Museum. Caracalla could not bear to be reminded of his deceased brother. He wept whenever he saw the image or statue, or was any way reminded of Geta. The Romans are said by the Historians to have wondered at so much grief; but whether they were surprised or not, they pretended to sympathize with their murderous master, and in these erasures have left us a striking proof of their servility and debasement.

The present respectable appearance of this half buried monument is due to Pius VII., whose care is recorded by an inscription on the wall that surrounds it, and that prevents the accumulation of earth and rubbish which had frustrated three previous attempts at restoration. The Popes who had before failed in the same endeavour were Leo X., assisted though he was by Michael Angelo, Pius IV. in 1563, and Gregory XV. in 1621.

#### COLUMN OF PHOCAS.

The neighbouring column of Phocas can no longer be part of the temple of Jupiter Custos, or the Græco-

stasis, or the bridge of Caligula. It must appear strange that the simple expedient of digging to the base to look for an inscription was delayed until 1813, on purpose, as it were, to give scope to further conjecture.\* It seems that some struggle was made to believe it dedicated to the emperor Maurice, the name of the fallen tyrant being carefully erased.

The affection of Gregory the Great, who then exercised a powerful influence over the Romans, towards *his Piety* the emperor Phocas, is well known to have been as great as that of the exarch Smaragdus in whose name the column was erected: and indeed that murderer has found a defender even in modern times.† The gilded

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\* *optIMO CLEMENTIS .felicissimOQUE*  
*PRINCIPI DOMINO n. focae imperatorI*  
*PERPETUO A DO CORONATO TRIUMPHATORI*  
*SEMPER AVGVSTO*  
*SMARAGDV8 EX PREPOS SACRI PALATHI*  
*AC PATRICIV8 ET EXARCHV8 ITALIAE*  
*DEVOTV8 EIV8 CLEMENTIAE.*  
*PRO INNVMERABILIBV8 PIETATIS EIV8*  
*BENEFICIIS ET PRO QViete*  
*PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSERvata LIBERTATE*  
*HANC Statvam. pietatIS EIV8*  
*AVRI SPLENDore micanTEM. HVIC*  
*SVBLIMI COLVmnæ ad PERENNEM*  
*IPSIV8 GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DEDICAVIT*  
*DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVSTI INDICT. VND.*  
*PC PIETATIS EIV8 ANNO QVINTO.*

See *Lettera sopra la Colonna dell' Imperatore Foca*, scritta da Filippo Aurelio Visconti. Roma, 1813, p. 10.

† Two Dutchmen sat down to protect and attack this worthy character. Ant. de Stoppelaar, *Oratio pro Phoca Imperatore*, Amstel. 1732, and Simon Van den Brink, *Orat. in Phocam Imperatorem*



statue representing a hideous monster, and such as the decayed arts could then furnish, the style and even the letters of the inscription, the shattered repaired column, transferred from some other structure and defaced by rude carving, must have forcibly bespoken the degradation of the Forum and of the Roman race.

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Amstel. 1732. Gibbon, vol. viii. 8vo. cap. lxvi. p. 212, overlooked or despised these authors, who were awakened from their repose by the Abate Cancellieri, the friend of Visconti. *Lettera. Ibid.*, p. 10.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE.

It was reserved for the 13th of March, 1813, to discover that this pillar did not form part of an ancient edifice, but was a triumphal column; and the excavations directed by the late Duchess of Devonshire at the base of it, and renewed in 1816, uncovered a pavement of white travertine flag-stones and a basement ascended by eight steps a cubit in height, of which one range was completely laid bare.

The same labours exposed two other square basements of brickwork, on which it appears that isolated columns had formerly been raised; for here were found two or three immense fragments of oriental granite pillars, many pieces of sculptured marble, capitals and cornices, and some inscribed stones, one of which, with a sort of unaccountable indifference, had been again laid down to serve as a step. Two of the inscriptions are half in Greek and half in Latin:—

ΑΠΩΣΙΚΑΚΟΙΣ  
ΘΕΟΙΣ  
EX ÓRÁCVLÓ

ΑΘΑΝΑΙ  
ΑΠΟΤΡΟΠΑΙΑΙ  
EX ÓRÁCVLÓ

These votive inscriptions are remarkable for the elegance of the character and for the accents which are placed over the Latin words. It has also been observed that the *ἀπωσικακοῖς* has never been discovered in any Greek author, although of an obvious meaning.<sup>b</sup> An-

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<sup>a</sup> Nibby says eleven; I will put only eight.

<sup>b</sup> Nibby, *For. Rom.*, cap. i. p. 167.

other inscription found on the same spot is composed of these letters—

M . CISPIVS. L. F. PR.

and records a Prætor belonging, it is thought, to the last age of the republic. A fragment shows the following letters:—

VSIVNIVS,

and other inscriptions of doubtful import were also found, and were removed. Amongst them was a fragment of the Capitoline Fasti, which was not submitted to profane inspection. The excavators on this site had to work through the foundation walls of modern buildings, and an accumulation, composed in a great measure of broken marble, travertine, and brick-work, all of which, mingled with rubbish and common earth, gave to the spectator who looked into the deep pit below him, from the footway of modern Rome to the level of the ancient city, a lively conception of the variety and succession of structures that crowded this part of the Forum, and of the ruins that laid them low. The column of Phocas itself was a fragment probably of some building of the age of the Antonines—certainly not of the wretched times when it was raised, 608 A.D. (For. Rom., p. 165.) The inscriptions underwent the same fate as those on the Arch of Severus, erased and altered after the murderer Phocas had been killed by Heraclius.

## CHAPTER XIV.

St. Martina — St. Hadrian — Basilica Emilia — Cosmas and Damianus — Temple of Remus, or of the Penates — St. Lorenzo in Miranda — Antoninus and Faustina — Basilica of Constantine — Temple of Venus and Rome — Arch of Titus — Sta. Maria Liberatrice — Curia Hostilia — Church of St. Theodore — Temple of Romulus or Vesta — Basilica Julia.

## ROMAN FORUM.

THE local sanctity of the Roman Forum is somewhat impaired by the doubts which obscure the greater part of the conspicuous remains in this quarter. The site of the Forum itself, at least the exact position of it, is not quite determinately known. Some antiquaries previous to Panvinius thought it to be near the temple supposed that of Pallas in what is now called the Forum of Nerva.\* Fulvius laid it down between the Capitoline and Palatine hills.† Marlianus extended it as far as the Arch of Titus, and Baronius lengthened it to St. Nicholas *in Carcere*.‡ Donatus believed in the more restricted sense,§ and he is followed by Nardini. Some

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\* Nardini, lib. iii. cap. xiii.

† Ibid., lib. v. cap. ii.

‡ Ibid. *ibid.* *ibid.*

§ Donat., lib. ii. cap. xvi. cap. xix.

idea may be formed of the size from that of the Forum of Trajan, which was probably the larger of the two. When Constantius visited Rome it was regarded as a venerable remnant of former power.\* The destruction of the monuments and the desolation of the site must date at least as early as the fire of Guiscard.

The name of the Roman Forum seems to have been obliterated in the earliest times, and when it reappears the modern denomination by a singular coincidence shows that time had accomplished the repented vow of Totila.† The Forum was the Cow-field in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the sacred precincts are usually known by no other name to this day. The accretion of soil is so great in the *Campo Vaccino*, that the excavations to the ancient level have thrown up heaps of earth, the disposal of which has become a matter of difficulty. The dissection has not yet led to a correct anatomy of the ancient structure.‡ Despairing of any discoveries at the foot of the three columns (the pretended Comitium), the Abate Fea was superintending the labours of the convicts in the summer, 1817, to ascertain the actual

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\* "Perspectissimum priscae potentiae forum obstupuit."—Amm. Marcell., lib. xvi. cap. 10, p. 143.

† Totila said he would make Rome a *sheep-walk*, *μηλόβοτον*. The coincidence would be more striking, if, as the Latin translation interprets it, and as Gibbon has apparently followed that translation, the Gothic king had used the words "in gregum pascua," a "pasture for cattle." See *Decline and Fall*, cap. xliii. tom. vii. at p. 369.

‡ This was written in 1817. What has been done towards the above-named object will be seen in the subsequent pages.



direction by which the Triumphal Way ascended the Capitoline hill. The difficulty of squeezing the twenty elephants and the four stags abreast of Aurelian's car, into the space between the Arch of Severus and the supposed Temple of Concord, was not, however, likely to be surmounted by any discoveries beneath the soil.\* It does not seem that any flooring similar to that of the Forum of Trajan will be found in this quarter: nor have the labours at the base of the three columns decided whether they are still to be the Comitium, or be restored to their former tenants, Castor and Pollux, or to Jupiter Stator.† They have, however, added two or three fragments to the Fasti, the original mass of which was discovered at the opposite church of Santa Maria Liberatrice.‡

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\* Vopisc. in Vit. Aurel. Hist. Aug., p. 210, edit. 1519; or under the arch would be equally difficult. Roman antiquaries have a very summary way of getting rid of difficulties. Some one mentioned this reference to Vopiscus to the Abate Fea—"Oh," said Fea, "Vopiscus was wrong." The probable direction of the Triumphal Way is elsewhere shown in this volume.

† Nardini, lib. v., cap. iii., is positive for the Comitium; after which we may be amused with the following opinions. "Quoi-qu'il y ait des antiquaires qui croient que les trois superbes colonnes isolées que l'on voit dans le Forum, &c., et l'opinion la plus commune est qu'elles sont un reste du Portique du temple de Jupiter Stator."—Vasi, *Itinéraire de Rome*, 1816, tom. i. p. 78. "Ma che sicuramente sono avanzi del tempio di Castore et Polluce."—*Itinerario di Roma*, &c., opera dell' Antiquario Andrea Manazzale, Roma, 1817, tom. i. p. 44. Mr. Forsyth has hit these two antiquaries, "lacqueys de place in print."

‡ The view of the Forum in Paul V.'s time gives a mass of brick-work, called Rostra Vetera et Nova, near the Palatine; some arched

## ST. MARTINA.

From the church of St. Martina *in tribus Foris* \* to the corner of the Carinæ, there is not an object that has not been disputed, and that may not again become the subject of controversy. Nardini † thought the church of Saint Hadrian might be the temple dedicated by Antoninus to Hadrian, a scandalous but probable con-

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ruins, called Templum Libertatis, near the Comitium; then a single arch and two steps, like a sentry-box, Templum Deorum Penatum; and behind these the Curtian Lake, with four arches, partly filled up, called curia nova ad Septentrionem vergens.

\* The church is now called S. Martina e Luca. Donatus, I believe, originated the conjecture that it stood on the site of the Secretarium Senatus. Nibby speaks of it with some hesitation:—"Pretende che fosse l'archivio del Senato." The next church is now generally adjusted to the Basilica Æmilia; although, to get rid of some difficulties, Bunsen, as I found in 1842, had conjectured that there were two Æmilian Basilicas. In regard to the building itself, it seems decided that the brickwork of the façade, the only part laying claim to any antiquity, belongs to the sixth or seventh century.<sup>a</sup> Nibby, the author from whom these words are quoted, formerly spoke with much decision in favour of this church being composed in part of the Basilica Æmilia,<sup>b</sup> chiefly on the strength of an inscription on a marble pedestal discovered in digging for the foundation of the modern church in 1665; and Nibby adds to this conjecture that the columns of Phrygian marble which adorned the Basilicas of Æmilius in the reign of Valentinian II. were transferred to the church of St. Paul's without the Walls, which was built at that period. This is only a conjecture.

† Lib. v. cap. 8.

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<sup>a</sup> Roma nel anno 1838, p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Foro Romano, p. 156.

jecture; just as the neighbouring S. Martina \* is more likely to have been formerly devoted to Mars than to the "*Secretarium Senatus*," a name given to it on account of an inscription found near it, and copied by Gruter. The church of St. Hadrian is the Temple of Saturn in one guide book; and the Basilica of Paulus Emilius in another.†

### SS. COSMAS AND DAMIANUS.

Next comes the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, which was once set down to Castor and Pollux, then to the goddess Rome, afterwards to Romulus and Remus, then to Romulus alone, then to Remus alone.‡ The round vestibule is ancient, as are the bronze doors, although they did not originally belong to this structure, but were added by Pope Hadrian I. together with the porphyry columns. Even the modern objects change in Rome: for the famous picture in this church of the Mother of God,§ which said to Saint Gregory, "*Gregorie*,

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\* It is called *in tribus foris*, from the contiguity of the Roman, Augustan, and Julian forums, a proof of its high antiquity. These names of churches are the great help in adjusting topography.

† The same Vasi and Manazzale.

‡ Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii. Fabric. Descrip. Rom. cap. ix. Venuti, Roma Moderna, rione x. tom. ii. p. 354. Donatus, lib. iii. cap. iv. He thinks the round temple might have belonged to one, and the rectangular one behind to another.

§ "They show us here an image of the Virgin which reprimanded Gregory the Great for passing by her too carelessly."—Middleton's *Letter from Rome*.

*quare me non salutasti?*" is become God the Father, with a globe in his hand, and two fingers held up in papal benediction.\*

The plan of ancient Rome, now in the Capitoline Museum, was found, not in the ancient temple, but in

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\* Here there are three levels,—that of the modern church, of the old church, and of ancient Rome. The vestibule has a modern flooring raised upon rude pilasters standing on the ancient level. The subterranean chamber is worth visiting. It is decorated with old paintings and arabesques. The well, which in the middle ages was usually sunk in the crypts, now remains. The bronze doors are thought to be ancient, although known to have been transferred hither by Pope Hadrian I.; but the doorway is modern, and not where the ancient entrance was placed—that entrance is believed to have been more in the position of the grated window which now lights the subterranean chamber. I have previously noticed the many names given to this structure. The papal biographer Anastasius calls it the temple of Romulus, and so it was called generally in 1817. The inscription in the annexed church of Cosmas and Damianus shows that in the time of Urban VIII. it was thought to have belonged to Romulus and Remus. In 1822 I found it transferred to Remus alone; but both the legendary founders have been pushed from their shrines by recent topographers, and the last critic agrees with Bunsen and Becker in "assuming that this was really the temple of the Trojan household gods."<sup>a</sup> Yet Mr. Dyer, not being able to reconcile this opinion with the acknowledged fact that on this spot the house of Valerius Publicola stood, is obliged to confess that the "situation does not correspond with the description given by Cicero, Livy, and other writers." This writer thinks the objection overcome by supposing there were two temples of the Penates—one at the top, the other at the bottom of the Velian eminence: perhaps there were, although Bunsen and Becker say there were not.<sup>b</sup>—1857.

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<sup>a</sup> Smith's Dict., art. 'Rome,' p. 808.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.*, p. 807.



the wall of the subterranean chamber beneath the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus. *Perhaps* this plan, which seems to belong to the reign of Severus, and is very incorrect, was, in former times, the pavement of the temple, but removed when the church was built by Pope Felix IV. in the year 526. I will add another *perhaps* from Professor Nibby. The two half-buried cipolline columns, now before the contiguous oratory of the Via Crucis, might have been part of the portico of the circular temple.

Some other ancient edifice, besides this temple, was employed by Felix in building his church. Remains of it, consisting of quadrilateral blocks of tufo and peperine, put together without cement, exactly similar to the wall called the inclosure of the Forum of Nerva, are seen from behind the oratory of the Via Crucis, flanking the sides of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus. A brick wall of ancient construction joins these remains at right angles. The name arbitrarily applied to the peperine and brick ruins is the Inclosure of the Forum of Cæsar.

#### ST. LORENZO IN MIRANDA.—ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA.

The inscription, DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVÆ FAUSTINÆ, on the portico of S. Laurence in *Miranda*, would appear decisive; the antiquaries, however, are cautious to

remark that there were two Antonines, and two Faustinas.\*

### TEMPLE OF PEACE.

The three vaults, formerly thought to be part of the Temple of Peace, would certainly seem part of that structure which astonished Hormisdas,† and which Herodian‡ calls the greatest and most beautiful work in the whole city. Even Nardini§ had no doubts here. Succeeding antiquaries disputed about what part of the temple these huge vaults might be said to represent; a

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\* The eight cipollino marble columns, with the architrave and part of the cella attached to the church of St. Lorenzo in Miranda, still continue objects of controversy. The claims of M. Antoninus and the younger Faustina were in 1828 thought superior to those of their elder namesakes; but the latest authority has decided otherwise.<sup>a</sup> The inscription recording the dedication to Faustina is of a prior date to that which gives a share of the temple to the god Antoninus. The ascent to the Temple from the Sacred Way was by a flight of twenty-one steps, fifteen feet in height; and there was a half-subterranean staircase to the lower part of the building, the entrance to which, through the wall, was discovered in 1810. The government of the day was afraid to keep the excavation open, on account of the water which rapidly accumulated in the hole. The arabesque candelabras and griffins on the architrave are much admired (1858).

† Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi. cap. x. in loc. cit. *forumque pacis*.

‡ Herodian, lib. i. πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γεγόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων, p. 58, edit. Basil. The fire by lightning happened in the reign of Commodus.

§ Lib. iii. cap. xii.

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<sup>a</sup> Dr. Smith's Dict., art. 'Rome,' p. 795.

treasury, a Pinacotheca, perhaps a bath, or any other building of the Forum of Peace. The great excavations in 1812 discovered immense masses of marble, which awakened further conjecture.

The rubbish and soil which, in 1817, encumbered the area of these vast ruins, and covered the huge fallen fragments of the building, were cleared away before my second visit in 1822. Some excavations beneath the present level had, at that time, discovered a flight of eleven steps, a portion of the Sacred Way, and the old pavement of the edifice itself. To these may be added some vestiges of an ancient chamber with paintings in an inferior style, belonging, it seems, to some buildings, the upper part of which was destroyed in order to give place to the great structure.

In 1822 a controversy still raged in regard to these ruins. Abate Fea maintained that they belonged to the Temple of Peace, although obliged to confess that they were not a part of the temple built by Vespasian, which was entirely destroyed by fire, but of some restoration to which no certain epoch could be assigned.\* The name, "Basilica of Constantine," is principally due to the author of the 'Essay on the Forum;' Antonio Nibby trampled with contempt on the conjecture which mistook a Christian Basilica for a Pagan temple, and which assigned to the age of Vespasian architecture that betrays the decline and degradation of the arts.

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\* Fea, vol. ii. p. 286.

I believe that there are now no sticklers for the old designation.\* Some masses of cemented flint were, in 1822, discovered contiguous to the arches on the side towards the Coliseum. They were then assigned to Nero's Golden House, a portion of which Vespasian converted into a vaulted portico. They were mingled with some modern structures of the middle ages. Some of the standing, as well as the fallen fragments of the Basilica of Constantine were, in 1828, cased in brickwork, not, as it appeared, very judiciously, for it is by no means unlikely that these also may be mistaken hereafter for part of the substructure of Nero's Palace of Gold.

#### TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME.

Since 1817, the Papal antiquaries employed themselves here very judiciously. They propped up the ruins by some brickwork, so as to keep clear the passage between the double cells, and a house was built on the side opposite to the arch of Titus, which will also contribute to preserve the few remains of what was once one of the most superb temples of Imperial Rome. The excavations made on each side of the ruins enable us, with the help of ancient medals, to judge not only of the shape and size of the temple, but also of the quality of

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\* Dr. Smith's Dict., art. Roma, attributes the settlement of the question to a coin of Maxentius which tumbled out of the ruins in 1828 (p. 808), but the arguments of Nibby were conclusive without this confirmation.



the materials of which it was composed. The fragments of two enormous columns of Parian marble are now (1854) lying, as they were in 1822, on the side towards the Basilica of Constantine; and, on the opposite side, fronting the arch of Titus, is seen a flight of seven marble steps, which served as an ascent to the Pronaos of the temple. Nibby's 'Essay on the Forum' is very serviceable in this place,\* and to edify the unlearned, informs us that the structure was of the kind called "amphiprostilo-pseudo diptero decastilo-sistilo." It was a most magnificent building of the most magnificent of all builders, Hadrian. It occupied the whole platform (part of the Velia) between the Basilica of Constantine, the arch of Titus, and the Coliseum, towering above the Roman Forum and all its temples. The portion of the cell, still visible, opposite to the Coliseum, shows that it was highly decorated; the church and convent of S. Fracesca Romana entirely inclose whatever remained of the twin tribunals.

#### ARCH OF TITUS.

In the autumn of 1822 this arch was under repair, and the entablature had been weighed down in order to be replaced with greater precision and stability—a most salutary work, for in 1817 this beautiful specimen of the Composite order seemed loosened and disjointed, and threatened a speedy fall. It is singular

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\* P. 213.

that this monument to the best of the Roman emperors, who is seen, under the archway, flying on an eagle to heaven, is passed over in the same silence as the inferior arch of Severus, and that the first notice of it should be found in one of the Regionaries, Rufus.\* Its conspicuous position, spanning the Sacra Via on the summit of the Velian ridge,† might have saved it from oblivion. The restoration of this arch has been executed somewhat carelessly: it is patched and put together so as to show the former dislocations. The merit of the first restoration, such as it is, is ascribed in the inscription to Pius VII., but it was the work of the French government.

The excavations of late years have laid bare masses of regularly disposed brickwork on both sides of the ancient road leading from the Coliseum to the arch of Titus on the Velia; but no name was assigned to them by any competent authority in 1854, except perhaps that those on the side of Venus and Rome were supposed to belong to the substructions of that temple.

#### STA. MARIA LIBERATRICE.

This church was originally dedicated to "St. Silvestro in lacu," a title which most happily preserved the me-

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\* Neither ancient author nor medal has any record of its existence.

† Smith's Dict., p. 809. Nibby objects to this nomenclature, and seems with hesitation to prefer the Via Sandalaria.—*For. Rom.*, p. 216.

mory of the "Lacus Juturnæ."\* Indeed the very lake itself was thought to have been discovered by some late researches; but the malignant eye of a rival antiquary found out that the pretended lake was nothing but a stagnant putrid puddle, composed partly of rain-water and partly of the drippings of the neighbouring modern fountain. Such are the words of Antonio Nibby,† who wrote as if he was angry with the puddle, as well he might be; for if it were the true lake of Juturna, his Comitium and Græcostasis, his Curia, his Temple of Vesta, together with the Vulcanal Lupercal and Ruminal Fig-tree, shift their places at once, and reappear in sites most inconsistent with the conjectures of the Professor. Bunsen puts this church on the site of the Temple of Vesta.

#### CURIA HOSTILIA.

Travellers are taught to see the remains of the Curia Hostilia or Julia in the walls of a granary between the Three Corinthian Columns of Castor and Pollux and the church of St. Theodore, under the angle of the Palatine Hill, contiguous to the Sta. Maria Liberatrice. These walls, which are of considerable magnitude, are unquestionably ancient, and the brickwork probably belongs to the Augustan age. But it is not very satisfactory to find that the principal argument for giving

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\* Fea, *Descr. di Roma*, p. 280.

† *For. Rom.* p. 72, note.

so sounding a name to ruins which had hitherto almost escaped notice is, that the Curia was behind the Rostra, and that the Rostra were removed by Julius Cæsar from this ancient position to the angle of the Forum, "near the church of St. Theodore." \*

#### CHURCH OF ST. THEODORE—TEMPLE OF ROMULUS— TEMPLE OF VESTA.

The first church of St. Theodore was probably composed, in part, of the materials of a circular Pagan temple. Pope Hadrian I., in 774, found it entirely destroyed, and rebuilt it. Nicolas V., Pope from 1450 or 51, was the next restorer; but it fell into such

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\* "Dal centro del lato del Foro furono da Cesare trasportati nell'angolo verso la chiesa di San Teodoro [4]." On referring to the note to account for this strange mixture of ancient sites with modern names of churches, we find a passage from Dion, L. xliii. c. 49—*καὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἐν μέσῳ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ, ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον ἀνεχωρισθῆναι*,—"and the rostra, which were formerly in the middle of the Forum, were removed to their present position." The Greek historian says the rostra stood in the middle of the Forum. The essayist makes him say "the middle of the side of the Forum;" and the words "present position" are rendered by him "*the angle towards the church of St. Theodore*,"—a tolerably free translation, it must be confessed; yet, on the strength of such a version, the topographer proceeds, "*Trovata la Curia*," "*Determinato il sito del Comitio*;"<sup>a</sup> and, pursuing his hypothesis through all its details, he positively assigns to the Lupercal a position behind the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice, and to the Ruminal fig-tree the very angle of the Palatine where the Comitium joined the Curia.

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<sup>a</sup> Ibid., pp. 59, 61.



decay that Pope Clement XI. saw it half buried in the soil and almost inaccessible, "*Temporis injuria deformatum semisepultum ac fere inaccessum*," and in 1705 repaired it as it is now seen, so that, whether the site was of old sacred to Vesta or to Romulus, the present edifice has no claims to antiquity.\* It appears certain that the round temple on the banks of the Tiber has been improperly ceded to Vesta; but it is not so generally agreed that Romulus was not worshipped where the church of St. Theodore, called commonly *Sto. Toto*, now stands. The superstition which still brings sick children to this shrine seems to point out the very spot where the altar of the old founder of the city was visited for the same pious purpose. That the Temple of Vesta was somewhere in this quarter of the Forum, and near this angle of the Palatine Hill, every authority would induce us to believe. Twelve inscriptions relative to the Vestal Virgins are said to have been found in the beginning of the sixteenth century at the church of *Sta. Maria Liberatrice*, a circumstance that has induced some topographers to place the temple in that position; but the *Fasti Consulares*, now in the Capitol, were certainly found there, and an equally strong argument has been thence deduced to decide the site of the Comitium.

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\* *Foro Romano*, p. 74.

### THE THREE CORINTHIAN COLUMNS — TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

The excavations of seven-and-thirty years, from 1817 to 1854, have shaken, if not destroyed, some of the certainties of former topographers. The author of the *Essay on the Forum* was sure that these noble remains belonged either to the Comitium or to the Græcostasis, that is, to an ancient structure rebuilt by Antoninus Pius, and serving for the reception of foreign ambassadors. The Comitium could not be applied to its original use after the popular institutions of Rome had ceased to exist; but as it appears to have served for the place of flagellation for the criminals of the imperial city, I should think that the united buildings could not have been very suitable for diplomatic ceremonies. The Abate Fea could see neither Comitium nor Græcostasis, either single or united, in these columns, which, says he, assuredly belong to the Temple of Castor and Pollux.\* The Chevalier Bunsen† gave them the name of a Temple of Minerva, having previously assigned them to Castor. The excavations of the Abate have shown that this edifice did not stand, as was formerly believed, upon the declivity of the Palatine; but that it rose from a magnificent base-

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\* Fea, *Descriz. di Roma*, vol. ii. p. 274.

† *Les Forum de Rome*, Rome, 1837.

ment, probably used as a rostrum,\* more than twenty feet in height, and ascended by a flight of steps. The internal work of the structure was of Alban stone, the external coating of marble, of which, and of the other columns (eight in front and thirteen laterally), some large fragments have been disinterred. The last, and it appears to me, the best, authority† prefers the opinion of Fea, and by him Castor is restored to his temple.

### BASILICA JULIA.

The principal discovery of late years has been that of the Basilica Julia, an edifice the site of which was scarcely guessed at when I first visited Rome, and which was recognised in 1835. The flooring of it has been laid bare, and the steps by which it was ascended also discovered, so that it is made apparent that the basement of the Basilica was considerably above the Forum. No additional fragments have been recently found belonging to this building, but, at the end towards the columns of the Temple of Castor, the remains of another very large structure, viz. parts of shafts of columns and architraves, have been disinterred, and were lying about in large fragments when I visited the spot in 1854. No certain name was then assigned to them, but Bunsen had conjectured that they belonged to a building which served as an appendage to the

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\* Mr. Dyer, Smith's Dictionary.

† Smith's Dictionary, p. 784.

temple of Minerva Chalcidica and the Basilica Julia, originally begun by Julius Cæsar, but finished by Augustus, and repaired by Septimius Severus, and, perhaps, by subsequent emperors.

The excavations in this quarter of the Campo Vaccino have uncovered the watercourse constructed by Ficoroni in 1742,\* as we saw by a date, traced in smoke, on a broken archway of modern work. The water was running through it fast towards the Cloaca Maxima. Descending to this spot in the hole made by the excavators, then at work, and looking upwards towards the Capitol, we were made strikingly aware of the commanding position of the temples under the hill, and saw how high the hill itself must have appeared to those on the ancient level of the Roman Forum.

Between my two visits of 1843 and 1854, there had been a good deal of digging and throwing up of earth in this quarter, but I am not aware that any important discovery had been made.

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\* An account of Ficoroni's excavation is given in Fea's *Miscellanea*, art. 80, p. clvii.



## CHAPTER XV.

THE ARCO DE' PANTANI — TEMPLE OF MARS THE  
AVENGER.

THE great wall, with the archway called Arco de' Pantani, has always appeared to me one of the most interesting objects in Rome. The zigzag direction of the wall would seem to corroborate the curious story told of Augustus choosing to appear scrupulous about interfering with the private dwellings of the citizens, and twisting the walls of his forum accordingly. The throwing open of the convent of the Annunziata has discovered the pavement of the Forum, and of the temple, which, it may be safely believed, was dedicated to Mars the Avenger. I must add that the enormous height of this wall is not satisfactorily accounted for. Nibby's conjecture,\* that it was a part of the Tullian walls of the city, does not seem tenable: but it must be confessed that, in spite of the coincidence above alluded to, it does not appear to belong to the Augustan period, nor to be of the same age as the three Corinthian columns assigned to Mars the Avenger.

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\* See Mura di Roma, p. 37.

Until lately this very ancient structure seems to have been comparatively overlooked. So little attention was paid to it, that, in order to enlarge the contiguous nunnery, part of it was pulled down, and then were found those beams of wood pointed at both ends, and dove-tailed into the masonry, to which a very ancient date has been assigned,\* but which were so fresh and uninjured that they were used for carpenters' work at the time of their discovery. The story is told by Vacca.

The peperine blocks of this wall are not quite so large as those described by Dionysius as employed by Tarquinius Priscus (as large as a cart, a favourite expression of Greek writers), but they are of great dimensions, and would serve for the defences of a city. Pliny says that the Tullian walls were seen in his time. The projecting cornices are of travertine, a mixture found in the church of Sta. Maria Egizzia, called Temple of Patrician Modesty—certainly of a Republican date.

That the wall, whatever was its original design, was turned into the enclosure of a forum, there can be little doubt. The arch of Pantani and the other four arches, still visible, but now built up, are evidences of that fact. The cornice of brickwork, which forms an angle with the ancient wall, and runs under the roofs of several modern houses, might possibly be found to be the summit of some old structure if the houses were re-

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\* Winkelmann, *Storia*, &c., tom. iii. p. 31.

moved.\* It is not easy to distinguish the ancient from the walls of the middle ages in this quarter. Some of the brickwork of the 'Tor de' Conti' appears older than the date of the tower, and may have been part of the enclosure of the forum of Cæsar, of which some remains, as before mentioned, are thought to be seen behind the church of Cosmas and Damianus.

I am at a loss to understand how so enormous a work, differing altogether from the surrounding buildings, even from those which we are accustomed to consider belonged to ancient Rome, should have been suffered to remain in the heart of the town, and have survived all the successive accidents, changes, and embellishments of the Republican and Imperial city; nor do I at all see how the forum of Nerva, or of Augustus, as it is called by some, with all its splendid marble edifices, could have been appropriately flanked by such a rude and incongruous structure.

The temple, whether of Mars or of Nerva, one of the most magnificent and highly ornamented in Rome, was built up against the great wall, and the contrast between the material and the shape of the two structures must

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\* Mr. Dyer, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (pp. 798-99), in his notice of the Forums of Augustus and Cæsar, is not so satisfactory as usual. It is difficult to make out from him to which Forum the great wall belonged. There is a sort of double wall, about 105 common paces in length, not noticed in the guide-books, extending from this quarter towards the Forum of Trajan, and to this Forum the Arco de' Pantani was formerly thought to belong.

have\* been much more striking when they were both entire than at the present day. The nunnery, which has succeeded to the temple, prevents a complete inspection of this most interesting and perplexing monument of times long past.

### THE COLUMN AND FORUM OF TRAJAN.

On the balustrade of the modern Capitol, under Ara Cœli, there is a column surmounted by a large bronze globe, which an inscription at the base of the column asserts to have contained the ashes of Trajan, but on what authority no one has yet discovered. There was a precedent for placing a cinerary urn on the top of such columns,\* but the remains of Trajan were buried in a golden urn under the column,† and continued in that

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\* A medal of Vespasian has been found with a column surmounted by an urn. See Joseph. Castalionis, *de Colum. Triump. Comment. ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom.*, tom. iv. p. 1947.

† Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανου ὅσα ἐν τῇ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατερέθη. Dion. *Hist. Rom.*, lib. lxix. tom. ii. p. 1150, edit. Hamb. 1750. "Sunt qui in pila, quam tenebat Colossus, cineres conditos dicunt: quo fundamento adhuc requiro."—See Comment. to lib. lxxviii. tom. ii. p. 1133, of the Xylandro-Leunclavian version.

"Ossa in urna aurea collocata sub Columna Fori quæ ejus nomine vocitatur, recondita sunt, cujus columnæ altitudo in 140 pedes erigitur."—Cassiod. in *Chronic.*, p. 388, tom. i. fo. 1679. Cassiodorus must be reckoned good authority for what he tells of the Rome which he saw, although his chronicle from the beginning of the world to the year 519 must be expected to be rather inaccurate. For a character of this writer, and for the question whether there were not two Cassiodorus, father and son, to whom the actions of the one should be attributed, see Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. i.



depository in the time of Theodoric. The value of the urn was sure to be fatal to the deposit; but we know nothing of the time when poverty and rapine had lost all respect for the remains of the best of the Roman princes. An absurd story, which was current in the *English* churches in the ninth century, would make us suppose that the Christians condescended to except Trajan from the usual condemnation of pagans, and that Gregory the Great, in passing through the Forum, was moved to compassion for the emperor in purgatory, and prayed for and liberated his soul.\* The diminished charity of future zeal induced Bellarmine and the graver writers to reject this narration as *a putid fable*, and for the best of reasons, since St. Gregory himself, in the fourth book of his *Dialogues* (cap. 44), has declared, "that we should not pray for the devil and his angels reserved for eternal punishment, nor for infidels, nor the impious defunct."† The report, however, of Gregory's biographers must make us think that the ashes had not

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\* The story is told by Paul the Deacon and by John the Deacon; the latter says he heard it in some English churches. See notice of the Forum of Trajan.

† "Docet orandum non esse pro diabolo, angelisque ejus æterno supplicio deputatis, neque pro infidelibus hominibus impiisque defunctis."—See *Dissertat. v. de Romanis Imperatorib. ap. Io. Laurent. Berti. Histor. Ecclesi. &c.*, tom. ii. p. 72, Bassani. 1769.

Tiraboschi laughs at John of Salisbury for telling the story of Trajan's liberation from Hell by Gregory; but he praises John the Deacon, who had not mentioned the burning of the Palatine library by the Pontiff, forgetting that John had told the story about Trajan.—*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. iii. lib. ii. pp. 106 and 111.

yet been removed from the column, for if they had, it might have been forgotten, as at present, that this monument was ever a place of sepulture.

The Romans, having performed one great work, chose to commemorate it by another. The stranger, at the first sight of the column, naturally expects to find that the inscription will refer to the virtues, or at least the victories, of the prince whose exploits are sculptured upon it, but he reads only that the pillar was raised to show how much of the hill, and to what height, had, with infinite labour, been cleared away.\* The historian Dion shows he can never have read this simple inscription, when he says that the column was raised by Trajan, "*partly* for a sepulchre, as well as for an evidence of the labour with which the Forum was made."† The first object does not appear to have been entertained by Trajan or the senate. No emperor had been buried within the city, and it was Hadrian who transferred his

\* Senatus, Populusque Romanus

Imp. Caes. Divi. Nervæ. F. Trajano. Aug. Germanico. Dacico. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. XII. Cos. XI. P. P.

Ad Declarandum. Quantæ. Altitudinis.

Mons. Et. Locus. Tan. [*tis. operi* or *ruderi*] bus. Sit. Egestus.

The hill was not scooped out where the column stands, but, perhaps, behind to the north, about where the Palazzo Imperiale now stands.<sup>a</sup> An ancient portico was destroyed to give space in this direction.

† Ἄμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἄμα δὲ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου, κ. τ. λ. *Hist. Rom.* lib. 68, p. 1133, tom. ii.

<sup>a</sup> See Ant. Nibby's Appendix to Nardini, tom. ii.

predecessors' bones to this unusual and conspicuous position.

The forum of Trajan served, amongst other purposes, to perpetuate the memory of the good and great, or of such as, in those declining ages, could pretend to that distinction. But, lest there should be any want of subjects, young men of great promise, who had died in the flower of their age, were honoured with a statue.\* We know that Marcus Aurelius erected statues in this Forum to some of those who fell in the German war, and that Alexander Severus transferred thither those of other celebrated personages from other sites; amongst them was one of Augustus, *ex electro*, and another of Nicomedes, in ivory.† The same place was devoted to the labours and the rewards of literary heroes: here the poets and others recited their compositions, perhaps in the Ulpian library, whose treasures were transferred by Diocletian to his own Thermæ; and here their images were allowed a place amongst conquerors and monarchs. The prefect Aurelius Symmachus, whom his contemporaries thought superior to Tully,‡ Claudian and Aurelius Victor, were, we may suspect, the most worthy ornaments of the Forum. But the honours of the statue were conferred on inferior personages: Sidonius Apolli-

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\* Plin. lib. ii. epist. vii.

† Euseb. in Chronic. Lamprid. in vit. Sever. Nardini, lib. v. cap. ix.

‡ Romani decus eloquii cui cedat et ipse

Tullius.- Prudent. contra Symmachum, lib. i. 634.

naris,\* Marius Victorinus, the schoolmaster, Proæresius, the *king of eloquence*, we know were there,† and these may have been associated with the meaner names of Minervius, Sedatus, and Palladius, with Ælius Donatus, with Nonius Marcellus of Tivoli, Sextus Pompeius Festus, Servius the commentator, Prætextatus the friend of Macrobius, and that more valuable writer himself. There also may have been seen Eutropius, the lost historians Flavius Dexter, and Nicomachus Flavianus,‡ the almost unknown Optatian, and Perphinius. Even in the Gothic reigns, the custom of raising statues, at least to princes, appears to have prevailed. Mention is made by Procopius of statues of Theodoric, and Theodatus, and Justinian, and it is probable these might have been in the Forum of Trajan.§ The sight of this Forum would furnish a singular supplement to ancient history, and rescue from oblivion many who were as much the delight and admiration of their contemporaries as Cicero or Virgil.

\* Carmina, 7 and 8.

† “Regina rerum Roma Regi Eloquentiæ.” So the inscription ran. Eunap. in vit. Sophist. 1, 8.

‡ Cecina Decius and Albinus, the regionaries, the authors of the Tables of Peutinger and the Antonine Itineraries, and other writers, have been enumerated by the industry of Fabricius, *Bib. Lat.*

§ De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. 24. Here Procopius names *the Forum* as the place where the miraculous *mosaic* image of Theodoric was raised, and fell to pieces gradually with the Gothic kingdom; the head with Theodoric, the belly with Theodatus, and the lower parts with Amalasuntha; but in lib. iii. cap. xx. other statues are mentioned.



Fragments of statues and pedestals were dug up in the great excavation, but only five inscriptions, of which four were copies of each other and in honour of Trajan,\* were discovered by the labourers. The first of these, however, confirms the previous remark, and has for the first time introduced to the modern world Flavius Merobaudes,†

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\* Senatus, Populusque Romanus  
 Imp. Cæsari. Divi  
 Nervæ. F. Nervæ  
 Trajano. Augusto  
 Germanico. Dacico  
 Pontif. Max. Tribunicia  
 Potest. XVI. Imp. VI. cos. VI. PP.  
 Optime de Republica  
 Merito. Domi Forisque.

† Fl. Merobaudi æque forti et docto viro tam facere  
 Laudanda quam aliorum facta laudare præcipuo  
 Castrensi experientia claro facundia vel otiosorum  
 Studia supergresso cui a crepundiis par virtutis et elo  
 Quentiæ cura ingenium ita fortitudini ut doctrinæ  
 Natum stilo et gladio pariter exercuit. Nec in umbra  
 Vel latebris mentis vigorem scholari tantum otio  
 Torpere passus. Inter arma litteris militabat  
 Et in Alpibus acuebat eloquium, ideo illi cessit in præmium  
 Non verbenæ vilis nec otiosa hedera honor capitis  
 Heliconius sed imago ære formata quo rari exempli  
 Viros seu in castris probatos seu optimos vaturn  
 Antiquitas honorabat quod huic quoque cum  
 Augustissimis Roma Principibus  
 Theodosio et Placido Valentiniano Rerum Dominis  
 In Foro Ulpio detulerunt remunerantes in viro  
 Antiquæ nobilitatis novæ gloriæ vel industriam  
 Militarem vel carmen cujus præconio gloria  
 Triumphali crevit imperio.

Dedicata III. Cal. Aug. Cons. DD. NN.  
 Theodosio XV. et Valentiniano. IIII.

a person whose merits were of the most exalted description, and, so they thought in the days of Theodosius and Valentinian, comparable to the most extraordinary characters of antiquity.

It may have been seen from former remarks, that at an early period, which cannot exactly be fixed, the Forum of Trajan, the noblest structure of all Rome, had partaken of the general desolation.\* From the moment we find a church there, we may be sure the destruction had begun. This was as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, and as that church was probably built, not on the ancient flooring, the soil had already buried the ground plan of the Forum. The three churches and the three towers raised by Boniface VIII., as well as the two hundred houses which were levelled with the ground by Paul III. in 1536, were on the modern level, and as their date must have gone back to the foundation of the churches, we may fairly pronounce that long previously to the twelfth century the base of the Quirinal had begun to assume the form anciently seen before it had been cleared away by the subjects of Trajan.†

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\* The bronze roof of the Basilica, the wonder of Pausanias, must have tempted the spoiler.

† To this Forum late writers have attached the brick semicircular structure wantonly called the Baths of Paulus Æmilius. Those remains stand apparently on a level gained by the cutting down of the Quirinal; but the excavations which discovered the lower range of porticoes faced with travertine, and evidently meant to be occasionally shut up, for the grooves of doors are seen, have done nothing towards deciding on the true character of the ancient building.

Paul III. opened the base of the column,\* and in the time of Flaminius Vacca an arch was dug from underground, perhaps in the pontificate of the same pope, and the flooring of the Forum was discovered, but immediately shut up again.† The French excavation enables us at last to tread the floor of ancient Rome.‡ The replacing the fragments of the columns on their bases, and the judicious arrangement of the other marbles, have created an effect little inferior to the wonders of Pompej. The stranger must be much struck with the massive *Greek* dimensions of the fragments, when compared with the space in which so many buildings were raised.§ Here we have a forum, with its porticoes, and statues, and tribunals; a basilica, with a double in-

\* See previous notice of the Forum.

† *Memorie*, ap. Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*, p. 187.

‡ Of all the exploits of the French administration, the clearing the Forum and Column of Trajan was the most important and successful, and would have been still more so if the churches of "Our Lady of Loretto" and the "Name of Mary" could have been removed, so that the column might be in the middle of the Forum. That this would have been accomplished, if the authorities had not been deterred by prudential considerations, we know by Count Tournon's interesting volumes (vol. ii. p. 275).

§ The giant texture of the Forum, the work of Apollodorus, struck Constantius dumb with astonishment. "Verum cum ad Trajani forum venisset singularem sub omni cælo structuram, ut opinor etiam numinum assentione mirabilem, hærebat attonitus, per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos."—*Amm. Marcel.*, lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145. Cassiodorus calls it a miracle. It was doubtless altogether the most extraordinary object in Rome. "Trajani forum vel sub assiduitate videre miraculum est."—*Lib. vii.* p. 113, edit. 1679.

ternal portico on every side; a quadrangular court, or atrium, also adorned with enormous columns; two libraries; a triumphal arch; the great column and the portion of a temple,\* crowded into a space not so considerable as one of our smallest London squares. Whatever the earth covered of these magnificent structures is now exposed to view, and the remnants are sufficient to show what must be the subterranean riches of Rome. We may find it difficult to account for there being so much or so little left. Buildings composed of columns were certain to be soon despoiled for the service of modern edifices: but the flooring of some of the many fragments is so perfect as to make the sudden burial of these parts of the city more probable than the gradual decay. The bronze statues had, however, been previously removed, if such an accident did overwhelm the Forum, for none were found. The head of the colossal statue of Trajan was extant in the sixteenth century.†

Trajan was *proverbially* the best of the Roman princes,‡ and it would be easier to find a sovereign uniting exactly the opposite characteristics than one

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\* The Temple seems to have been behind the Column, where huge fragments of columns have been found and are still to be seen in the cellars of a neighbouring palace, called the Palazzo Imperiale.

† Ciacconius de Colon. Trajan.

‡ “Hujus tantum memoriæ delatum est ut, usque ad nostram ætatem non aliter in Senatu principibus acclamatur, nisi, FELICIOR . AVGUSTO . MELIOR . TRAJANO .”—Eutrop. *Brev. Hist. Rom.*, lib. viii. cap. v.



possessed of all the happy qualities ascribed to this emperor. "When he mounted the throne," says the historian Dion,\* "he was strong in body, he was vigorous in mind; age had impaired none of his faculties; he was altogether free from envy and from detraction; he honoured all the good and he advanced them, and on this account they could not be the objects of his fear or of his hate; he never listened to informers; he gave not way to his anger; he abstained equally from unfair exactions and unjust punishments; he had rather be loved as a man than honoured as a sovereign; he was affable with his people, respectful to the senate, and universally beloved by both; he inspired none with dread but the enemies of his country."

### THE BATHS OF TITUS.

These have disappeared since my first visit in 1817. Neither the painted vaults on the side of the Monte Oppio—or Carinæ, as some would call it—nor the arcaded ruins on the summit of that eminence of the

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\* Τῷ τε γὰρ σώματι ἔρρωτο . . . . . καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἤκμαζεν, ὥς μήθ' ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἀμβλύνεσθαι . . . . καὶ οὐτ' ἐφθόνηι, οὔτε καθήρει τινα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνν πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμαγάλυνε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφοβεῖτό τινα αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐμίσει . . διαβολαῖς τε ἥκιστα ἐπίστευε καὶ ὀργῇ ἥκιστα ἐδουλοῦτο· τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἴσα καὶ φόνων τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπείχετο . . . . φιλούμενός τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τιμώμενος ἔχαιρε, καὶ τῷ τε δήμῳ μετ' ἐπιεικείας συνεγίνετο, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ σεμνοπρεπῶς ὠμίλει· ἀγαπητὸς μὲν πᾶσι· φοβερὸς δὲ μηδενί, πλὴν πολεμίοις, ὦν.—*Hist. Rom.*, lib. lxxviii. cap. vi. and vii. tom. ii. p. 1123, 1124, edit. Hamb. 1750.

Esquiline are now believed to have belonged to the Baths of Titus, which, it seems, were on the level ground near the Coliseum, the Campus Neronianus of the preceding age. The vaults, still adorned with the arabesques imitated by Raffael, have become part of the Golden House of Nero, and the ruins on the hill above are the Baths of Trajan. On these points the treatise of Stefano Piale—at least, so far as demolishing the claims of Titus to the Baths is concerned—appears quite conclusive.\*

But a strip of pavement lately (1843) cleared is still said to belong to the house of Mæcenas, and the plinths of the two columns are still assigned to the portico of Nero's Golden House. No changes have taken place in that respect. The arabesques and the hole by which Raffael entered, and the long corridors, and the little baths are in the same condition as they were ten years ago; no work is now going on here (1854).

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\* “Delle Terme Trajane dette dal volgo erroneamente di Tito, &c. &c. Da Stefano Piale Romano.” Rome, 1832. I confess I do not agree with the author of the article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (p. 847), who, with Vignoli and other antiquarians, thinks that Trajan only repaired and enlarged the Baths of Titus.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE PALATINE AND ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

THE troops of Genseric occupied the Palatine and despoiled it of all its riches. The ruin of the structures themselves is involved in the most impenetrable obscurity ; nor have the immense masses which remain assisted, though they have stimulated, research. Theodoric found their beauty admirable,\* but impaired by age. From that moment the palace of the Cæsars disappears, and the labours of the antiquary have been unable to produce more than a single word to show that it was not ruined by Totila, which is the general belief. Anastasius, in the life of Pope Constantine, who was elected in 708, narrating a civil commotion which took place in Rome against the emperor Philip, has these words: "And it came to pass that while Christopher, who was duke, was contending on this account with Agatho and his followers, a civil war arose, so that they came to arms in the sacred way *before the*

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\* "Quando pulchritudo illa mirabilis, si subinde non reficitur, senectute obrepente vitiatur."—Cassiod. Variar., lib. vii. epist. v.

*palace.*"\* What a fate! The palace may have been a fragment, or, as it now is, a word.

When the Palatine again rises, it rises in ruins. A corner of the structures had served to lodge the Frangipane family. The *Turris Cartularia* included a portion of the Palatine mansions and the arch of Titus.† It was thrown down in 1240 by Gregory IX., was rebuilt, and shortly after destroyed by the people.

The pilgrim of the thirteenth century who talks of the imperial palace must be alluding to *sites*, not buildings. In the beginning of the fifteenth century there was not a single edifice standing on the whole mount except the church of St. Nicholas, built by Pope Calixtus,‡ which was itself in ruins.

\* "Et factum est dum Christophorus, qui erat Dux, ob hanc causam cum Agathone et suis hominibus concertarent, bellum civile exortum est, ita ut in via sacra ante palatium sese committerent," &c.—De vitis Roman. Pontif. ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 153.

† It was one of the strong houses of the Frangipane to which Pope Innocent H. retreated in 1138, in his struggles with the Antipope Anaclete II. See Onuph. Panvinius de gente Frangepanica, ap. Marangoni Delle memorie sacre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio, Roma, 1746, p. 31, 52, edit. 1746. Alexander III. also retired thither in 1167. A portion of it was standing in 1817; but this, as well as some contiguous structures of the middle ages, had disappeared when I afterwards visited Rome. I doubt the utility of removing these historic buildings when the date of them has been so decidedly recognised as to prevent all future mistake (1857).

‡ "Multo autem pauciora habet integra Palatinus mons quam Capitolinus aut Aventinus, nam præter S. Nicolai ecclesiam a Calixto Papa ædificatam, quæ et male integra cernitur nullum is celebrissimus mons habet ædificium."—Flav. Blond. *Roma Inst.*, lib. i. fol. 11.



The Farnese family were ambitious of a summer-house in the imperial precincts. They levelled, they built, and they planted; Michael Angelo designed, Raffael painted, and the master-pieces of ancient sculpture, statues, reliefs, and coloured marbles, were drawn from beneath the ruins of Caracalla's baths and of the Flavian amphitheatre for the embellishment of the rising villa. Following antiquaries, from Donatus\* to Venuti,† were pleased to remark that these peopled gardens had succeeded to the solitude of the long-neglected hill. The extinction or aggrandisement of the Farnese dukes stripped this retreat, as well as the palace of the family, of all its treasures.‡ Naples was again fated to be enriched by the plunder of Rome. The Palatine villa was abandoned, and in less than half a century§ has fallen to the ground. The naked fountain and twisted steps of Michael Angelo, and the cockle-shell incrustated walls, form a singular contrast with the lofty arcades on the Cæsarean side.

The Palatine was never entirely covered with structures; space must be left for gardens, for a manege,

\* "Nunc tanta moles vel suis obruta ruinis est; vel parietibus ac porticibus informis, vel transiit in amœnitatem Farnesium hortorum."—Donat., lib. iii. cap. ii.

† Roma Moderna, &c. Rione xii. tom. ii. p. 396.

‡ The great Campo Fiore-palace is much neglected; it requires a princely court to occupy it; and the Neapolitan ambassador is lost in *one* of the suites of *one* of the stories of *one* of the sides of the vast square.

§ Venuti (ibid.) seems to have seen it entire.

and for a hippodrome.\* Antiquaries, to prove the latter, have been obliged to have recourse to the Acts of the Martyrs, but there are evident signs of the Course in one of the gardens. There are abundant materials for dispute in the masses of the palace, which cased the whole hill in brickwork, and of the many temples which lodged the Gods that watched over the Emperor.† A view of the Palatine ruins, in Paul V.'s time,‡ marks a temple of Orcus, a temple of Cybele, a temple of Helio-gabalus, to all which other names have succeeded with equal authority. The precise details of Bianchini,§ who dissected the soil and assigned to all the ruins above and below their distinct character and function, have retained few believers even amongst the Romans. A subterranean cell, in the vineyard of the Farnese gardens, still preserves the name of the Baths of Livia, for some reason not apparent in the construction or site. The King of Naples has kindly not stripped off all the arabesques, but left a portion to show how the whole apartments were once adorned. These paintings do not suffer so much from the oozing of the saltpetre as when exposed to the external air; as they have found in the open chambers of the Baths of Titus. The gilding

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\* St. Sebastian was shot with arrows, as we see in so many fine pictures, in the hippodrome of the palace.

† See quotation from Claud. in vi. Cons. Honor. in previous notice. Nardini, lib. vi. cap. xiii. and xiv. reckons nineteen at least.

‡ Vedute degli antichi vestigi, &c.

§ Palazzo de' Cesari.

preserves its freshness, and the outlines their edge, and seem liable to no injury but from the torches of the guides.

Several blocks of sculptured marble above the ruins of the summer-house, are honoured with the name of the Palatine Apollo. Of this temple, an early topographer thought he saw some vestiges overlooking the Circus Maximus on the other side of the hill.

A contiguous portion of the Palatine is occupied by the kitchen gardens and vineyards of the Casino Spada, or Magnani, which the pretended frescoes of Raffael have not preserved from ruin. Half a century ago a tower looking over the site of the Circus Maximus, and which made part of the Cæsarean palace, was restored. But the curse of Jerusalem hangs over this hill—it is again in ruins. In this quarter is shown a suite of subterranean chambers, usually denominated the Baths of Nero; for this Emperor being a great builder, is generally called in to father all unknown remains. An Englishman excavated these chambers in 1777, and the ground of the villa is now at the disposal of any one who chooses to pay a very moderate sum for so imperial a purchase, and the pleasure of experiments.\*

The Palatine, it has been remarked, has, no less than the valleys, been encumbered with accumulated soil. These chambers were surely above ground. No descent to them was discovered, but has been since constructed.

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\* Written in 1817.

The next garden and vineyard, for so the Palatine is now divided, is in possession of the Anglo-Irish college, and some rustic or playful antiquaries had, in 1817, chalked upon the gateway, "*The Hippodrome, the Temple of Apollo, the House of the Vestals.*" The shape of the vineyard does resemble a place for equestrian exercises. Apollo and the Vestals may be lodged at will in any of the towering vaults or underground crypts of these enormous masses.

You may explore for hours either above or below, through the arched corridors, or on the platforms whose stuccoed floorings have resisted a thousand winters, and serve as a roof to the ruins beneath. From the corner of this platform there is one of the most impressive views of the Coliseum and the remains of the old city, both within and without the walls. The long lines of Aqueducts stretched across the bare campagna, are the arms of the fallen giant. The look of these great structures, built for some purpose which the shrunk condition of the modern city did not render apparent, made a Roman of the fifteenth century call them *insane*.<sup>\*</sup> Your walks in the Palatine ruins, if it be one of the many days when the labourers do not work, will be undisturbed, unless you startle a fox in breaking through the brambles in the corridors, or burst unawares through the hole of some shivered fragments into one of the half

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<sup>\*</sup> "Celsos fornices et insana acquæductorum opera perlustrans," F. Blond. *Roma Inst.*, lib. iii. fo. 3. Later writers, e. g. Claudian, used the word to signify "very large," "huge."



buried chambers which the peasants have blocked up to serve as stalls for their jackasses, or as huts for those who watch the gardens. The smoke of their wood-fires has not hidden the stuccoes and deeply intended mouldings of the imperial roofs. The soil accumulated in this quarter has formed a slope on the side of the ruins, and some steps have been adjusted into the bank. Half way up an open oratory has been niched into a wall.

Religion is still triumphant after the fall of the palace of the Cæsars, the towers of feudal lords, and the villas of papal princes. The church and contiguous monastery of St. Bonaventura preserve a spark of life upon the site of the town of Romulus.\* The only lane which crosses the Palatine, leads to this church between dead walls, where the stations of the *via crucis* divert the attention from the fall of the Cæsars, to the sublimer and more humiliating sufferings of God himself. The tall fragments of the imperial ruins rising from a hill, which seems one wide field of crossed and trellised reeds hung round with vines, form the most striking portion of the prospect of the old town, seen from the platform

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\* The order of St. Francis are masters of the Palatine, as well as the Capitoline summit. One series of pictures represents those of their order who have been made Popes or Cardinals, another all those who have been Generals of it; a third, are all those who have been made saints, or beatified, or whose "offices" were celebrated in the Roman ritual,—a most formidable list. I found at my visit in 1842 that a part of the property of the Franciscan Convent had been sold to the Apostolic Camera.

of St. Pietro *in Montorio*, or the other eminences beyond the Tiber. They are so thickly strewn, and so massive, that it is not surprising the inhabitants of the rising town chose rather to seek for other sites than to attempt to clear them away. But they are not without their use, for the flagging vapours of the malaria are supposed to settle round their summits, as well as those of the Coliseum, and thus to spare the modern city.

Where all repair has been hopeless, the descendants of those who reared these mighty fabrics converted the desolation of the ancient city to the purposes of other havoc. They scraped the old walls of the Palatine, as well as those of the Baths of Titus, for saltpetre, of which a manufacture was established in both those positions; and thus, if the phrase may be used, ruin begot ruin, destruction propagated destruction.

Less has been written on this, the parent Hill, than on any of the Roman antiquities. Bufalini, in 1561, published a plan, and Panvinus, in his work on the Circensian games, treated of some of the ruins; but Bianchini's, up to a late period, was the only work dedicated solely to the Palatine structures, and that did not appear until after his death. Poor Guattani, in 1785, wrote an essay on the House of Augustus, and the common guide-books parcelled out the antiquities according to the usual method, and with the usual success; but in 1828 was published in Rome a quarto, with this title, 'Il Palazzo de' Cesari sul Monte Palatino restaurato da COSTANTINO THON, Architetto della Corte di Russia,

&c. Illustrato da Vincenzo Ballanti, &c.' The engravings accompanying this work are in large folio, and show the actual state of the Palace of the Cæsars, as well as representations of certain architectural fragments found upon the Hill, besides giving a restored palace of the Cæsars on a large scale and an imaginary temple of the Palatine Apollo. This handsome work was dedicated to the Emperor Nicholas, and is not unworthy of the Imperial patronage; but I cannot say that I found it of much use to me during my later visits to Rome. It is full of conjectural temples, palaces, houses, and libraries; but, except the "giardino del Signor Mills," and the "orti del Collegio Inglese," I recognized very little of anything of which I felt perfectly secure.

The Signor Ballanti confesses that little or nothing can be known of buildings existing on this spot in the time of Evander, excepting a few temples and a site or two, such as that of the Lupercal, which was certainly to be found above the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice; but Signor Thon, the artist, in 1826, discovered vestiges of a round temple on the declivity immediately above the church just mentioned, "which must have belonged "to the Temple of Victory originally founded by Evander.\* Also on the angle of the hill above the church "of Sta. Anastasia certain peperine fragments have been "long discovered, but, incredible as it may seem, no one

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\* "La prima fondazione di questo tempio al dire di Dionisio nel lib. i. deve attribuirsi ad Evandro."—Palazzo de' Cesari, p. 17.

“recognised them to be fragments of a round temple,\* “perhaps of Ceres, and built on the site of that erected “by Evander to the same goddess.” Of the Temple of the Palatine Ceres, together with that of Apollo and the Augustan gods, the artist Thon discovered the circular form more distinctly than it had been before recognised. No classical author had indicated the precise position of the united temples of Cybele, Bacchus, and Juno Sospita; but Mr. Thon found the vestiges of them on the left of the convent of St. Bonaventura. He assigns also sites to the Temples of Jupiter Propugnator and Minerva, which unfortunately have not left any vestiges; “but “perhaps the spot called ‘St. Sebastian in Pallara’ may “indicate where Pallas was once worshipped.”

“Cicero, Scaurus, and Clodius lived somewhere on the declivity opposite to the church of St. Gregorio; so did Dionysius and Q. Catulus. Many other private houses were also to be found there, not worth mentioning, excepting that of Vitruvius of Fondi, of whom, unfortunately, nothing is known.”†

Descending to the Imperial structures, I find, from this treatise, that the House of Augustus (at the south-west of the Villa Mills, or Palatina) was first excavated by a Frenchman, Rancouvri, the owner of the Villa Spada in 1775. He was rewarded by finding the Apollo Sauroctonus and the two Ledas, besides other inferior marbles. A great part of the excavation was filled up

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\* Palazzi de' Cesari, p. 18.

† Ib. p. 30.



again; but Guattani, in his '*Monumenti Inediti*,' gives an exact description of the original appearance of the remains. Plans of them were also published by Barberi and Piranesi. The descent to this house has been made practicable by a flight of fifty steps. How a palace on a hill could subside so deeply under ground, or how the soil could accumulate so high above it, I am not able to understand. There is so little depth of earth here that grass will not grow and trees soon die, as their roots find no nutriment in the crumbled brickwork of which the greater part of the whole Palatine Hill may be said to be composed.

Three steps of the curve of a theatre are observable in this quarter, on the side towards the Circus Maximus.

The so-called Baths of Livia are only some chambers of the House of Augustus, on which he subsequently founded the pronaos of the Temple of Apollo.

The Temple of Apollo, according to Thon and Ballanti, has left remains of the cell and the inclosure, besides the great ruins of the Palatine Library. Many of the statues of this temple were discovered in the time of Vacca, who calls them Amazons. In the time of Bianconi (1720) the vaulted chambers were cleared, and two more compartments discovered; but the walls above were always as they are now seen since any modern notice has been taken of them. Such were the principal edifices constructed on this Hill by Augustus—"in gran parte ancora esistenti," says Signor Ballanti.

The HOUSE OF TIBERIUS and his Library were on that

part of the Palatine overlooking the Church of Sta. Anastasia, the south-west angle. The HOUSE OF CALIGULA was, as before mentioned, on the side overlooking the Forum. Amongst the vast remains which form part of it there are two walls much larger than the rest, *perhaps*, says Ballanti, part of the Temple of Augustus built by Caligula. Two other larger walls are also here discovered, *perhaps*, according to the same authority, part of the Temple of Caligula himself, where he sat to be adored. On the terraces above these ruins the Republican Government of 1849 gave a fête, and Trattorias were established in the vaults. The part of the Palace principally built by Nero is thought by these authorities, as well as by others, to be that looking towards St. Gregorio and the Celian mount. This part of the Palace was much restored by Septimius Severus. Nero also constructed the principal entrance towards the Sacred Way, and Domitian rebuilt it. Some of the substructions have been discovered in front of the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana. Domitian raised and planted what he called the GARDEN of Adonis; Alexander Severus added the Diæta Mammæa, and adorned the Palace with his far-famed "Opus Alexandrinum." The access to this portion of the Cæsarean Palace had in 1842 been rendered more easy by a flight of steps and a stone bench for a resting place. The ruins here were as wild and majestic at that day as when I saw them a quarter of a century before. From the summit of the long stuccoed terrace, which was the floor of the third story of the

Palace, may be enjoyed a view to which the world cannot furnish an equal. I regret to say that, having repeatedly surveyed the Palatine ruins, I must repeat that, with all this learning in my hand, I had the bad fortune to find nothing more than I had seen in former visits. I looked from the angle of the terrace in the Farnese Gardens, towards Sta. Maria Liberatrice, and saw nothing corresponding to "the little bit of a segment of a circular wall" which the discoverer traces back to Evander. I had no better success when searching for the peperine fragments of the Temple of Ceres, above Sta. Anastasia. Indeed the gardener, who conducted our researches in 1828, denied that any excavations had been made at the period assigned to them only two years before (1826), and calling aloud to some peasants who were working in the garden below, he asked them if they had heard of any excavations? "Excavations!" replied the men, "to be sure we have, and we are making them now!" They were digging holes for vine-plants.

The great ruins in the Farnese Gardens, assigned to the Palatine Library, were choked up with brambles and brickwork, and I had some difficulty in tearing my way through them to read an inscription recording a former attempt by Francis I., Duke of Parma, to restore the glories of the Imperial House. A donkey was tethered in the thicket by the side of some ashes of a gipsy fire.

It seems strange that these remains of ancient Empire, when once partially rescued from the ravages of time,

should again be abandoned to desolation and neglect. Fragments of sculptured marble are still scattered over the contiguous ilex grove in which the "ARCADI" held their sittings, and in a hole recently dug I saw, in 1828, a fluted column, which the royal landlord of these gardens would not suffer to be removed.

Something even of the decoration of the Imperial apartments has been seen by modern eyes. One of the great subterranean saloons, discovered in the time of Innocent X., was found to be covered with gold tapestry, which fell to pieces when exposed to the air, and another compartment was seen to be inlaid with silver. The declivity of the Palatine, opposite to S. Gregorio, was excavated at this time (1645 to 1655), and was a mine of antiquarian treasure. Besides a great quantity of statues and precious marbles of every description, there was found an iron chest, containing all the implements of sacrifice, and, more curious than all, there was found a small chamber, about twelve palms wide, with a leaden coating on every side, between which and the walls a quantity of gold coin was discovered, and led to the conjecture that this was the position of the Imperial Treasury.\*

This part of the Hill is now (1854) one mass of overgrown, choked-up ruins, partially contrived to serve as terraces attached to the Franciscan Convent above. The refectory of the good Fathers was a reservoir in the

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\* Bartoli, Mem. ix.



time of the Cæsars.\* Not long after my first visit in 1817, a portion of the Palatine Hill, once the Villa Spada, or Magnani, before mentioned, was purchased by an Englishman of the name of Mills, and the villa which was constructed there was for some time, even after the death of that gentleman, called the Villa Mills. It is now called the "Vigna Palatina."

This building, with its Chinese monsters and its Dutch garden and high clipped hedgerows, that entirely shut out the view of the great ruins below, has entirely disfigured this portion of the Palatine, except perhaps the terraces which overlook the Circus Maximus, and the tall ruins of the so-called Palace or Tower of Nero. The exclusion of visitors from the Vigna Palatina, except on stated days, has much detracted from the interest of the Imperial Hill. In 1817 I used to ramble over it when and where I pleased. It has now (1854) on company days all the crowd and clatter of a sea-side promenade. The subterranean chambers, called "Camere d' Augusto," are kept under lock and key.†

#### ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

The first notice of the change which made Christianity the religion of the Roman world is to be found on this arch.

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\* Bartoli, Mem. v.

† I hear some Portuguese nuns have now a convent on the Palatine in this quarter.—1858.

Imp. Caes. Fl. Constantino Maximo  
 P. F. Augusto. S. P. Q. R.  
 Quod Instinctu Divinitatis mentis  
 Magnitudine, cum exercitu suo  
 Tam de Tyranno quam de omni ejus  
 Factione, uno Tempore Justis  
 Rempublicam ultus est armis  
 Arcum triumphis insignem Dicavit.

The record of the Divine instinct which, added to his magnanimity and his army, induced Constantine to march to Rome, shows that the stories of the Labarum and of the other prodigies which preceded the victories of the great Emperor are probably almost as old as his conversion; but the "instinctu Divinitatis" have been substituted for some erased letters. The inscriptions SIC X.—SIC XX. and VOTIS X. VOTIS XX., recall the old formulas by which the emperors tried to reconcile their subjects to slavery: "Cioè, il Senato, ed il popolo acclamavano SIC X. SIC XX. *sic decennialia sic vicalia*, "vale a dire che come prospero era passato il primo "decennio, così passasse il secondo."\* It has been supposed that the words "triumphis insignem" show that the arch had been used for former triumphs before the days of Constantine; but the writer just quoted refers the expression to the road, the Via Triumphalis, and not to the structure. Whether this opinion be well-founded or not, it is certain that the arch is a very miscellaneous piece of work, belonging to at least

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\* Roma nel anno xxxviii. parte 1, p. 449.

three periods, to say nothing of the pious patchwork of the Popes. The decorated sculpture—all but that part of it which might become a village tombstone\*—has so little to do with the exploits of Constantine, and so pointedly portrays certain portions of the life of Trajan, that it is strange the Senate and Roman people should have risked a flattery so awkward as this monument records. The insertion of a page of Livy in the Augustan Histories will hardly furnish a specimen of more curious mosaic. Not only may works dedicated to Trajan, to Gordian, and to Constantine be here recognised, but it should be recollected that one of the Dacian kings, the heads of all of them, one of the eight columns, and a part of the entablature must be ascribed to the restoration of Clement XII. in 1733—they are modern. The story of Lorenzino de' Medici having despoiled the statues of their heads is generally discredited: at any rate he did not carry all of them to Florence, if it is true that one of them was found beneath the arch when restored by Clement XII., and transferred to the Vatican; but this also is denied. The Abate Fea doubts whether the bust in question really represents a Dacian king. A late traveller† has fallen into two or three errors in his notice of this monument. He speaks of the arch as if it was certain it was erected for Constantine. He tells of *the* Arch of

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\* Forsyth, Remarks on Italy, p. 230.

† Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 215.

Trajan in his Forum, as if it were certain that the disputed arch was in his Forum; and he relates that Clement VIII. displaced one of the giallo-antico columns to adorn the organ of the Lateran—another disputed fact. Less than a hundred years again half-buried the pedestals of the columns, and obliterated in part the useful labour of Clement XII. Pius VII. cleared away the soil in 1805, and surrounded the arch with a wall. Such was its condition when I first saw it, but Leo XII. wisely removed the wall when he uncovered the ancient level of this part of Rome;\* and this arch, with all its incongruities, appears one of the most striking monuments of the Imperial City.

If any one wishes to see what this triumphal arch must have been when first dedicated to Constantine, excepting the heads and hands of the four captive kings, he should look at the 23rd plate of Bellini's great work, *VETERES ARCUS AUGUSTORUM*, &c., published at Rome in 1690. The restoration seems fairly conjectured.

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\* The new paving of the Via St. Gregorio in 1835 raised the level a palm. *Roma nel anno xxxviii.* p. 457.



## CHAPTER XVII.

The Mamertine and Tullian Prisons—The Cloaca Maxima—The Temple of Piety—The Spada Pompey.

## THE MAMERTINE AND TULLIAN PRISONS.

THE claims of these dungeons to the highest antiquity are indisputable. A terrific interest is attached to them, for in the upper chamber were imprisoned, and in the underground cell were put to death, many of those whose names recall the most interesting passages of Roman story. Here Manlius was a captive; and those who descend into the lower compartment may be sure that they are in the same dark and loathsome pit where Jugurtha was starved to death; where Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other Catilinarian conspirators were strangled by order of Cicero;\* where Sejanus was put to death; and where Simon, the leader of the Jews, was slain at the moment that the chariots of Vespasian and Titus ascended the Triumphal Way to the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter.

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\* The description of the Tullianum in Sallust is good at this day. "Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vineta, sed incultu, tenebris, odore, fæda atque terribilis ejus facies est."—Catil. cap. 25.

Let any one, just before he descends into these dungeons, read Plutarch's description of Jugurtha's death, and he will never forget it as long as he lives : "It is "said," relates the biographer, "that when he was led "before the car of the conqueror he lost his senses. "After the triumph he was thrown into prison, where, "whilst they were in haste to strip him, some tore his "robe off his back, and others, catching eagerly at his "earrings, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. "When he was thrown down naked into the dungeon" [I think I see him struggling through the dreadful hole at this moment], "all wild and confused, he said "with a frantic smile, 'Heavens! how cold is this bath "of yours.' There struggling for six days with hunger, "and to the last hour labouring for the preservation "of life, he came to such an end as his crimes "deserved."\*

The upper chamber, 14 feet high, 18 feet wide, and 15 in length, is assuredly one of the cells of the ancient Mamertine prisons, cut out of the rock, as the story goes, by Ancus Martius, and lined with large quadrilateral blocks of peperine or Alban stone, without cement. But the stairs are modern. The descent, by a dreary stair, into the condemned cell below, which was dug out of the rock by Servius Tullius, is also modern, for the criminals, in ancient days, were thrust down into

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\* Life of Marius.—Plut. Lives, translated by the Langhorns, vol. iii. p. 128.

the Robur Tullianum through a hole just big enough to admit their bodies, which is still open in the floor of the upper dungeon. The lower dungeon itself is 6½ feet high, 13 feet long, and 20 broad.\* It is lined with rude blocks of peperine, and its shape has been aptly compared to that of a truncated cone. The brick pavement is a work of modern date (1667). The sewer, which is said to communicate with the catacombs and the spring of water, and the impression of St. Peter's face on the wall, must all be referred to the middle ages, which preserved and sanctified the scene of the imprisonment of the Apostles. Divine service is still occasionally performed in both these dungeons.

The inscription on the strip of travertine which is seen on the external façade of the Mamertine Chamber, visible in the Chapel of St. Joseph, gives a most respectable antiquity to the structure.

C. VIBIUS. C. F. RUFINUS. M. COCCEIUS NERVA. EX. S. C.

The consulate of Vibius Rufinus and Cocceius Nerva bears the date of 775 U. C.

All the learning on these prisons has been collected and admirably put together by the author of the 'Essay on the Forum.'† The rival Abate Fea has been much less successful when treating on the same subject.‡ He

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\* The measurements are from 'Rome in 1838,' but all of them are given differently in Professor Nibby's other work on the Forum.

† Foro Romano, pp. 128 to 134.

‡ Descrizione di Roma, vol. i. p. 263.

does not discriminate between the two prisons, nor recognise the fact that the Tullianum was only a condemned cell, and not the ordinary place of confinement.

But a German antiquary has stultified both the Italians by discovering that "TULLIANUM" is only an ancient word for a building attached to a spring of water or a reservoir; and that, whilst that chamber may have been a bath, the Mamertine Chamber was probably a cooling apartment for the use of the bathers.\* When I was in Rome, in 1854, I mentioned this curious conjecture to a Monsignore attached to the Papal Court, who disposed of it as follows: "Ma non è vero, perchè la sorgente fu creata miracolosamente da San Pietro per battezzare il suo custode."

The peculiar sanctity of these prisons had been recently illustrated by his Holiness himself, who, on the day of the SS. Crocefissi, addressed the Clergy, the Senate, and the Roman People from the balcony above the Chapel of St. Joseph, not far from the base of the still remaining suggestum, by the Arch of Severus, from which the Emperors used to address their subjects.

I make no other comment on the Monsignore's

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\* See the argument in the *Bulletino dell' Istituto*, No. iii. di Marzo, 1837, p. 29, 'Sul Carcere Mamertino e sul Tulliano,' by G. P. Forchammer. Forchammer quotes Festus, but Festus only says, after giving the common meaning, "alii Silanos, alii rivos, alii vehementer sanguinis *arcuatim* fluentes quales sunt Tiburi in Aniene."—*De Verb. Sign.*, lib. xviii.



legend than that which I find in the Pope's own archæologist: "Questo non è luogo da trattare di tale questione appartenente unicamente a coloro che le antichità ecclesiastiche illustrano, e solo mi basta avere indicato ciò che la tradizione vuole."\*

### CLOACA MAXIMA.

The great drain near the Janus, and the huge triple archway, under which the water is discharged into the Tiber, have, until lately, been reckoned amongst the most authentic, as well as the most ancient of all the Roman remains. Even Niebuhr is so far from detracting from the antiquity of these stupendous works, that he seems to attribute them to a people greatly surpassing in power any of the tribes of Historic Latium, and possessed of every advantage except that of being handed down to posterity. This people, though described as savages by the writers of the Augustan age, left behind them traces of their architectural prowess quite gigantic, when compared with the structures of Imperial Rome; and to them, unfortunate and unknown as they are, ought we, perhaps, to ascribe all the Cyclopean works of Italy. In like manner the vaulted aqueducts of the lake Copais, in Bœotia, were *certainly* the work of a people prior to the Greeks. Even the Etruscans themselves are but moderns to those who look back

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\* Nibby, *Foro Romano*, p. 134.

into the night of ages to discover the shadowy forms of these aborigines, either in Greece or in Italy ; and “ under the tufo, on which Herculaneum was built, layers of cultivated soil remain to attest that these lands were ploughed and sown in a period anterior to the first Greek settlement in Campania.” Every man is fated to be credulous about something. Niebuhr is positive that his PELASGI were “ one of the greatest nations of ancient Europe, who, in their migrations, spread almost as widely as the ancient Celts.” Yet, until these latter days, no people, it seems, have had so much reason to complain of misrepresentation and neglect. The Roman poets “ shamefully confounded them with the Greeks,” and the Greek writers, “ owing to an uncritical and ungrammatical treatment of the Etruscan language,” mistook them for Tuscans, or, rather, for Etruscans. This is the case with Thucydides, for whom, however, the German professor makes the excuse that he “ did this without the remotest intention of displaying learning ;” and Sophocles also, he had the misfortune to make a similar blunder, but then, as Niebuhr kindly admits, “ no one will expect historical precision from him.” The result is that no one before Niebuhr seems to have done full justice to the Pelasgi, who, for aught we know to the contrary, may have been the authors of many of these gigantic works now ascribed to the Etruscans,—at any rate the massive style of building is not peculiar to the Etruscans: it prevails in all the monuments of Latium,

and it is probable that this celebrated people derived it from the earlier inhabitants of Etruria.\*

To these (the earlier inhabitants of Etruria), or to close imitators of them, may be attributed the cell of the Temple at Gabii, and the great walls of the Forum of Augustus (the Arco de' Pantani). To these also, with equal reason, may be assigned the drains of the Cloaca, or to those Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, by no means to be confounded with the Etruscans, whom the early Greeks believed to be the founders of Rome.†

The more vulgar opinion, however, is that which is founded on the text of Dionysius and Livy: namely, that the Cloacæ were originally the work of the two Tarquins, and even Niebuhr himself talks of the stupendous vaults as if they were constructed during the reign of some prince of that name.‡ But Tarquin the younger was not an Etruscan, and his historical adventures are now considered only as “a lay,” so I confess myself totally at a loss to make out how much or how little this great sceptical critic believes of this lay, such as we find it in Livy.

\* Niebuhr conjectures that the figured vases and bas-reliefs were the work of their bondsmen: their marble statuary and architecture were probably Greek, as some towns, like “Tarquinj” had Greek artists for instructors. As to their language, Lanzi can find only two words, “*avil. vil*,” which he interprets “*vixit annos*,” but not a shadow of analogy shows “*vil*” to mean “years.”

† The Etruscans and genuine Tyrrhenians are not the same people, “although,” as Niebuhr tells us, “*Herodotus in one of his less fortunate hours made or caused the mistake.*”

‡ See p. 338 of Hare’s Translation of the History.

Another writer, however, not a German, has, more recently than Niebuhr, endeavoured to show that certain mistakes have long prevailed as to the use and character of the great drain near the Velabrum. Mr. Duppa contends that the old Cloacæ were never used for any domestic purposes, such as carrying off foul water and cleansing the streets; and he also asserts that no one of these drains was larger than the rest. I think Mr. Duppa is mistaken. It appears from "Acilius," an author quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,\* that the drains of the Tarquins were not, as Mr. Duppa translates it, "dilapidated," but "neglected," so that the water could not run through them.† The censors therefore [200 B.C.] contracted, for a thousand talents, to have them cleared and repaired.

Niebuhr believes the Cloacæ, which the censors repaired, to have been of a more modern date than that of the Velabrum, which, says he, never could want repair, and he thinks that these sewers were then discovered by Ficoroní in 1742; but I repeat that the historian only says that the sewers wanted *clearing*, which might have been the case however indestructibly they were formed.

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\* Lib. iii. cap. 67.

† ἀμεληθεῖσων ποτὲ τῶν τάφρων καὶ μηκέτι διαρρέομένων καὶ ἅμα προθυμίαν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου τελειῶσαι τὰς μὲν ἐξαγωγίμους τῶν ὑδάτων ταφρους ἃς ἐκεῖνος ὀρύττειν ἤρξατο μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταγαγεῖν: also—μεταλλεύοντες τε ὑπονόμας καὶ σήραγγας ἑτεροὶ καὶ πλάττοντες τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς καμάρας.  
—Dion. Hal., lib. iv. cap. 44.



The Cloacæ seem always to have been put to the same use as any sewer with running water; and though it is very true that Livy, when speaking of Tarquinius Priscus, says, that the purpose of his drains was to clear off the water from the hollows between the hills, yet, when writing of the second Tarquin, he expressly records that he completed a Cloaca Maxima which was to be a receptacle for all the cleansing sewers of the city. "Cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam."

Dionysius describes the works of the last Tarquin as only a completion of those begun by the first Tarquin. How then can any one assert that there is no mention of one drain being bigger than another, nor of any drain constructed for carrying off the filth of the city, when Livy uses the very words—"cloaca maxima," and "receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis;" and when Dionysius, without using the same words, evidently alludes to the same works as the Latin historian?

But a question, it seems, may be raised whether the present great drain near the Velabrum, and the triple archway on the Tiber, be the Cloaca Maxima so described by Livy, or whether it be only that "*Meatus*," which, Pliny tells us, was constructed by Agrippa, and carried off the united waters of the seven streams into the Tiber. The above writer contends that neither Livy nor Dionysius describes the Tarquinian sewer as being arched. By the former there is certainly no mention of the shape or structure of the drains, but the

reader may interpret as he pleases the "*chambers*" of Dionysius.

Pliny\* asserts that the cloacæ of Tarquin were of so solid a construction that earthquakes could not injure them. The form of the arch is most favourable to such stability, and if the drain now seen be the "*meatus*" of Agrippa, what has become of the Tarquinian sewer, existing in the days of Pliny, and described as indestructible? Perhaps Mr. Duppa might ask what has become of the *meatus* of Agrippa? but to this question the reply might be made that various drains have been discovered in Rome which correspond much better with the age of Agrippa than the Great Cloaca. The drain, before alluded to, discovered by Ficoroni in 1742, which Nardini thought belonged to the Cloaca Maxima,† but which appears to have been only one of the sewers leading to it, was most likely the work of Agrippa; and Niebuhr remarks that the stones composing it were of travertine, whereas the blocks of the Cloaca of the Velabrum are of peperine. Many years before (1742), when the Farnese Palace was building, the architect discovered a sewer of considerable size, cut out of the chalk rock, running from the Campo de' Fiore to the Tiber‡ Even under the Tarpejan rock a vaulted drain was found about the same period, which communicated

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\* Lib. 36, cap. 15.

† Lib. v. cap. viii. p. 210, tom. ii. and note.

‡ Vacca, Mem. 33.

with the wells of the Capitol.\* The first of these has since been laid open : I saw it in 1853. Nardini conjectures that excavations in almost any quarter of Rome would lay open some one of these subterranean channels, which he thinks evidently supplied the inspired author of the Revelations with one of his images of the old Imperial City, for “the great harlot sitting on many waters” was almost a literal allusion to Rome and her thousand drains.†

The indefatigable Fea, in 1828, obtained permission to dig a deep trench in the Via de' Cerchi, in search of certain underground streams deriving their source from a spring in a large reservoir on the Celian Mount, contiguous to the site of the old Temple of Mercury. The Abate did not succeed in his enterprise, and was derided accordingly by his rival Antonio Nibby ; but his labour was far from lost. After cutting through six or seven feet of earth, mixed with fragments of marble and carved stone-work, of ancient construction, the labourers came to a wall of good brick-work, at the bottom of which was a gutter that still conducted a clear rapid stream from the foot of the Palatine in the direction of the Velabrum. They followed the course of this stream, and cutting a trench 200 feet in length, found the same kind of brick-work continue at intervals until they came to a circular mass, looking like the remains of the Meta

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\* Vacca, Mem. 65.

† Nard. lib. vii. cap. v. on the Chiaviche.

Sudans, into a hole at the bottom of which the water rushed with much rapidity, and was lost. That this was a subterraneous sewer was apparent, for parallel with the top of the brick-wall, and about five or six feet above the stream, there was found an ancient road, composed in the usual manner of black basalt polygons.

The excavations near the Arch of Constantine and the Coliseum have laid bare the great drains in that quarter of the city, and shown the ducts through which the fountain of the Meta Sudans was supplied.

The water was running in the trench opened by Fea, as well as in that of Ficoroni, when I saw them; but whether any probable conjecture has been made as to the springs of so many streams I never learnt. Remains of reservoirs have been discovered in the Palatine, one of which, near the Church of Sta. Anastasia, was full of water; and the ancient city, before the construction of the aqueducts, must have trusted to her fountains, far more than to the Tiber, for her purest water.

None of these sewers just described have, however, the slightest resemblance to the great Cloaca of the Velabrum, although the drain of the Via de' Cerchi seems to have been connected with it; and I do not see how any one could mistake that very ancient work for a comparatively modern sewer.

Mr. Duppa's remarks on the arch of the Cloaca contain some objections to its supposed antiquity, not easily answered; and it is certainly singular that, with such a work before their eyes, the old Romans should not have



copied that form of structure for the same or similar purposes; yet the stone-work of the great emissaries of the Alban lake and of Nemi is not arched. This writer, however, is surely wrong when he says that the oldest arch in Rome is that of the tomb of Cecilia Metella. He cannot have seen the entrance into the tomb of the Scipios, where the arch is complete, composed of nine enormous uncemented blocks of peperine; and a question may be raised as to whether the truncated cone of the Tullian dungeon may not be called an arch with as much propriety as the chamber of Metella's tomb.\*

I have ventured to enter into detail on this subject, inasmuch as I should be loth to encourage any criticism tending to detract from the interest attached to the most authentic of all the few vestiges of the old original Rome.

### ST. NICHOLAS IN CARCERE.

A Temple of Piety was built in the *Forum Olitorium*, by Acilius Glabrio the Duumvir,† to commemorate the victory of his father over Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and a gold statue of Glabrio was placed in this temple. Festus mentions that it was consecrated on a spot where a woman once lived who had nourished her father in

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\* Mr. Duppa has also made a mistake about the origin of a curious term connected with this question of the arch. The inhabitants of Pagan Rome called an arched chamber "fornicated." The Christians described the deadly sin frequently committed in those chambers by the name given to that kind of structure.

† Liv. Hist. lib. x.

prison with her own milk, and was thus the occasion of his being pardoned.\* Solinus has much the same account. It is a pity that so fine a tale should be liable to such contradictions. The father in Festus is a mother in Pliny,† and the plebeian of the latter is a noble matron in Valerius Maximus.‡ The naturalist lays the scene in the prisons of the Decemvirs, and adds that a Temple of Piety was erected on the site of these prisons, where the Theatre of Marcellus afterwards stood. The other writer (Valerius) makes no mention of the temple. It seems clear, however, that Festus and Pliny allude to the same story, and that the change of sex was, perhaps, occasioned by some confusion of the father of Glabrio with the mother of the pious matron.§

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\* “Pietati ædem ab Acilio consecratam ajunt eo loco quo quædam mulier habitaverit, quæ patrem suum inclusum carcere mammis suis clam aluerit; ob hoc factum impunitas ei concessa sit.”—Sex. Pomp. Fest. de Verb. sig. lib. xx. ex *Bib. Ant. August.*, p. 598, vol. 7, edit. Lucæ, 1772.

† “Humilis in plebe et ideo ignobilis puerpera, supplicii causa carcere inclusa matre, cum impetrasset aditum a janitore semper excussa, ne quid inferret cibi, deprehensa est uberibus suis alens eam. Quo miraculo salus matris donata filiæ pietati est; ambæque perpetuis alimentis; et locus ille eidem consecratus est deæ C. Quinctio. M. Attilio Coss. templo pietatis extructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est.”—*Hist. Nat.*, lib. vii. cap. 36.

‡ “Sanguinis ingenui mulierem prætor apud tribunal suum capitali crimine damnatam, triumviro in carcere necandam tradidit,” &c.—Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. iv. note 7.

§ Or perhaps with the other Grecian story told by Valerius Maximus (*ibid.* No. 1, *Externa*), of Perus and Cimon, of which there was a fine picture.

The antiquaries have chosen to point out the scene of this adventure at the church of “St. Nicholas *in carcere*,” which should, therefore, stand on the site of the Decemviral prisons and the Temple of Piety. But here a great difficulty presents itself. For if the Theatre of Marcellus had displaced both the prisons and the temple, which the words of Pliny would lead us to suppose, it seems useless to look for either one or the other at this day. But at this church there are evident remains, not of one only, but of two, and perhaps three temples, whose columns are incrustcd in the lateral walls on each side. The antiquaries have assigned these triple vestiges to the Temple of Piety, built by Glabrio, to the Temple of Piety raised to the Roman matron, and to a Temple of Juno Matuta. This is sufficiently bold, when, if we follow Pliny, the first did not exist in his time, when, according to Festus, there were not two but only one temple, and when Juno Matuta is only known to have stood somewhere in the Forum Olitorium.\*

The name of the church is S. Nicholas, “*in carcere Tulliano*.” But the Tullian prisons could never have been here nor anywhere, except on the Clivus Capitolinus hanging over the Forum, and it has been proved that the last epithet, which deceived the Cardinal Baro-

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\* “Forum Olitorium, Columna Lactaria, Ædes Pietatis. Ædes Matutæ.” Sext. Rufi. de regionib. Urb. “Regio circus Maximus.” Ap. Græv., tom. iii. p. 98.

nus,\* and occasioned one of the famous Roman controversies, is a fanciful addition of latter times. Notwithstanding the assertion of Pliny, a prison that went by the name of the *Decemviral* existed near the Theatre of Marcellus in the days of the regionaries, and a Temple of Piety is recorded by Rufus, in the Forum Olitorium ; but as the temple is not mentioned by Victor,† and as the other writer puts it even in a different region from the prison, it seems stretching their authority to conclude S. Nicholas *in carcere* to be the site both of the one and the other, as well as of a second Temple of Piety, which never appears to have had any distinct existence. The name of the church is a very admissible evidence for the contiguity, at least, of the prison ; and as the columns cannot have belonged to that structure, they may be assigned to any of the temples or basilicas noted as being in that quarter. Lucius Faunus ‡ says there were in his time some vestiges of the prison ; but the hole to which strangers are conducted by torchlight at the base of the columns can hardly have any reference to the ancient dungeon.§

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\* In notis ad Martyrol. a. d. xiv. Martii. Apolog. contra Hugoninum, de stationibus urbis Romæ. Nardini, lib. v. cap. xii., gives a long account of the controversy.

† Victor, "Carcer. C. or CL.X. Virorum." Regio IX. Circus Flaminius, ib. p. 106. Rufus says, "Carcer. C. Virorum." Regio Circus Flaminius, ibid. p. 97.

‡ De Antiq. Urb. Rom. lib. iii. cap. v. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 217.

§ Nardini, lib. vi. cap. ii., takes no notice of the columns, but believes in the site of the prison and the story of Festus.



Aringhi has given the most striking example of the perversion of antiquaries, when he supposes that some lines of Juneval's third satire \* were intended to extol the size and magnificence of the *single prison* which could contain *all the criminals* of early Rome: as if the satirist had meant to praise the architectural grandeur, not the virtue, of the primitive ages.†

Our own times have furnished us with a new piety, which the French audience of Mr. Bruce thought to be a phrase happily invented by our gallant countryman. The courageous attachment of wives to their husbands under calamity, superior to what is found in any other relation of life, has been acknowledged in all periods, from the Augustan proscription ‡ to the plague at Florence;§ and the *conjugal piety* of Madame Lavalette is distinguished from many similar exploits, merely because it was seconded so nobly, and occurred in an age capable of appreciating such heroic devotion.

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“ felicia dicas

Sæcula, quæ quondam sub regibus atque tribunis  
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.”

† Roma Subterranea, lib. ii. cap. i. tom. i. p. 200.

‡ Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam.  
—C. Vell. Paterc. Hist. lib. ii. cap. lxxvii.

§ Boccacio, in the introduction to the Decameron, puts the abandonment of husbands by their wives as the last horror of the plague.

## THE SPADA POMPEY.

The projected division of the Spada Pompey has already been recorded by the historian of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' Gibbon found it in the memorials of Flaminius Vacca,\* and it may be added to his mention of it that Pope Julius III. gave the contending owners five hundred crowns for the statue, and presented it to Cardinal Capo di Ferro, who had prevented the judgment of Solomon from being executed upon the image. In a more civilised age this statue was exposed to an actual operation; for the French, who acted the Brutus of Voltaire in the Coliseum, resolved that their Cæsar should fall at the base of that Pompey, which was supposed to have been sprinkled with the blood of the original dictator. The nine-foot hero was therefore removed to the arena of the amphitheatre, and to facilitate its transport suffered the temporary amputation of its right arm. The republican tragedians had to plead that the arm was a restoration: but their accusers do not believe that the integrity of the statue would have protected it.† The love of finding every coincidence has discovered the true Cæsarean ichor in a stain near the right knee;

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\* *Memorie*, no. lvii. p. 9, ap. Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*

† About this time Prince Borghese and some other Roman nobles publicly burnt their title-deeds, but they were accused of destroying only copies of them and keeping the originals.

but colder criticism has rejected not only the blood but the portrait, and assigned the globe of power rather to the first of the emperors than to the last of the republican masters of Rome. Winkelmann\* is loth to allow an heroic statue of a Roman citizen, but the Grimani Agrippa, a contemporary almost, is heroic; and naked Roman figures were only very rare, not absolutely forbidden. The face accords much better with the "*hominem integrum et castum et gravem*,"† than with any of the busts of Augustus, and is too stern for him who was beautiful, says Suetonius, at all periods of his life. The pretended likeness to Alexander the Great cannot be discerned, but the traits resemble the medal of Pompey.‡ The objectionable globe may not have been an ill-applied flattery to him who found Asia Minor the boundary and left it the centre of the Roman empire. It seems that Winkelmann has made a mistake in thinking that no proof of the identity of this statue with that which received the bloody sacrifice can be derived from the spot where it was discovered.§ Flaminius Vacca says *sotto una cantina*, and this cantina is known to have been in the Vicolo de' Leutari, near the Cancellaria, a position corresponding exactly to that of the Janus before the basilica of Pompey's theatre, to

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\* Storia delle Arti, &c. lib. ix. cap. i. pag. 321, 322, tom. ii.

† Cic. Epist. ad Atticum, xi. 6.

‡ Published by Causeus in his Museum Romanum.

§ Storia delle Arti, &c. ibid.

which Augustus transferred the statue after the *curia* was either burnt or taken down.\* Part of the Pompeian shade,† the portico, existed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the *atrium* was still called *Satrum*. So says Blondus.‡ At all events, so imposing is the stern majesty of the statue, and so memorable is the story, that the play of the imagination leaves no room for the exercise of the judgment, and the fiction, if a fiction it is, operates on the spectator with an effect not less powerful than truth.

### THE PANTHEON.

Whether the Pantheon be the calidarium of a bath or a temple, or a single or a double building, it is evidently that structure of which the ancients themselves spoke with rapture as one of the wonders of Rome: whose vault was like the heavens,§ and whose compass was that of a whole region.||

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\* Sueton. in vit. August. cap. 31, and in vit. C. J. Cæsar, cap. 88. Appian says it was burnt down. See a note of Pitiscus to Suetonius, p. 224.

† “Tu modo Pompeia lenta spatiare sub umbra.”

Ovid., Ar. Aman.

‡ Roma Instaurata, lib. ii. fo. 31. During the bombardment of Rome by the French in 1849 several shots struck the Spada Palace, and even the room in which the Pompey stands, but the statue was not injured (1854).

§ “ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω ὅτι θελοειδὲς ὄν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν.” —Dion. *Hist. Rom.*, lib. liii. tom. i. p. 722.

|| “Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam.”—Amm. Marcell., lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145.



Notwithstanding the repairs of Domitian, Hadrian, and Severus and Caracalla, it is probable that the later artists copied the old model, and that the portico may still be said to belong to the age of Augustus. Knowing that we see what was one of the most superb edifices of the ancient city, in the best period of its architecture, we are surprised, when looking down on the Pantheon from one of the summits of Rome, with the mean appearance of its flat leaden dome, compared with the many towering structures of the modern town; but the sight of the Portico from the opposite extremity of the market-place in front of the Rotonda, vindicates the majesty of the ancient capital.

The Abate Lazzeri \* has done his utmost to prove this structure a bath, or, at least, not a temple; or if it were a temple, he would show that a temple does not always mean a religious edifice, but sometimes a tomb, and sometimes the mast of a ship; and that Pantheon was a band of soldiers. However, as our Pantheon is neither one nor the other of these three, we need not embarrass ourselves with the name, which was a difficulty even in ancient times. Dion ascribed it to the expanding vault, but tells that others referred it to the resemblance to several deities observed in certain statues of Venus and Mars.† There is no evidence that it was dedicated to

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\* Discorso di Pietro Lazzeri della consecrazione del Panteone fatta da Bonifazio IV. Roma, 1749.

† Hist. Rom. in loc. citat.

all the gods, although such a persuasion prevailed with the early Christian writers: \* nor is there any authority for the assertion of the pilgrim of the thirteenth century that Cybele and Neptune were the original possessors of this temple.

The words of Pliny should be reckoned decisive that the Pantheon was dedicated to Jove the Avenger, † and Lazzeri has only one way of getting rid of this witness, which is by remarking that all places dedicated to gods were not necessarily temples. In his reply to objections he rather gives way, and retreats to the ground that the Christians did not think it a temple, or they would have destroyed it, as they did all other edifices devoted to the pagan religion!! This is the strength of his argument; and, up to a certain point, he makes out his case better against, or, as he thought, *for*, the Christians, than against the pretensions of Jupiter to his claims over the Pantheon. In both one and the other position the Abate has fallen into errors for which he has been sharply reproved by the editor of Winkelmann. ‡

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\* Paul the deacon—the Martyrology. “Idem (Focas) Papa Bonifacio petente, jussit in veteri fano, quod Panteon vocabant, ablatis idolatriæ sordibus, Ecclesiam Beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ, et omnium Martyrum fieri, ut ubi omnium non Deorum, sed Dæmonum cultus erat, ibi deinceps fieret omnium memoria sanctorum.”—*De Gest. Lang. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. p. 464, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. i.*

† “Pantheon Jovi Ultori ab Agrippa factum, cum theatrum ante texerit Romæ.”—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi. cap. xv.

‡ *Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 284, note (c).*

The positive merit of “saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon”\* would have been greater, if the consecration had taken place earlier than two hundred years after the triumph of Christianity. From the shutting of the temples in the reign of Honorius to the year 609, it must have been abandoned to the ravages of neglect. Vain attempts have been made to prove that it was dedicated before the above date;† but all the writers are of accord in this point; there is only some doubt whether *all the Saints* should not be esteemed the first possessors of the Christian Church, instead of *all the Martyrs*. It seems, that as early as the fourth century the Saints were worshipped with the Martyrs;‡ and, indeed, as martyrdom grew more rare every day, and was not to be had, except now and then from an Arian tyrant, it is probable that simple saintship was regarded as a just title to an apotheosis. Gregory IV. changed the martyrs, however, into saints, at the re-consecration in 830, though the ancient name was still preserved—*Beata Maria ad Martyres*.§

The positive merit of saving the Pantheon would have been more complete if the Pontiffs had not afterwards converted it to a fortress, which in the time of

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\* Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. tom. xii. p. 408.

† By father Martene. Discorso, &c. p. 4.

‡ Mabillon, Cardinal Bona, and Fontanini are of this opinion. Discorso, p. 4.

§ Anastas. in vit. Greg. IV. p. 226, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii.

Gregory VII. was called *S. Maria in turribus*, and was defended by the antipope Clement III., when the Countess Matilda came to Rome in 1087.\* It appears, from the form of an oath taken by the Senators of Rome in the time of Celestine III., about the year 1191, that it could receive a papal garrison, and was, together with the island of the Tiber and the Castle of Saint Angelo, fortified against the enemies of the Church.†

The Pontiffs would have deserved more praise if they had not added and taken away ornaments at will; if Urban VIII.‡ had not imitated the wretched Constans, and if he had not added his hideous belfries; if Alexander VII. had cleared away all, instead of half, of the buildings which blocked up the Rotonda; if Gregory XIII. and Clement XI. had opened a wider space in front; and, lastly, if Benedict XIV. had not

\* Baron. Annal. Ecclesias. ad an. 1087. The editor of 'Eustace's Classical Tour' denies this—on what authority I know not.

† Mabillon, Mus. Ital. tom. ii. Ordo Romanus, num. 86, p. 215. Juramentum senatorum urbis—"nominatim autem sanctum Petrum, urbem Romanam, civitatem Leoninam, transtyberim, insulam, castellum Crescentii, sanctam Mariam Rotundam." All these the senator swore to assist the Pope to retain.

‡ Urban made a boast of his robbery, and affixed this inscription under the portico: "Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Vetustas ahenei lacunarum reliquias in Vaticanas columnas et bellica tormenta, conflavit ut decora inutilia et ipsi prope famæ ignota fierent in Vaticano templo apostolici sepulchri ornamenta in Hadriana arce instrumenta publicæ securitatis, anno Domini MDCXXXII. Pontific. IX." Yet Urban is the hero of the poet Casimir. Augustus himself scarcely received from his eulogists more elegant flattery than Urban from his Polish admirer.



white-washed the interior of the vault. The leaden roof, and the three supplied pillars, and other frequent repairs, are to be registered amongst the merits of the Popes; but, judging from the general appearance, we shall nowhere find a more striking example of the neglect of the ancient structures of Rome, than at the Pantheon. Of this the common antiquarian artists are so sensible, that they do not represent the edifice as it is, but as it should be, in an open space, where all its beauties may be beheld and approached.

The piety, if not the taste, of the pontiffs should be interested in the decent preservation of this monument; and if the names of heroes and emperors, if Jove and his gods are of no avail, respect for the founder, Boniface, and twenty-eight cartloads of relics,\* the worship

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\* The twenty-eight cartloads of relics are founded on the authority of an old MS. cited by Baronius in his notes to the Martyrology. Anastasius does not particularise the exact quantity of relics, but only says that Boniface brought *many good things* into the church. "Eodem tempore petiit a Phocata Principe templum quod appellatur Pantheon. In quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis et omnium martyrum. In qua ecclesia Princeps multa bona intulit."—*De Vitis Roman. Pontif. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 135. The Abate Lazzeri defends Boniface for his transport of relics, saying, "and if it is true that which the author of the 'Wonders of Rome' tells of the Pantheon, that, before it was dedicated, the demons used to attack with blows those who came near it, we may easily see what motive induced Boniface to transfer thither that great multitude of martyrs in solemn pomp."—*Discorso*, p. 26. The Abate also is scandalised with Baronius for owning, "in dedicatione templorum multa fuisse gentilibus cum pietatis cultoribus similia ex Suetonio disces:" and he talks of the "*libricciuolo*" of "*un tal Coniers Middleton*," p. 33, meaning his 'Letter from Rome.'

of the Virgin and all the saints, should rescue the temple from the contagion of common sewers and market-places. The veneration for a miraculous image, which has lately crowded the Rotonda, has not bettered the condition of the pavement: nor does it help the general effect of the interior prospect to be aware that we see exactly the same idolatry which was practised in the same spot sixteen centuries ago. A philosopher may smile, but a less indifferent spectator is shocked at the inexplicable credulity which stares in the stedfast faces of a hundred worshippers, seated on chairs, for hours, before the image, in the wish, the hope, the certainty of some indication of Omnipotence from the dirty cobweb-covered block which has been preferred into divinity.

The Pantheon has become the shrine not only of the martyred, but of the illustrious in every art and science: but the busts of Raffael, Hannibal Caracci, Pierin del Vaga, Zuccherò, and others, to which age has lent her venerable hue, are ill assorted with the many modern contemporary heads of ancient worthies which now glare in all the niches of the Rotonda. The little white Hermæan busts, ranged on ledges, side by side, give to this temple of immortality the air of a sculptor's study; and there is something embarrassing in reading so many names under almost every image: that of the portrait, of Canova the dedicator, and of the artist. A corner awaits Bodoni, now under the chisel of the modern Cleomenes, who will himself complete the crowded series. The many friends of the most amiable man in existence, and

the admiration of all Europe, would long defer that mournful recompense.\*

The inscription on the Pantheon, whose simplicity, if not whose date, belongs to the rise of the monarchy,

M. AGRIPPA . L. F. COS. TERTIVM . FECIT.†

\* Written in 1817. These busts were in 1821, as before mentioned, very properly removed to the Protomoteca in the Capitol; but some of the sepulchral inscriptions remain, and the tombs of Raffael and Caracci are still amongst the chief modern attractions of the Pantheon. A marble in the church records the discovery of the bones and ashes of Raffael after 310 years of ignorance of their real place of interment. The discovery took place on the 14th of September, 1833; and Prince D. Peter Odescalchi published an account of it. The remains were exposed for eight days to the gaze of the people, and the Marquis Louis Biondi wrote an ode for the occasion. The head was found with the rest of the bones, so that the skull exhibited so long for that of Raffael at the S. Luca was an imposture. Raffael's favourite Madonna, the work of Lorenzo Lotti, is still the presiding deity of the Pantheon, and she works miracles from above an altar restored and embellished in pursuance of a bequest of his last will. Professor Nibby says that Raffael was found where he had ordered that he should be buried; if so, how could there have been that ignorance and that mistake made to which the inscription alludes?

N.B.—A wretched bit of bas-relief by Thorwaldsen draws attention to the cippus which is the depositary of Consalvi's heart. The portrait of the cardinal is a good likeness, and is the only merit of this insignificant group.—1854.

† The other inscription, given, as before remarked, so often incorrectly, is thus written:—

"Imp. Cæs. L. Septimius . Severus . Pius . Pertinax . Arabicus . Adiabenicus . Parthicus . Maximus . Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. X. Imp. XI. Cos. III. P. P. Procos. et — Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius . Antoninus . Pius . Felix . Aug. Trib. Potest. V. Cos. Procos. Pantheon . Vetustate . corruptum . cum . omni . cultu . restituerunt."

It is in two lines, and the second begins with Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius.

has all the effect produced by one of the greatest names, and by the most powerful title of the ancient world. We may, perhaps, be inclined to think that the words were known anciently not to have been contemporary with the original building: for Aulus Gellius mentions, that a friend of his at Rome wrote to him, asking why he used the phrase "*me jam tertium scripsisse.*" It should seem that the question would not have been asked if the inscription had any authority, or, at least, that Gellius would have cited it as a triumphant quotation, to show that the Augustan scholars had declared in favour of the adverb of Varro,\* although Cicero had been unwilling to decide.†

### THE COLISEUM.

"Quandiu stabit Colysæus, stabit Roma; quando cadet Colysæus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus." These words are quoted by Gibbon‡

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\* Noct. Attic. Comment., lib. x. cap. i. p. 130, edit. Ald.

† Pius IX. has removed some of the modern houses that were built against the portico and cella of the Pantheon on the east of the building—an exploit which is recorded in a huge inscription.—1854.

‡ Cap. lxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 419. One of the most picturesque descriptions of the effect of the Coliseum is given by Ammian, who calls it a solid mass of stonework, to whose summit the human eye can scarcely reach. "*Amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cujus summitatem ægre visio humana conscendit,*" lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145; a structure where there was sitting room for 87,000 spectators, besides place for more than 22,000 others, was the first amphitheatre of the kind ever raised, for that of Statilius



as a proof that the Coliseum was entire when seen by the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. At the same time, as they extended their admiration to Rome, which was then partially destroyed, it is not impossible that the amphitheatre may have been in some degree dilapidated even in that early period.

The first restoration took place in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The fire which, about the year 219, in the reign of Macrinus, destroyed all the upper wooden works, in which, amongst other conveniences, there were brothels, occasioned the repairs of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus and Gordian; and the frequency of such restorations may be concluded from the different forms and materials lately discovered in the excavations of the substructures of the area. Mention is made of a fire under Decius.\* It was certainly in all its glory in the reign of Probus, and the six hundred gladiators and the seven hundred wild beasts, which he exhibited at once, could not occupy a twelfth part of the arena. The number of wild beasts which might stand together in this arena has been calculated to be ten thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine,† so that it may be no exagge-

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Taurus is not to be reckoned. Pompey's theatre, "*a hollowed mountain*," was also the first theatre made of stone. The Romans in both these works rose at once to perfection—the effect was instantly discovered to be insurpassable.

\* In the Eusebian Chronicle. See Maffei, Verona Illustrata, part iv. pp. 36, 37, edit. 1731.

† By T. B. Nolli. See Delle Memorie Sacre e Profane dell' Anfi-

ration to say that Titus showed the Roman people five thousand in one day,\* or that Probus, *unica missione*, exhibited four thousand ostriches, boars, deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other graminivorous animals, amidst a forest which had been transplanted into the amphitheatre.† Perhaps it is not to be understood that they were slain at once.‡

The Coliseum was struck by lightning in the year A.D. 320, in the reign of Constantine, but repaired; for the laws for abolishing gladiatorial shows were not observed until the reign of Honorius;§ and even after

teatro Flavio dal Canonico Giovanni Marangoni, Rom. 1746, pp. 33, 34.

\* “Atque uno die quinque millia omne genus ferarum.”—Sueton. in *Vit. Tit.*

† Vopisc. in *Vit. Prob.*, p. 233, Hist. Aug. edit. 1519.

‡ Marangoni, *ibid.* p. 41.

§ In the reign of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. Rufus Cecina Felix Lampadius, Prefect of Rome, restored the steps, the arena, and the podium—a circumstance unknown until the discovery of an inscription now preserved in the area of the building; but whether these repairs were rendered necessary by the violence of Alaric in 409, we have no means of being certainly informed. Two other recently (1828) found inscriptions record that an *abominable* earthquake threw down the podium, and made requisite the repairs made by Decius Marius Venantius Basilius, consul in the year 496 of the vulgar era.

The Theodosian inscription, with the obliterated letters restored, runs as follows:—

SALVIS d d n n THEODOSIO ET PLACIDO Valentiniano . Augg .  
RUFUS . CÆCINA . FELIX . LAMPADIUS . UC . et inl præf . urb  
HARENAM AMPHITHEATRI A NOVO . UNA CUM podio et portic  
Posticis SED . ET REPARATIS . SPECTACULI . GRADIBUS restituit.

The

that period, men fought with wild beasts, which seems to have been the original purpose of the amphitheatre, rather than the combats of gladiators.\* The fighting and hunting continued at least until the end of Theodoric's reign, in 526, and the seats of the principal senators were jealously preserved.† Maffei had heard of an inscription mentioning a restoration by that monarch, but was not able to find such a record.‡

It is just possible that some of the holes which now disfigure the whole surface may have been made by the extraction of the metals used for clamps, which we have remarked to have been a practice of the Romans

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The other inscription, referring to the repairs of Basilius, is in these words:—

DECIUS . MARIUS . VENANTIUS.  
 BASILIUS . V. C. ET INL . PRAEF.  
 URB. PATRICIUS . CONSUL .  
 ORDINARIUS . ARENAM . ET  
 PODIUM . QUAE . ABOMI  
 NANDI TERRAE . MO  
 TUS . RUIN . PROS  
 TRAVIT . SUMPTU PRO  
 PRIO RESTITUIT.

\* Verona Illustrata, part iv. pp. 2, 3. Maffei notices that Cassiodorus calls it *theatrum venatorium*. True; but gladiators had been abolished some time before, therefore the authority is not conclusive.

† Cassiod. Variar., epist. xlii. lib. v. The bishop lamented the enormity of the sport; “actu detestabilis, certamen infelix,” spectaculum tantum fabricis.—Ibid., epist. xlii. lib. iv.

‡ Verona Illust., ib. p. 37.

even before the Gothic invasion ; but Montfaucon\* is strangely mistaken in calling the Barbarians the sole and sufficing cause of all these holes : no less is another writer deceived in saying they were all made by artisans. Joseph Maria Suarez, who has written expressly on this subject, actually proves nothing with all his seven causes, and has made a gross mistake in supposing *Volusian* had occupied a part of the amphitheatre as a stronghold in the reign of Theodoric.† It was a box at the shows he had seized, not a fortress.‡ The true account seems to be given by the editor of Winkelmann, who believes that the greater number of the holes were made for the extraction of the metals, and only a few, comparatively, for the insertion of the beams and staples necessary for forming chambers and divisions, when the ruin was made a place of defence, in the first instance, and afterwards, perhaps, a magazine of manufactures.§ The first plunder may have been begun in war, but was more the labour of peace, and was actually continued in the time of Theodoric.|| The thieves worked in the night. The lead is still seen in some of the

\* Montf. *Diar. Ital.* “Unam germanamque causam foraminum,” p. 233. See note 50, *Decline and Fall*, tom. xii. p. 419.

† Jos. M. Suaresii de foraminib. lapid. *diatriba*, addressed to a Barberini in 1651, ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 318.

‡ “Hac crudeli surreptione captata turrem circi, atque locum amphitheatræ illustris recordationis patris eorum detestabili ambitu a vestris suggerunt fascibus expeditum.”—*Variar.* lib. iv. epist. xlii.

§ Dissertazione sulle Rovine, pp. 277, 278.

|| Var. *Epist.* lib. ii. epist. vii.; lib. iii. epist. xxxi.



holes. The larger cavities are to be attributed to the other cause.

Totila is said to have exhibited the equestrian games of the Circus; but nothing is told of his reviving those of the amphitheatre. Justinian abolished the latter in every part of his dominion; and from that period, so Maffei thinks, the attacks of time and man began to be injurious.\* The great mass of the external structure might, however, have been entire when it appeared to the pilgrims as durable as the world itself; but abandoned to neglect and exposed to the floods and earthquakes of the seventh century, much of the lower and more fragile part of the work must have been defaced, and it seems probable that some of the mass itself had fallen when it was occupied by the Frangipane family in the twelfth century or earlier.† Its decay would facilitate the conversion by the supply of fallen materials.

The author of the memoir on the amphitheatre ‡ ascribes the ruin of the arcades towards the Celian mount to Robert Guiscard; who, if he destroyed the structures between that mount and the Capitol,§ must

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\* Verona Illust. *ibid.* p. 60. "Allora fu, che il grand' anfitheatro di Tito reso inutile cominciò a soffrir gl' insulti e del tempo e degli uomini."

† Onufrius Panvinus, in his MS. *Memoirs de gente Fregepanica*, quoted by Marangoni, *ibid.* 49, thinks this occupation took place after the year 1000.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 50.

§ "Et majorem urbis partem Celium inter et Capitolium sitam

necessarily have fallen upon the Coliseum. What is certain is, that for more than two centuries and a half the buildings dedicated to the amusement contributed to the distresses of Rome. Donatus, and after him Gibbon, have made a mistake in supposing that a manufactory of silk-weavers was established there in the twelfth century. The Bandonarii or Banderarii of the Coliseum, in 1192, noticed by a contemporary writer,\* were the officers who carried the standards of their *school*, and preceded the pope in his coronation. No such employment was exercised in the Coliseum, which was now become a regular fortress. Innocent II. took refuge there in 1130; and the Frangipani were shortly after expelled, but made themselves masters of it a second time. Alexander III. retreated thither from the Ghibeline faction in 1165.

In 1244 Henry and John Frangipane were obliged to cede the half of their intrenchment to the Annibaldi;

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evertit." These words of Leo Ostiensis (Ap. Baron. ad an. 1084) are quoted by Marangoni; but the Abate Fea (*Dissert.* p. 395), finding no certain memorial, hesitates.

\* See Ordo Romanus xii. auct. Cencio Camerario. ap. Mabill. Museum Italic. tom. ii. p. 195, num. 52. "Bandonarii Colosæi et Cacabarii, quando dominus Papa coronatur, in eundo et redeundo ipsum cum vexillis præcedunt, quasi etenim una schola est, et eadem die debent comedere cum eodem domino Papa." They were certain trained bands of the different quarters, as we see by this expression in Villani, cap. xiv. lib. vii. Itiner. Greg. X. "Currebant Banderarii Romani velut dementes tubis clangentibus." See also Ducange, verb. *Banderarii*. Marangoni, p. 49. The mistake of Donatus is at lib. iii. cap. vi., that of Gibbon at cap. lxxi. p. 419, oct. vol. xii.

but by the authority of Innocent IV. recovered entire possession in the course of the same year.\* The Annibaldi, however, succeeded in driving out their rivals, and held the Coliseum up to the year 1312, when they were compelled to yield it to the emperor Henry VII. In the year 1332 it was the property of the Senate and Roman people. This is the date of the bull-feast of which Ludovico Monaldesco has left an account † transcribed into the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The contrivance of such an exhibition has given rise to a persuasion that the amphitheatre was then entire; but the adaptation of a range of benches round the area would not be difficult even now; and indeed it will be observed, it was resolved to renew the bull-fights even at the end of the seventeenth century.

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\* Nibby (*Foro Roman.* p. 231) thinks that this "half" was all that there remained entire of the Coliseum; but this is only a conjecture, and not a very probable one; for if the other half had been in ruins, the terms of the donation would have, probably, spoken of the whole available building.

† *Annali di Ludovico Monaldesco.* ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. xii. pp. 529, 542. A modester memorialist was never met with. This is all he says of himself:—"I, Lewis of Bonconte Monaldesco, was born in Orvieto, and was brought up in the city of Rome where I lived. I was born in the year 1327, in the month of June, at the coming of the emperor Lewis; and now I will relate all the story of my times, for I lived in the world a hundred and fifteen years without any sickness except at my birth and death, and I died of old age, having been bedridden a twelvemonth. Sometimes I went to Orvieto to see my relations." The narration of his own death is found in all the MSS., and judiciously inserted by Muratori, who bears testimony to the authenticity of this posthumous writer.

It is generally agreed that the porticoes on the south side were the first to give way; and those who assign the earliest date to the destruction of the exterior range of arcades in this quarter and towards the Arch of Constantine, do not descend lower than the famous earthquake in 1349. It is certain that in the year 1381 a *third part* of the building and a jurisdiction over the whole was granted by the Senate and Roman People to the religious society of *Sancta Sanctorum*, who probably formed their hospital in the higher arches blocked up by the Frangipani, of whose walls traces are yet apparent towards the Lateran. Their privileges continued until the year 1510, and their property was recognized in the beginning of the seventeenth century.\* The arms of the S. P. Q. R. and of the above company, namely, our Saviour on an altar between two candlesticks, are still seen on the outside of the arcades towards the church of St. Gregory and the Arch of Constantine, which must therefore have been, as they are now, the external range; but which, before the outer circles had fallen down, were, in fact, the internal arches of the first corridor. This proof seems decisive, that as early at least as the middle of the fourteenth century, the exterior circumference had ceased to be "entire and inviolate," so that Gibbon, by following or rather by divining the mysterious Montfaucon, has made a mistake of two

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\* Marangoni, *ibid.*, p. 55, et seq. They seem to have made a claim so late as 1714, which was not attended to. *Ibid.*, p. 72.



hundred years in assigning that state of preservation even as low down as the middle of the sixteenth century.\*

A letter in the Vatican library from the bishop of Orvieto, legate to pope Urban V. about the year 1362, is said to inform that pontiff that the stones of the Coliseum had been offered for sale, but had found no other purchaser than the Frangipane family, who wished to buy them for the construction of a palace. The editor of Winkelmann was, however,† unable to find this letter; and it is somewhat singular that no search has as yet been able to discover the document which Barthelemy saw in the archives of the Vatican, and which contained a common privilege granted to the factions of Rome of “digging out” stones from the Coliseum.‡ The author

\* “The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an era of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of 1612 feet was still entire and inviolate, a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of 108 feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul III. are the guilty agents.”—*Decline and Fall*, cap. lxxi. p. 424. After measuring the priscus amphitheatrici gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142) only adds that it was entire under Paul III., “tacendo clamat.” “Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, tom. xiv. p. 371, more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Look into Muratori, you find those words: ‘Per fabbricare il Palazzo Farnese gran guasto diede all’ anfiteatro di Tito. Fece gridare il clero e i Popoli suoi per le gravezze loro accresciute.’—*Annali ad an.* 1549, tom. x. p. 335. The indignation of the people was for the taxes not the destruction of the Coliseum.”

† Dissertazione, &c., p. 399.

‡ “Et præterea, si omnes concordarent de faciendò Tiburtino quod esset commune id quod foderetur.”—*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585, also published separately.

of Anacharsis, however, can hardly be suspected of an imposture; and the exaggeration of Poggio, who says that in his time the greater part of the amphitheatre had been reduced to lime,\* bespeaks some terrible devastation not at all reconcileable with that integrity which Gibbon affirms to have been preserved up to the time of Paul III. The historian quotes both the document of Barthelemy and the lamentation of the Florentine, and there is no way of accounting for his error except by supposing that he applied all dilapidation previous to that period solely to the interior elevation, which, however, would be also a mistake. Blondus has besides left a memorial of the ruin a hundred years before the pontificate of Paul III.† In fact we have seen that Paul II. had before employed many of the blocks of travertine for his palace of Saint Mark, and Cardinal Riario for that of the Chancellery.‡ Theodoric thought a capital city might be built with the

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\* “Ob stultitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad calcem redactum.”—De Variet. Fortun. in loco cit. Poor Marangoni interprets this folly to be their rebellion against, not the amphitheatre, but the pope. “Non oscuramente attribuendo queste rovine alla stoltezza de’ Romani, *ribellati contro il Pontefice*.”—*Ibid.*, p. 47.

† Both he and Lucius Faunus and Martinelli attributed the ruin to the Goths, mistaking an order of Theodoric to repair the walls of Catania with the stones of an amphitheatre, as if it applied to the Coliseum.—Marangoni, *ibid.*, p. 44.

‡ “Paulus II. ædes adhuc Cardinalis ad S. Marci amplissimas extruere ceperat: quas deinde cum Pontifex ædificaret ex amphitheatri ruinis uti postea Raphael Riarius et Alexander Farnesius fecisse dicuntur.”—Donatus, lib. iv. cap. ix. This is but a delicate phrase if Paul III. had really thrown down the outside ranges.

wealth expended on the Coliseum,\* and indeed some of the noblest palaces of modern Rome have been constructed out of a small portion of the ruins. There appears to have been a sale of some of the stones in 1531, and in the next century others were employed in one of the buildings on the Capitol.†

But all lesser plunder has been obliterated by the more splendid rapine of the Farnese princes. The Baths of Constantine, the Forum of Trajan, the Arch of Titus, the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the Theatre of Marcellus, added their marbles to the spoils of the Coliseum; and the accounts of the Apostolic chamber record a sum of 7,317,888 crowns expended between the years 1541 and 1549 upon the gigantic palace of Campo di Fiore alone.‡ Whether the progress of decay was anticipated and aided, or whether such blocks only as had already fallen were applied to the purposes of construction, is still a disputed point. Martinelli § has dared to believe in the more unpardonable outrage, whilst Marangoni has stepped forward to defend the Popes, but

\* Cassiod. epist. xlii. lib. iv.

† In 1604: these facts are stated from the documents in Marangoni, p. 56.

‡ Dissertazione, &c., p. 399, note c. The mention of the Theatre of Marcellus has been added from Venuti, Roma Moderna, in his account of the Farnese palace.

§ Roma Ricercata nel suo sito, giorn. 6, Marangoni, ibid. p. 47. Martinelli says Paul II. *cut down the arches towards St. John and St. Paul*; but Platina, who had been imprisoned by that pontiff, and would not have been silent (*perhaps*), notices no such attack in his Life of Paul.

candidly owns that Paul III. and Riario may have thrown down many of the inner arches.

Amongst the projects of Sixtus Quintus was that of establishing a woollen manufactory in the Coliseum, which had before given shelter to the artisans of periodical fairs; and according to what we can collect of the plan from Fontana,\* it appears that if it had been carried into execution the arcades of the Coliseum would have been entirely closed up, and the whole mass have been converted to a circuit of dirty dens like the Theatre of Marcellus. Mabillon, who says that if Sixtus had lived a year longer we should have had the Coliseum entirely restored,† talks as if he had never been at Rome or opened a single book on the subject.

In 1594 some of the upper arches were occupied by mechanics,‡ who paid a pound of wax quit-rent to the arch confraternity of the Roman Gonfalonier.

The papal government must be charged with neglect, if not with spoliation. Of the wall said to be built round the Coliseum by Eugenius IV. there is no authentic record. Gibbon quoted it from Montfaucon, who took

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\* Some of the earth was cleared away and excavations made in the area, and Sixtus had already advanced 15,000 crowns to merchants to "establish the manufactory."—Fontana—*di alcune Fabbriche fatte in Roma da PP. Sisto V.* Marangoni, *ibid.*, p. 60, 61.

† "Vixisset Sixtus V. et amphitheatrum, stupendum illud opus, integratum nunc haberemus."—*Iter. Ital.*, num. xxix., *Mus. Ital.*, tom. i. p. 74.

‡ Marangoni, *ibid.*, p. 71, 72.



it from Flaminius Vacca, who lived more than a hundred years after Eugenius, and reported it on hearsay.\* This majestic relic, which had been protected as a barrack, a hospital, and a bazar, and which more enlightened ages considered only as a convenient quarry, seems never to have been estimated in its true character, nor preserved as the noblest monument of Imperial Rome, until a very late period. Piety had interfered but feebly, notwithstanding the claims of the amphitheatre to veneration. Fontana, in his work,† had intended to give a list of the martyrs who suffered there, but employed a person to furnish his catalogue who is owned to have been of no very critical capacity, and to have inserted names to which this arena could not pretend. The more judicious Marangoni, who will follow no blind guides, nor any less respectable authority than the Roman martyrology, or the sincere acts of Ruinart, or Surio, or Peter de Natalibus, thinks it a supportable conjecture that Gaudentius was the architect who built it, and was put to death for his Christianity by Vespasian. The excellent Vicentine Canon forgot that he had just mentioned that the completion of the work took place after the death of that

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\* *Intesi dire*, &c. Vacca heard it from certain Olivetan monks of Santa Maria Nova; but Marangoni looked over their archives, and found no such record, nor have the Olivetans pretended to the property (*ibid.*, p. 58). Yet Nibby (*For. Rom.*, p. 234) quotes it as if not questionable (1828).

† *L' Anfiteatro Flavio descritto, e delineato*, dal Cav. Carlo Fontana, Hag. 1725. Marangoni, *ib.*, p. 25.

emperor. He will, however, positively name no more than eighteen martyrs of the male sex, beginning with Saint Ignatius, and ending with Telemachus, together with six females, four of whom are hardly to be reckoned amongst the triumphs of the arena, as the lions refused to injure them,\* and they were reserved for less discriminating executioners. The list is considerably swelled with two hundred and sixty "anonymous soldiers," who, after digging an arena without the Salarian gate, were rewarded with death, which the Christian fasti call martyrdom, on the first of March, in the reign of Claudius II.†

Marangoni avers that no memorial remains of the exact contrivance by which the sufferers were exposed to the wild beasts, although there are so many left of the conversion of the lions; but he might have seen the small bronze reliefs at the Vatican found in the Catacombs, where the lions are seen chained to a pilaster,

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\* S. Martina, S. Tatiana, S. Prisca, were all exposed to lions, who licked their feet: also "S. Daria verg. sposa di S. Crisanto, come crede il Martinelli, fu esposta dal Tiranno all' ignominia, sotto le volte dell' anfiteatro, ove da un liono fu difesa la di lei castità" (Marangoni, p. 25). Then comes much learning to prove there were brothels in the amphitheatre, which appears certain; but that there were lions in waiting may want confirmation. The lions being found good Christians, at least where females were concerned, virgins were condemned to worse than death from the violence of men; and it became a proverb, "Christiani ad leones, virgines ad lenones."—See Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, lib. ii. cap. i. tom. i. p. 197, num. 23, edit. 1651.

† "Dugento, e LX. MM. anonimi soldati, sotto lo stesso Claudio II.," &c. Ib. 23.

and the martyr unharmed and half-naked at their feet. That some innocent Christians suffered amongst real criminals is extremely probable. We learn from Martial that the amphitheatre was a place of execution, and that under Domitian the spectators were glutted with burnings and crucifixions. Those who had the noble courage to die for their faith, would be punished and confounded, except by their own sect, with other rebellious subjects of the empire. It appears that the condemned were brought in at the close of the day, and that the gladiatorial shows were terminated with these horrors.

The Canon, in order to show how much the Coliseum was always esteemed by the pious, relates that Saint Philip Neri was tempted by the devil there in the shape of a naked woman,\* and that a friend of Saint Ignatius Loyola had a hundred gold crowns given to him by a messenger from the martyrs who had suffered there, and

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\* The story is told from Father Bacci's *Life of Saint Philip Neri*, lib. i. cap. v. n. viii. ; but Marangoni, in relating it, does not observe that the devil must have been as fond of the Coliseum as the saint. Neri was a very considerable person in his day, and raised several people from the dead, particularly a youth of the Massimi family, on the 17th of the kalends of April, in 1583. This family, one of the noblest, and descended (so it is thought) from the Fabii, have attested the fact by building a chapel in their own palace, and by performing an annual service there, when they distribute pictures of the miracle, drawn in 1761 by order of Camillus Marquis Massimi, with a subjoined account of it just as it happened, in the presence of the father and many witnesses. Very nearly the same time that Neri was raising the dead in Rome, Lord Bacon was spreading his philosophy in London.

who were the peculiar objects of Loyola's devotions.\* Moreover, Pius V. used to say, that he who wanted relics should take some earth from the arena, which was cemented with so much holy blood;† and Cardinal Uderic Carpegna always stopped his coach opposite to the Coliseum, and repeated the names of all the martyrs who had been sacrificed on that spot.‡ His eminence's patience and piety were not, as we have seen, put to any very severe test. Yet, in spite of the sanctity of the earth, the structure itself was little benefited.

At the end of the sixteenth century a little church, with a bell and a contiguous hermitage, were consecrated by Julio Sansedonio, patrician of Sienna and bishop of Grosseto, and this structure was repaired, in 1622, in those arches where the hermitage and chapel are now seen.

It was above the site of this church, on a wide plat-

\* John Cruccius was the man's name—the messenger disappeared after giving the crowns. Cruccius came home and told Ignatius, “Il S. Padre tosto rese grazie a Dio, senza dimostrare alcun segno di maraviglia, forse avendone avuto alcun lume superiore: ma quanto alla circostanza del luogo, che fu l' anfiteatro, sembra potersi credere, che seguisse anche per intercessione de' SS. Martiri, de' quali S. Ignazio fu divotissimo.”—Marang., *ib.* 63. This is the way that books, and very good books too, are written at Rome.

† *Ib.* 64.

‡ “Ed a tempi nostri, son io testimonio, che ogni qualunque volta sono ivi passato col Signor Cardinale Ulderico Carpegna, questo piissimo Signore ha fatto sempre fermare la carrozza con fare la commemorazione de' SS. Martiri, che ivi gloriosamente trionfarono.”—*Ibid.* 64.



form which had been left entire over the arches of the old steps of the amphitheatre, that, from some time in the fifteenth century, the "Passion of our Saviour" had been performed on every Good Friday, by expert actors, to an audience which Pancirolus, in his 'Hidden Treasures,'\* affirms was equal to that of the ancient games. We have notice of the 'Resurrection,' written by Julian Dati, the Florentine, also performed at the Coliseum, although the date in which that sacred farce (they are Tiraboschi's words†) was composed, cannot be precisely assigned. It might be contemporary with the 'Abraham and Isaac,' acted at Florence in 1449, with the 'Balaam and Josaphat,' the 'Conversion of Saint Paul,' and other mysteries brought upon the stage in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

These representations continued in the Coliseum until the reign of Paul III., whose prohibition to continue them bespeaks him perhaps guilty of devoting the building to his own purposes of plunder.

With the exception of the above-mentioned chapel-building,‡ we lose sight of the destination of the amphitheatre until 1671, when permission was obtained from Cardinal Altieri and the Senate to represent bull-fights in the arena for the space of six years, and this would have certainly taken place had not Clement X. listened

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\* Tesori nascosti, quoted in Marangoni, p. 50.

† "Non possiamo accertare quando quella sacra farsa fosse da lui composta."—*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. vi. par. iii. lib. iii. p. 814.

‡ Bramante Barsi got permission to excavate there in 1639.

to the deprecations of Carlo Tommassi, who wrote a treatise to prove the sanctity of the spot.\* In consequence, the Pontiff employed the less pious zeal of Bernini, and by some arrangements of that artist set apart the whole monument to the worship of the martyrs. This was in 1675, the year of the jubilee.† The measures then taken to prevent the entrance of men, and animals, and carriages, by means of blocking up the lower arches, and to put a stop to nightly disorders, were, however, found insufficient, and Clement XI., in 1714, employed Bianchini in repairing the walls and finding other methods of closing the arcades, and about that time were also erected the altars of the Passion. A short time afterwards was painted the picture of Jerusalem and the Crucifixion, still seen within the western entrance.

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\* The senate granted the permission, reserving a box for themselves, holding twenty persons, "senza pagamento alcuno." See the document in Marangoni, p. 72.

† One of the inscriptions affixed on that occasion runs thus—

"Amphitheatrum Flavium  
Non tam operis mole et artificio ac veterum  
Spectaculorum memoria  
Quam Sacro Innumerabilium Martyrum  
Cruore illustre  
Venerabundus hospes ingredere  
Et in augusto magnitudinis Romanæ monumento  
Execrata Cæsarum sævitia  
Heroes Fortitudinis Christianæ suspice  
Et exora  
Anno Jubilæi MDCLXXV.

The Romans were not pleased with being excluded from their amphitheatre, and in 1715 made an application for the keys, which the Pope refused. The neglect of the interior may be collected from a petition presented in 1727 to allow the hermit to let out *the grass which grew on the surface of the arena*.<sup>\*</sup> A solitary saint had been established in the ruins at the first building of the chapel, and it is to a respect for one of his successors that we owe an interposition in favour of the Coliseum, which it would perhaps never have commanded on its own account. An attempt was made in the night of the 11th of February, 1742, to assassinate the hermit, Francis Beaufort, and it was expressly on that occasion that the accomplished Lambertini was induced to renew the consecration of the Coliseum.<sup>†</sup> His inclosures and edicts cleared it of murderers and prostitutes, and repaired the fourteen altars, and erected the cross; but in spite of this judicious interference, and whatever were the cares of the truly antiquarian Braschi, half a century seems to have much hastened the progress of decay, and in 1801 the most intelligent of our countrymen foresaw the speedy dissolution of the whole structure.<sup>‡</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup> Marangoni, *ib.* p. 73.

<sup>†</sup> The author of the memoir attributes the profanations suffered by the Coliseum to the devil himself. “Ma poichè l' infernale inimico continuamente procura,” &c. p. 67. Benedict's edict bears date 1744.

<sup>‡</sup> See Forsyth's Remarks, &c. p. 146, 2nd edit.

The great earthquake in 1703, which threw down several large masses towards the church of St. Gregory,\* most probably loosened other portions of the ruin, and in the year 1813 one of the arches fell to the ground. The late government has propped the tottering fragment, and the immense buttress which is modestly marked with the name and number of Pius VII., and is said to have cost seventy thousand crowns, will help to secure the yawning rents on the side towards the Lateran. Sentinels have been found a more effectual protection than the hermit, or the cross, or the walls.

With the leave of Maffei,† there is still something more than a piece of the bark left to wonder at. The antiquary may profit by the recent exposure of the substructures of the arena; but the clearing away of the soil, and the opening the arches, increased the satisfaction of the unlearned though devout admirers, who are capable of being affected by the general result, however little they understand the individual details, and who wander amidst these stupendous ruins for no other instruction than that which must be suggested by so awful a memorial of fallen empire.

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\* Marangoni calls it a wing of the building, on the authority of Ficoroni, who was in Rome at the time. *Vestigia e rarità di Roma*, p. 39. "Essendo caduta un' ala del Colosseo verso San Gregorio," *ib.* p. 48. One of the internal arcades also fell down on the day on which Innocent XI. died, 12th of August, 1689.

† "Che genera ancor meraviglia con quel pezzo della cortecchia che ne sussiste."—*Veron. Illust.*, p. iv. p. 24.



## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Coliseum has been under constant repairs since 1817. I found in 1828 that a great deal had been done to clear those corridors which were the most incumbered with ruins, and that those parts which threatened danger had been propped up by substantial brick walls, a sort of new entrance had been constructed on the side fronting the Temple of Venus and Rome, and a very judicious finishing of brickwork had given strength to the ruin in that quarter. The hall allotted to the Imperial Family had been restored as far as was practicable, and the Imperial Podium had also been partially restored. A discovery had been made of the subterranean passage by which the Emperors proceeded from the Palatine to the amphitheatre. This passage was constructed by Commodus, and was nearly fatal to him, for here was concealed the assassin who missed his aim for the sake of the sarcasm that accompanied his blow. A garden with some agreeable walks had been planted on the declivity of the Celian Hill, immediately contiguous to the amphitheatre, and every care had been taken to protect the whole monument from future injury.

The controversy respecting the original level of the arena has not, I believe, been yet decided; and as the underground stone-work which gave rise to it has been again covered with the soil, it is not likely that fresh arguments will be found to assist either of the contending parties. The question, it is modestly confessed,<sup>a</sup> has occasioned more clamour than has redounded to the honour of antiquarian researches; but the labours of BIANCHI could not be considered useless had they done no more than disinter the inscriptions given in a preceding page. It may be remarked, in regard to the second of these inscriptions, that if the stone-work discovered by Bianchi under the actual level, was raised by Basilius in order to prop up the arena, there is no necessity for the supposition that the ancient level was, as some contend, fifteen feet lower than it now appears to be. It is acknowledged on all hands that the construction of the underground walls denoted a period which might well accord with the præfecture of Basilius.

Some hollow passages towards, and under, the basement of the Temple of Venus and Rome seem to belong to those passages by

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<sup>a</sup> Nibby, *Rom. For.*, p. 242.

which the machines were introduced into the amphitheatre on days of extraordinary exhibitions.

The last work at the Coliseum has been the clearing of the basement corridors. Two French sentinels were protecting the building in 1854. It was to be regretted that those efficient friends of his Holiness did not extend their care to some of the contiguous monuments of Roman grandeur. The Forum and the vast arcades of the Basilica of Constantine were at that time almost inaccessible from filth, and from the purposes to which the unhidden nooks of these ruins, crowded as they were by visitors, were unblushingly applied. It is absurd to eulogise the papal government for its care of Roman remains, whilst such abominations are permitted on such a spot, and whilst the Minerva of the contiguous Forum of Nerva (Palladian or Transitorian), with its half-buried columns, is as much neglected and disfigured by rubbish as it was half a century ago (1858).

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO.—TOMB OF HADRIAN.

THE Mole was constructed, it is thought, on the plan, nearly, of the Mausoleum of Augustus or of Cecilia Metella.

We must recur to Gibbon to notice two or three mistakes which he has made in his mention of this monument. The first occurs in his account of the defence of Rome by Belisarius, where he says that the sepulchre of Hadrian was then converted, “for the first time, to the uses of a citadel.”\* This does not seem probable, for the account given of it by Procopius tells us that it had become *a sort of tower*, and had, by additional works, been *anciently*† joined to the walls of Rome. Donatus‡ and Nardini§ believe it to have been fortified by Honorius at the first approach of the Goths, when he is recorded as having repaired the walls.

It preserved until the tenth century the name of the

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\* Decline and Fall, &c. cap. xli. tom. vii. oct. p. 230.

† Παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι are his words. Γοτθικῶν. ἡ ἀ. p. 199.

‡ Lib. iv. cap. vii.

§ Lib. i. cap. x.

Prison or House of Theodoric,\* by which appellation it is designated once or twice so late as the fifteenth century;† and this circumstance makes it appear that the Gothic monarch had made it capable of defence *previously* to the siege of the city by Vitiges.

The second error occurs in a note in the same place of the history, in which the *breadth* of the sides of the ancient square base is mistaken for the *height* above the walls.‡

Another inadvertency is to be found in that passage in which the historian tells us, that if the people “*could have wrested from the Popes the castle of St. Angelo*, they had resolved, by a public decree, to have annihilated that monument.”§ But the partisans of Urban VI., in the year 1378, which is the period alluded to, *did take* the Mole, which was surrendered to them after a year’s siege by a Frenchman who commanded for the Genevese antipope Clement; and it was on that occasion that they stripped off the marbles and destroyed the square base, and would, conformably to their decree,

\* “Quod domum Theodorici dicunt.”—Bertholdus, ap. Baron. Ann. Ecclesias. tom. vi. p. 552, ad an. 1084.

† It had then begun to be called Rocca, or Castello di Crescentio, but the names were promiscuously used to the fifteenth century.—Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 386.

‡ “*The height above the walls, σχεδον ες λιθου βολην*,” says Gibbon, *ibid.* note 83. The words of Procopius are *εὖρος μὲν σχεδόν τι ἐς λίθου βολὴν ἐκάστη ἔκουσα· πλευραὶ τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις*, *ibid.*

§ Cap. lxxi. tom. xii. p. 418.



have torn down the round tower itself, but were unable from the compact solidity of the fabric.

The authority of Poggio alone, whom Gibbon cites and misinterprets, is decisive.\* “The other [sepulchre],” says the Florentine, “which they commonly call the “castle of Saint Angelo, the violence of the Romans “hath, in a great measure, although the title of it is “still extant over the door, defaced: and, indeed, they “would have entirely destroyed it, if, after having taken “away many of the great stones, they had been able to “pull to pieces the remainder of the Mole.” The resistance of the naked tower, when actually exposed to the triumphant rage of a whole people, must augment our respect for this indissoluble structure.

The efforts of the Romans are still visible in the jutting blocks which mark where the corresponding portion of the basement has been torn away. The damage must have been very great, and have totally changed the appearance of the monument. In fact, a contemporary writer,† one of Dante’s commentators,

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\* “Alterum quod castrum sancti Angeli vulgo dicunt, magna ex parte Romanorum injuria, licet adhuc titulus supra portum extet integer, disturbavit; quod certe funditus evertissent (id enim publice decreverant) si eorum manibus pervia, absumtis grandibus saxis reliqua moles extitisset.”—De Fortun. Variet. Urb. Rom. ap. Salengre, tom. i. p. 507.

† “Sed proh dolor! istud sumptuosum opus destructum et prostratum est, de anno præsentis, 1389, per populum Romanum, quia fuerat aliquando detentum per fautores Roberti Cardinalis gebennensis.”—Benvenuto de’ Rambaldi da Imola. Comment. in Dant. cant. xviii. ver. 28, tom. 1, p. 1070. Oper. Dant.

talks of the “sumptuous work” being *destroyed and laid prostrate*; and another writer of the same times\* records that the Romans did *so handle it and so dis-mantle it* that from that time the goats came to pasture about it.

The usual uncertainty obscures the original form of this structure. The Augustan historians have left us only two short notices, by which we know that the Tomb of Hadrian was at the foot of the bridge built by that Emperor. The restored figure given in the Itineraries, the triple range of columns, the sculptured marbles, the gilded peacocks, the brazen bull, and the Belvedere pine, date no farther back than the description of Pietro Manlio, who wrote about the year 1160, and who did not tell what he saw himself, but quoted a homily of Saint Leo.† Manlio himself saw it as a

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Tiraboschi (Storia, &c. tom. v. part ii. lib. iii. num. xi. p. 463) has corrected this date to 1379, making, at the same time, the following shameful mistake: “Perciocchè *parlando del Campidoglio dice*” (ib. p. 1070), “sed proh dolor! istud sumptuosum,” &c.; which shows that he never could have read the commentary itself, which says *nothing about the Capitol*, and where the castle of St. Angelo is specified in the words immediately preceding the above quotation. “Ideo denominatum est ab isto eventu Castrum Sancti Angeli, sed proh dolor,” &c. The necessity of consulting originals is nowhere so obvious as in turning over the great Italian works of reference.

\* “E si lo ebbero e tanto lo disfecero che a tempo dappoi ci givano le capre a pascere.”—Steph. Infess. *Diario. ap. Script. Rerum Italic.*, tom. iii. part 2, p. 1115.

† “Est et Castellum, quod fuit memoria Adriani imperatoris sicut legitur in sermone S. Leonis Papæ de festivitate S. Petri ubi dicit Adriani Imperatoris miræ magnitudinis templum constructum

fortress, with a church, perhaps, on the top, as described by Luitprand, a little before the time of Otho III.\* Yet the description of Manlio was followed by the anonymous pilgrim of the thirteenth century, and also by the sculptor of the bronze doors of St. Peter's in 1435, which furnish the original of the pictures seen in all the guide-books. The oldest description to be relied upon, that of Procopius, is much more simple. "Without the Aurelian gate," says he, "a stone's throw from the walls, is the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian, a striking and memorable work. For it is composed of Parian marble, and the stones adhere compactly together, although without cement. Each of the sides is in breadth a stone's throw, and the four sides are equal

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quod totum lapidibus coopertum et diversis historiis est perornatum : in circuito vero cancellis æneis circumseptum, cum pavonibus aureis et tauro æneo ; ex quibus (pavonibus) duo fuerunt de illis qui sunt in cantharo Paradisi. In quatuor partes templi fuerunt quatuor caballi ænei deaurati, in unaquaque fronte portæ æneæ : in medio giro fuit sepulchrum porphyreticum quod nunc est Lateranis in quo sepultus est Innocentius Papa II. cujus coopertorium est in Paradiso B. Petri super sepulchrum Præfecti."—See *Historia Basilicæ Antiquæ S. Petri Apost. in Vatic. cap. vii. p. 50, ad beatiss. pat. Alexand. III. Pont. Max. apud Acta Sanctorum, tom. vii. part. ii. p. 37, edit. 1717, Ant.* Alexander was elected in 1159 : there are interpolations in this history from the pen of a Roman canon of the Vatican, Paul de Angelis.—See *Prefat. p. 36.*

\* "In ingressu Romanæ urbis quædam est miri operis miræque fortitudinis constituta munitio . . . munitio autem ipsa, ut cetera desinam, tantæ altitudinis est, ut Ecclesia quæ in ejus vertice videtur in honore summi et cælestis militiæ principis Archangeli Michaelis fabricata dicatur *Ecclesia sancti Angeli usque ad cælos.*"—*De rebus per Europam gestis, lib. iii. cap. xii. fo. 51, edit. 1514.*

one to another: the height exceeds that of the walls. On the top are seen many admirable statues of men and horses of the same marble; and because this tomb seemed, as it were, a stronghold over against the city, the ancients joined it to the walls by two branches, which connected it with the town wall; it looks, therefore, like a high tower protecting the neighbouring gateway."\*

If then there was any colonnade similar to that of the plans, it must have disappeared before the time of Procopius; and the editor of Winkelmann, who avers that there are still evident traces of the adjustment of a vault, which sprang from the tower and terminated on the circular portico, asks whether it is probable that the pillars of the lower range may have been employed in forming the great portico which led to the Vatican, or in building the Vatican Basilica itself.† By this query, it is presumed, he thinks such a conjecture is probable, notwithstanding the columnar ornaments of the sepulchre are merely traditional, and are falsely supposed to have enriched St. Paul's *without the walls*, with her

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\* Procop. in loc. sup. cit.

† "Sarebbe mai probabile il dire, che le colonne più grandi abbiano servito al mentovato gran portico, che dalla mole giugneva fino alla Basilica Vaticana, restaurato, e ampliato di molto dal Pontefice S. Adriano. O che siano state impiegate nella stessa Basilica Vaticana?"—Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 386. If so, the church must be charged with another plunder of the monuments of Rome.



paonazzetto pillars, and the Lateran with those of verd-antique.

A more correct judgment could have been formed before the destruction in 1379 than can be deduced from the present naked skeleton of peperine, surrounded as it is by the repairs and outworks of successive pontiffs: for it should be borne in mind by the spectator, that, excepting the circular mass, he sees nothing which dates earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that even the round tower itself has been much changed by the explosion of the powder-magazine in 1497, the final reparation of which reduced the fortress to its present form.

The fate of the modern city, and even of the papal power, has in some measure depended upon the castle of Saint Angelo; and, by a lamentable coincidence, the tomb of one of their despots has helped to perpetuate the subjection of the Roman people. Of such importance was this fort to the pontiffs, that the taking of it is, by an ecclesiastical writer, ranked with a famine, an eclipse, and an earthquake.\*

At one time it commanded the only entrance into Rome on the Tuscan side.† The seizure of it by the

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\* "Eodem anno per totum orbem magna fames fuit, ita quod exinde multi homines mortui sunt: et sol eclypsim passus est, castrum S. Angeli captum est, terra mota est."—Vit. Pontif. Card. de Aragon. et alior. ap. *Script. Rer. Italic.*, tom. iii. p. 313, speaking of the year 1084.

† Lu'tprand, in loc. sup. cit.

Patrician Theodora, in the beginning of the tenth century, was one of the first steps towards the establishment of the power of herself and the more famous Marozia, her daughter; and the possession of it enabled her lover, Pope John X., after her death probably, to expel from Rome Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, the husband of the same Marozia.\* The daughter, however, was mistress of the castle in 925, and handed it over, with the sovereignty of Rome, to her second and third husbands, Guido and Hugo. Her son Alberic drove away the latter, who was obliged to drop down from the battlements upon the town wall. The castle stood two sieges against Hugo, and passed into the hands of the Patrician Pope John XII. That pontiff and Adalbert,

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\* There are some doubts and difficulties respecting these two persons whom Gibbon calls *sisters* (cap. xlix. vol. iv. oct. p. 197). Marozia had a sister, Theodora, whom Baronius, by a great mistake, calls the wife of Adalbert II., Duke or Marquis of Tuscany (*Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 917, tom. v. p. 282): but the lady to whom the exploits of a Theodora seem to belong, was the *mother* of Marozia, and she who placed her lover, the Bishop of Ravenna, on the papal throne, under the name of John X., in the year 914. This is the *scortum impudens* of Luitprand, who says of her, "*Romanæ civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat.*"—(*Annali ad an. 914*, ib. p. 273.) Gibbon tells us, that "*the bastard son, the grandson, and the great grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of Saint Peter*" (ibid. p. 198); but John XI. was the son of her husband, Alberic, not of her lover, Pope Sergius III., as Muratori has distinctly stated. (*Annali*, ad an. 911, tom. v. p. 268.) Her grandson John, otherwise called John XII., was Pope; but a great grandson cannot be discovered in any of the succeeding Popes, nor does our historian himself, in his subsequent narration (pag. 202), seem to know of one.

son of King Berenger, endeavoured to hold it against Otho the Great (A.D. 963), but were compelled to retire.\* The Saxon emperor came to Rome, and deposed John for "hunting and calling on Jove and Venus, and other demons, to help him when he played at dice, besides other irregularities."† Otho addressed himself to the assembly in Saxon, not being able to speak Latin. Benedict VI. was murdered in the castle by Cardinal Boniface Francone (in 973), who was driven from Rome by Benedict VII., but kept the Mole by means of a band of ruffians, and thus enabled himself to return from Constantinople, when he put to death another pope, John XIV. This was in 984 or 985.‡

It was in the succeeding pontificate of John XV. that the Cæsar Crescentius seized and re-fortified the castle so strongly that it was called afterwards his *rock* or *tower*, and all the efforts of an imperial army, commanded by Otho III. in person, were insufficient to dislodge him. His surrender was the effect of treachery, not of force.

The next memorable notice of the castle is the two years' blockade of the anti-pope Cadaloo, in the time of

\* The dates of some of these events will have been seen in another place. Luitprand is the authority for Hugo king of Burgundy's method of escape.

† "In ludo aleæ, Jovis, Veneris, cæterorumque dæmonum auxilium poposcisse dixerunt."—Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. vii. fol. xc. He was accused also of turning the Lateran into a brothel; in short, of everything but the real offence, *his opposition to Otho*.

‡ Muratori has the first, Baronius the second date.

Alexander II., in the years 1063 and 1064.\* Gregory VII. defended himself in the fortress against the Roman partisans of Henry IV., and in this transaction also the Mole appears to have been impregnable. The people and the Germans could not force their way into it, and the only effort made was to prevent Gregory from getting out. He was liberated by the army of Guiscard, but the castle fell into the hands of his enemies. The troops of the Countess Matilda put it in possession of Victor III., whose garrison held it against the partisans of the anti-pope Guibert in 1087. It was attacked by the people, and yielded by Urban II., not, however, in consequence of a violent assault† (A.D. 1091). It was then resolved to level this "lasting shame" with the ground: but the anti-pope Guibert, Clement III., retained it for his own service, and defended it for seven years against his opponents.

The army of the Crusaders, in 1096, assaulted it in vain. Urban recovered it by composition in 1098. Another anti-pope, Anaclete II., wrested it from the hands of Innocent II., who, returning with the Emperor Lothaire III., tried, without success, to recover it. This occurred in 1137, and in the following year, after

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\* *Annali d'Italia*, ad an. cit. There is a short history of the castle of St. Angelo in Donatus, lib. iv. cap. vii., which, being founded chiefly on Baronius, seems very incorrect, especially as to dates.

† Baronius would make it appear so.—See *Annali* ad an. 1091, tom. vi. p. 303.



the death of Anacleto and the deposition of Victor IV., Innocent was again master of the Mole.\* The Peter Leone family guarded it for the successive pontiffs, Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., up to the year 1153,† when the new senate occupied this and the other fortresses. It stood a siege for Alexander III. against Frederic Barbarossa, in 1167, but fell into the hands of the senate after the retreat of that pontiff.

The subsequent popes, however, seem to have been the nominal masters of it, even when they had lost nearly the whole of the temporal power at Rome,‡ and after the retreat to Avignon. A legate was governor at the elevation of Rienzi, and after his fall the Tribune remained for a month securely posted in the citadel. Innocent VI., hearing of the death of his Tribune-senator Rienzi, was alarmed lest the barons should seize the Mole, and accordingly delivered it into the keeping of Hugo Lusignan, king of Cyprus, then appointed Senator. On the return from Avignon it received Gregory XI. (1376); but his successor, Urban VI., lost it in the hurry of the election. The opposing cardinals would not deliver it into his hands, and the captain of their anti-pope, Clement VII., defended it, as already described, until 1378, the date of its destruction.

It remained dismantled until 1382, when two Romans

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\* *Annali*, tom. vi. p. 461.

† *Ibid.* ad an. cit.

‡ *Donatus*, lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 890. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. iii.

said to Boniface IX., "If you wish to maintain the dominion of Rome, fortify Castle Saint Angelo."\* He followed their advice, and a great antiquary records the consequence: "Boniface IX., the pontiff, first fortified the Mole of Hadrian, and *established the papal power.*"† The people petitioned Innocent VII. to restore to them *their liberty*, the *Capitol*, the *Milvian Bridge*, and the *Mole*, and seized, for a moment, all but the latter, which they assaulted, but were repulsed by the pontifical troops and totally routed in the gardens of Nero, in the Vatican.

Ladislaus, of Naples, expelled Pope John XXIII., and left the castle in the possession of his daughter, Johanna II. It now stood another siege from Braccio di Montoni,‡ and was soon afterwards delivered to Pope Martin V.

During the reign of Eugenius IV. a plan was laid for murdering the governor, and when that pope was driven from the city, the people attacked it furiously, but were unable to prevail. Sixtus IV. renewed the practice of naming cardinals to the præfecture of the castle. Nicholas V. added something to the fortifications; but Alexander VI. constructed the brickworks on the summit,

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\* "Se tu vuoi mantenere lo stato di Roma, acconcia castel Sant' Angelo."—Steph. Infess. diario, *ibid.* p. 1115, *loc. cit.*

† "Bonifacius IX. Pontif. max. primus, mole Hadriani munita, Romanorum Pontificum ditionem stabilivit."—Onuf. Panvini Descrip. Urb. Romæ, ap. Græv., tom. iii. p. 299.

‡ The dates will have been seen in previous notice of the destruction of Roman edifices.

and also the bastions in front of the Tiber. These additions enabled it to withstand the Imperialists of Charles V. for seven months; and it was not finally taken by assault, but surrendered, by Clement VII. and his thirteen cardinals, upon terms. Paul III. and Pius IV. adorned and strengthened it; but the great engineer was Urban VIII.; he added a mound, a ditch, a bastion, and a hundred pieces of cannon of different calibre, thereby making it evident, as Donatus quaintly observes, that "his bees (the Barberini arms) not only gave honey, but had stings for the fight." \*

Since the modern improvements in artillery, it is clear that the castle, commanded, as it is, by all the neighbouring hills, could never resist a cannonade. It was surrendered during the late war of 1814, after an idle menace from the French captain, that the angel on the top should sheath his sword before the garrison would capitulate.

Yet it has completely answered the intention of Boniface, and the Tomb of Hadrian has served for the basis of a modern throne. This must magnify our conceptions of the massive fabrics of ancient Rome; but the destruction of the memorial would have been preferable to the establishment of the monarchy.

The interior of the castle is scarcely worth a visit,

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\* "Nimirum apes non solum mel conficiunt sed etiam aculeatæ armantur ad pugnam."—Lib. iv. cap. vii. *ibid.* Books were written to show how it should be fortified; so the writer found somewhere; he believes in Guicciardini.

except it be for the sake of mounting to the summit and enjoying the prospect of the windings of the Tiber. The memorials of Hadrian are reduced to a bust, and a copy of it shown in the principal saloon, whose frescoes are very little attractive, after the sight of the masterpieces in that art. The size, however, of the room is so considerable, that a tragedy was represented there under the direction of Cardinal Riario in presence of the whole papal court.\* The living still continue to be entombed in the repository of the dead, and the exploit of Cellini, which a view of the fortress makes less surprising, has been repeated by a late prisoner.

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\* Tiraboschi, *Storia*, &c. tom. vi. par. iii. lib. iii. p. 816. This was about the year 1492. Innocent VIII. was spectator, and the academicians of Pomponius Lætus were the actors. The plays were performed also in the cardinal's house, and "in media Circi caveâ," probably the Coliseum.



## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE PYRAMID OF CESTIUS.

IT must seem singular that so little should be known of the two persons whose tombs were to survive those of so many illustrious names.\* Cestius is as little famous

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\* Perhaps the same may be said of the tomb of Bibulus—"ignoto però è il soggetto che ebbe quest' onore," says Nibby in *Roma nell' anno xxxviii. par. antic. p. 535.* But Nibby identifies this Cestius with the Cestius mentioned by Cicero in his oration for Flaccus—"Stabilita la data del monumento circa l' anno 719 di Roma è chiaro che questo Cajo Cestio è quello medesimo ricordato da Cicerone pro Flacco e nella lettera scritta per Attico da Efeso l' anno 702."—*Roma nell' anno 1838, p. 88, part ii. antica, 1842.*

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ADDITIONAL NOTE.

A remarkable proof of the accretion of soil in this part of Rome is seen in the trench dug down to the old level of the Appian Way, near the Cestian Pyramid. The road is laid bare at the bottom of the trench, and an inscription records the work and the result of it (1854).

The Protestant burying-ground is close to the Cestian Pyramid, and there may be seen memorials to men who did not obtain the same renown when alive as seems to be accorded to them after their death. It remains to be proved whether succeeding generations will confirm the judgment of their contemporaries, or of their im-

as Metella, and his pyramid is no less conspicuous than her tower. Oblivion, however, has been kind perhaps to one who has left no other present to posterity than this ambitious sepulchre; if, as there is some reason to suspect, this Cestius, Tribune of the people, Prætor, and a Septemvir, is the same Cestius, a Prætor, and flatterer of the Augustan court, who was publicly scourged by the order of Marcus Cicero, the son, for presuming to defame his father in his presence.\*

A learned person who wrote a dissertation on this pyramid, and disproved the mistake of Panvinus in supposing Cestius to be the consul of that name mentioned in the annals of Tacitus,† asserts that there is a total silence with respect to him in all ancient authors, but that he must have died, at least, as early as the middle of the reign of Augustus.‡ The Cestius above mentioned did not suggest himself to the antiquary, and perhaps may be the man we want.

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\* M. Seneca. Suasor. 7.

† Lib. vi. cap. 31.

‡ "Altissimum enim de illo apud scriptores veteres silentium est."—Octav. Falconierii, de Pyramide C. Cestii Epulonis, dissertatio, ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1475.

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mediate successors. The admiration of Byron has given place to the worship of Shelley, and to a fondness for Keats, and it seems to me somewhat unjust that the genius and literary merits of the first of these poets cannot be acknowledged without an attempt to depreciate the author of *Childe Harold*.

## THE EGERIAN GROTTTO.

The respectable authority of Flaminius Vacca induced me formerly to believe in the claims of the Egerian grotto.\* He assures us that he saw an inscription in the pavement, stating that the fountain was that of Egeria dedicated to the nymphs. The inscription is not there at this day; but Montfaucon quotes two lines† of Ovid from a stone in the Villa Giustiniani, which he seems to think had been brought from the same grotto.

This grotto and valley were formerly frequented in summer, and particularly the first Sunday in May, by the modern Romans, who attached a salubrious quality to the fountain which trickles from an orifice at the bottom of the vault, and, overflowing the little pools,

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\* “Poco lontano dal detto luogo si scende ad un casaleto, del quale ne sono Padroni li Cafarelli, che con questo nome è chiamato il luogo; vi è una fontana sotto una gran volta antica, che al presente si gode, e li Romani vi vanno l'estate a ricrearsi; nel pavimento di essa fonte si legge in un epitaffio essere quella la fonte di Egeria, dedicata alle ninfe, e questa, dice l'epitaffio, essere la medesima fonte in cui fu convertita.”—*Memorie*, &c. ap. Nardini, pag. 13. He does not give the inscription.

† “In villa Justiniana extat ingens lapis quadratus solidus in quo sculpta hæc duo Ovidii carmina sunt:

*Ægeria est quæ præbet aquas dea grata Camœnis;  
Illa Numæ conjunx consiliumque fuit.*

Qui lapis videtur ex eodem Egeriæ fonte, aut ejus vicinia isthunc comportatus.”—*Diarium Italic.* p. 153.

creeps down the matted grass into the brook below. The brook is the Ovidian *Almo*, whose name and qualities are lost in the modern *Aquataccio*. The valley itself is called *Valle di Caffarelli*, from the dukes of that name who made over their fountain to the *Pallavicini*, with sixty *rubbia* of adjoining land.

The Egerian valley of *Juvenal*, and the pausing place of *Umbritius*, was by most of the satirist's commentators supposed to have been in the *Arician grove*, where the nymph met *Hippolitus*, and where she was more peculiarly worshipped.

The step from the *Porta Capena* to the *Alban hill*, fifteen miles distant, would be too considerable, unless we were to believe in the wild conjecture of *Vossius*, who makes that gate travel from its present station, where he pretends it was during the reign of the kings, as far as the *Arician grove*, and then makes it recede to its old site with the shrinking city.\* The *tufo*, or *pumice*, which the poet prefers to *marble*, is the substance composing the bank in which the grotto is sunk.

Modern topographers† found in the *Caffarelli grotto* the statue of the nymph and nine niches for the *Muses*, and *Eustace*‡ discovered that the cave is restored 'to

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\* *De Magnit. Vet. Rom. ap. Græv. Ant. Rom.*, tom. iv. p. 1507.

† *Echinard, Descrizione di Roma e dell' Agro Romano, corretto dall' Abate Venuti in Roma, 1750.* They believe in the grotto and nymph. "Simulacro di questo fonte, essendovi scolpite le acque a pie de esso."

‡ *Classical Tour*, chap. vi. p. 217, vol. ii.



that simplicity which the poet regretted had been exchanged for injudicious ornament. But the headless statue is palpably rather a male than a nymph, and has none of the attributes ascribed to it at present visible. The nine Muses could hardly have stood in six niches; and Juvenal certainly does not allude to any individual cave.\* Nothing can be collected from the satirist but that somewhere near the Porta Capena was a spot in which it was supposed Numa held nightly consultations with his nymph, and where there were a grove and a sacred fountain, and fanes once consecrated to the Muses; and that from this spot there was a descent into the valley of Egeria, where were several artificial caves. It is clear that the statues of the Muses made no part of the decoration which the satirist thought misplaced in these caves; for he expressly assigns other fanes (*delubra*) to these divinities above the valley, and moreover tells us that they had been ejected to make room for the Jews. In fact, the little temple, now called that of Bacchus, was

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\* "Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam,  
 Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.  
 Nunc sacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur  
 Judæis quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.  
 Omnis enim pupulo mercedem pendere jussa est  
 Arbor, et ejectis mendicat silva Camœnis.  
 In vallem Egeriæ descendimus, et speluncas  
 Dissimiles veris: quanto præstantius esset  
 Numem aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas  
 Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum."

formerly thought to belong to the Muses, and Nardini\* places them in a poplar grove, which was in his time above the valley.

It is probable, from the inscription and position, that the cave now shown may be one of the "artificial caverns," of which, indeed, there is another a little way higher up the valley, under a tuft of alder bushes; but a *single* grotto of Egeria is a mere modern invention, grafted upon the application of the epithet Egerian to these nympha in general, and which might send us to look for the haunts of Numa upon the banks of the Thames.

Our English Juvenal was not seduced into mistranslation by his acquaintance with Pope. He carefully preserves the correct plural—

"Thence slowly winding down the vale, we view  
The Egerian *grots*; oh, how unlike the true!"

The valley abounds with springs,† and over these springs, which the Muses might haunt from their neighbouring groves, Egeria presided: hence she was said to supply them with water; and she was the nymph of the grottos through which the fountains were taught to flow.‡

\* Lib. iii. cap. iii.

+ "Undique e solo aquæ scaturiunt."—Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii.

‡ The true Egerian valley is now found within the city wall, where a brook runs across the road, at the spot assigned to the site of the old Porta Capena. That site is marked by the figure of an

The whole of the monuments in the vicinity of the Caffarelli valley have received names at will, which have been changed at will. Venuti\* owns he can see no traces of the temples of Jove, Saturn, Juno, Venus, and Diana, which Nardini found, or hoped to find. The mutatorium of the circus ascribed to Caracalla, the Temple of Honour and Virtue, the Temple of Bacchus, and, above all, the Temple of the god Rediculus, are the antiquaries' despair.

The circus was given to Caracalla† in consequence of a medal of that emperor cited by Fulvius Ursinus, of which the reverse shows a circus, supposed, however, by some to represent the Circus Maximus. It gives a very good idea of that place of exercise. The soil has been but little raised, if we may judge from the small cellular structure at the end of the Spina, which was probably the chapel of the god Consus. This cell is half beneath the soil, as it must have been in the circus itself, for Dionysius‡ could not be persuaded to believe that this

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arrow cut in the wall of a vineyard. The brook turns a mill. The former Egerian grotto is given to the god Almo, whose statue has succeeded to that of the nymph. The valley winds under the Cœlian hill towards the Lateran. [1854.]

\* Echinard, &c. Cic. cit., p. 297-298.

† But in 1842 this circus was universally called the Circus of Romulus—not the founder of the great city, but the son of Maxentius. The excavations of the Duke of Torlonia, or rather an inscription found in the brick ruins near the Carceres, have satisfied the antiquarians on that point.

‡ Antiq. Rom., lib. ii. cap. xxxi.

divinity was the Roman Neptune, because his altar was underground.

### TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA.

Four words and two initials compose the whole of the inscription, which, whatever was its ancient position, is now placed in front of this towering sepulchre :

CAECILIAE . Q. CRETICI . F. METELLAE . CRASSI.

It is more likely to have been the pride than the love of Crassus which raised so superb a memorial to a wife whose name is not mentioned in history, unless she be supposed to be that lady whose intimacy with Dolabella was so offensive to Tullia the daughter of Cicero, or she who was divorced by Lentulus Spinther, or she, perhaps the same person, from whose ear the son of Æsopus transferred a precious jewel to enrich his draught.\*

When M. Bayle wanted to find another Roman matron of the same name with whom to divide the redundant vices of two or three other Cecilia Metellas, he seems to have known nothing of this wife of Crassus and daughter of the Cretic Metellus, whom, otherwise, he might have suspected of being the counterpart of his Madame D'Olonne.†

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\* “ Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ  
(Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet) aceto  
Diluit insignem baccam.”

Hor. *Sat.*, lib. ii. *Sat.* iii. ver. 239.

† Dictionnaire, article “Metella.”



The common people have been more attentive to the ornaments of the sculptor than to the memory of the matron, for the metopes of the frieze, or a single ox's head with the Gaetani arms, gave to this tower during the middle ages the name of Capo di Bove.\* There appears to have been another place of the same name near Ostia in the year 953, unless this tomb should be supposed to be the place alluded to in an old charter of that date.† It was, indeed, an old Roman name, for Suetonius mentions that Augustus was born at a spot in the Palatine called *ad capita bubula*.‡

At what period the tomb of Metella was converted into the citadel of a fort can be guessed only by the period at which the monuments in the city were occupied by the nobles. Certain it is that the tomb was put at once to this purpose without any previous spoliation, and that the garrison unconcernedly dwelt over not only the mausoleum but the very ashes of Metella, for the coffin remained in the interior of the sepulchre to the time of Paul III., who removed it to the court of the Farnese palace.§ The Savelli family were in pos-

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\* Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii. appears to say it is called Capo di Bove, from a single ox's head sculptured over the door, with the arms of the Gaetani, which Echinard (*Agro Romano*, &c., p. 295) also notices, but which the writer does not recollect to have seen.

† *Dissertazione sulle Rovine*, &c., p. 391, note B.

‡ *In vita Augusti*, cap. v.

§ Echinard, *Agro Romano*, *ibid.* in loc. citat. note. This, how-

session of the fortress in 1312, and the German army of Henry VII. marched from Rome,\* attacked, took, and burnt it, but were unable to make themselves by force masters of the citadel, that is, of the tomb, which must give us a high notion of its strength or of their weakness. The soldiers of the tomb surrendered their post upon terms, and Henry transferred the whole property to a brother of John Savelli who had married one of the Colonna, and who was to keep it until a sum of 20,000 marks, due to the Emperor, had been discharged by the dispossessed baron. The Gaetani family became masters of the place afterwards; they raised the walls which are still seen contiguous to the tomb, and were part of their mansion and adjoining offices. To their labours is ascribed the superstructure, part of which still remains on the top of the monument.

Poggio† saw the tomb entire when he first came to

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ever, is disputed by Canina,<sup>a</sup> who thinks that the sarcophagus belongs to Herodes Atticus, and was not found in this tomb, but on the site of the villa of Herodes, where also were discovered the little columns with the Triopian inscriptions, now at Naples.<sup>b</sup>

\* “Unde moti Romani cum Theotonicis ad unum castrum, quod vocatur caput Bovis prope urbem ad duo milliaria, quod castrum erat Domini Johannis de Sabello, cucurrerunt, et castrum, excepta arce, violenter acceperunt, et partem combusserunt,” &c. &c.—*Iter Italicum Henrici VII. Imper., Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. ix. p. 918.

† “Juxta Viam Appiam ad secundum lapidem integrum vidi sepulchrum Q. Cæcilie Metellæ, opus egregium, et id tot seculis

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<sup>a</sup> Parte Prima della Via Appia, p. 87, note 25.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. pp. 89-91, note.

Rome, but during his absence the Romans had ground *this noble work*, for the most part, to lime. This demolition, however, must be understood only of the square basement, on which, like the mausoleum of Hadrian, the round tower was raised. Nor was it complete even of the basement, which was not reduced to its present condition until the time of Urban VIII., who, we have seen, cut away some of the travertine blocks for the construction of the fountain of Trevi. The destroyer of the adjoining fortress was Sixtus Quintus, the Hercules of modern Rome, who dislodged every Cacus and cleared the Pontifical states of their dens.

The tomb has, indeed, been much disfigured, and the lower part of it retains only a few jutting blocks of its former structure ; but it is still amongst the most conspicuous of the Roman ruins, and Gibbon must have been strangely forgetful of what he had seen when he wrote "*The sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its out-works.*"\* On the contrary, it is the sepulchre which

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intactum, ad calcem postea majore ex parte exterminatum."—*De Fortunæ Varietate*, p. 508. From this period also Canina dates the general destruction of the monuments on the Appian Way—"Da quell' epoca (1440) sino in prossimità dei tempi nostri si è continuato a distruggere quanto di piu rimaneva della stessa Via Appia."—(*La Parte Prima della Via Appia*, *Notizie Preliminarie*, p. 21, note 18, edit. 1853.)

\* Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 415, tom. xii. To this he has the following note :—"I must copy an important passage of Mont-faucon : *Turris ingens rotunda . . . Cæcilie Metellæ . . . sepulchrum*

remains and the outworks which have sunk. The feeble labours of puny modern nerves are fast crumbling round the massive fabric, which seems to promise an existence as long as the period of its former duration.

### TOMBS ON THE APPIAN WAY.

On the 14th of January, 1854, I went to see the recent excavations on the Appian Way, that extend for three miles beyond the tomb of Cecilia Metella. Except at Pompej, I know nothing like this road of tombs. Nothing can be more interesting and imposing than the

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erat, cujus muri tam solidi ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum supersit ; et Torre di bove dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic, sequiori ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turre etiamnum visuntur ; ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Ursini atque Columnenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat." This passage, which the reader will find in the *Diarium Italicum*, p. 156, surely need not have been ushered in with such solemnity, as if it related a fact to be collected nowhere else than in Montfaucon, or as if the occupation of Roman monuments by the factions was to be seen only at this tomb. Nothing remarkable is told by Montfaucon except the fact contradicted by the passage to which this note is appended, namely, that there *was a great tower* which had been the sepulchre of Metella, consequently that the said sepulchre had *not* "sunk under its outworks."

Excavations were made in 1836 within the tomb, but nothing was discovered, except the fact that the suggestions of Santi Bartoli and Piranesi with respect to the inner cell of the tomb were unfounded.—See Canina, *Via Appia*, p. 87.



general appearance of these sepulchres—these records of ages long past, of a people the like of whom are not now to be found upon earth. I am not sure that it has been wise to stick the fragments of contiguous tombs on the same structure, as if they all originally belonged to it; but, seen at a little distance, the whole effect is most impressive, and the long line of broken aqueducts stretching across the Campagna to the left (E.), the wild level down spreading to the sea on the right, the Alban Hills, with Castel Gandolfo, Marino, Grotta Ferrata, and Frascati, in white patches on the hills in front, under a deep blue sky and apparently close to us, surprised me and my young companion into repeated exclamations of admiration and delight.

The first to attempt a restoration of the tombs on the Appian Way was Canova, in 1808, when he put together, as before mentioned, the fragments of the monument of M. Servilius Quartus. The next restorer was the Abate Fea, who wrote a treatise on the Reconstruction of the Appian Way from Rome to Brindisi. But the last and most successful of the labourers in this quarter was Canina. He died only a short time ago (1858), but has left behind him many splendid proofs of his antiquarian exertions. A specimen of his painstaking genius may be found in the enumeration of the principal authorities consulted by him to ascertain the length of the old Roman mile, which he deduces from the exact measurement of the Roman foot, and gives at page 243 of his Appian

Way, Appendix 20.\* More conjecture than reality is naturally the result of these restorations, but several great names have been applied to the tombs from fragmentary inscriptions, and notices extracted from the works of Cicero down to the legends of the saints and martyrs. We have a tomb of Seneca at the fourth milestone from Rome, with a stone sarcophagus and a relief, representing, some thought, the death of that personage, but more likely telling the famous story from Herodotus of the death of Atys and Adrastus.† An earlier mound is assigned to M. Cecilius and Pomponius Atticus; the latter of whom, however, I do not quite recognise in the epithet applied to him by the antiquary: “Cornelio Nepote, in fine della vita di “Pomponio Attico, dicendo che *questo illustre Capitano* “fu sepolto vicino alla Via Appia, alla quinta lapide nel “monumento di Q. Cecilio suo zio materno.”‡

A letter of Count Borghese, dated in September, 1851, gave several of the fragmentary inscriptions found on the Appian Way. One of them is considered by the Count to have referred to a remarkable man because it records of him, a certain Erchidnus, that he was killed in Lusitania, such record being very unusual. It seems that some of those who wrote the inscriptions, or to whom they referred, were anxious

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\* E così il miglio composto di mille passi, cioè di mille piedi, si troverà corrispondere a metri 1481, 750, Appendix II. p. 248.

† Via Appia, p. 103.

‡ Ibid. p. 129.

that the deceased should not appear more important than he really was, for on the right hand of the road, between the sixth and seventh milestone, was found a sepulchral stone, with these letters: P. DECVMIUS. M. P. V. L. (PHILOMVSVS) Mvς; and, to prevent the possibility of the deceased being thought a lover of the Muses instead of mice, two of these little animals were sculptured on the sides of the Greek word.\*

Some tombs have been discovered on the Via Latina, the architectural decorations of which have appeared to be worthy of peculiar notice.

#### THE ALBAN HILL—CICERO'S TUSCULAN VILLA—THE VILLA OF HORACE.

The whole declivity of the Alban hill is of unrivalled beauty, and from the convent on the highest point, which has succeeded to the Temple of the Latian Jupiter, the prospect embraces the Mediterranean, the whole scene of the latter half of the *Æneid*, and the coast from beyond the mouth of the Tiber to the headland of Cir-cæum and the Cape of Terracina.

The site of Cicero's villa may be supposed either at the Grotta Ferrata, or at the Tusculum of Prince Lucian Buonaparte.

The former was thought some years ago the actual site, as may be seen from Middleton's *Life of Cicero*.

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\* Via Appia, p. 164.

At present it has lost something of its credit, except for the Domenichinos. Nine monks of the Greek order live there, and the adjoining villa is a cardinal's summer-house. The other villa, called Rufinella, is on the summit of the hill above Frascati, and many rich remains of Tusculum have been found there, besides seventy-two statues of different merit and preservation, and seven busts.

From the same eminence are seen the Sabine hills, embosomed in which lies the long valley of Rustica. There are several circumstances which tend to establish the identity of this valley with the "*Ustica*" of Horace ; and it seems possible that the mosaic pavement which the peasants uncover by throwing up the earth of a vineyard, may belong to his villa. Rustica is pronounced short, not according to our stress upon "*Usticæ cubantis*." It is more rational to think that we are wrong than that the inhabitants of this secluded valley have changed their tone in this word. The addition of the consonant prefixed is nothing ; yet it is necessary to be aware that Rustica may be a modern name which the peasants may have caught from the antiquaries.

The villa, or the mosaic, is in a vineyard on a knoll covered with chesnut trees. A stream runs down the valley, and although it is not true, as said in the guide-books, that this stream is called Licenza, yet there is a village on a rock at the head of the valley which is so denominated, and which may have taken its name from the Digentia. Licenza contains 700 inhabitants. On a peak a little way beyond is Civitella, containing 300.



On the banks of the Anio, a little before you turn up into Valle Rustica, to the left, about an hour from the *villa*, is a town called Vico-varo, another favourable coincidence with the *Varia* of the poet. At the end of the valley, towards the Anio, there is a bare hill, crowned with a little town called Bardela. At the foot of this hill the rivulet of Licenza flows, and is almost absorbed in a wide sandy bed before it reaches the Anio. Nothing can be more fortunate for the lines of the poet, whether in a metaphorical or direct sense :

“ Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,  
Quem Mandela bibit rugosus frigore pagus.”

The stream is clear high up the valley, but before it reaches the hill of Bardela looks green and yellow, like a sulphureous rivulet. Rocca Giovane, a ruined village on the hills, half an hour's walk from the vineyard where the pavement is shown, does seem to be the site of the Fane of Vacuna, and an inscription found there tells that the Temple of the Sabine Victory was repaired by Vespasian.\*

With these helps, and a position corresponding exactly

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\* IMP. CÆSAR. VESPASIANUS  
AUG. PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. TRIB.  
POTESTATIS. CENSOR. ÆDEM. VICTORIÆ  
*vetustate dilapsam sua impensa*  
RESTITUIT.

This was published incorrectly by Desanctis, Chaupy, and others until 1811, when Fea gave a correct copy (from one taken on the spot by Lorenzo Re) in his edition of Horace.

to everything which the poet has told us of his retreat, we may feel tolerably secure of our site.\*

The hill which should be *Lucretilis* is called *Campanile*, and by following up the rivulet to the pretended *Bandusia* you come to the roots of the higher mountain *Gennaro*. Singularly enough the only spot of ploughed land in the whole valley is on the knoll where this *Bandusia* rises,

“ . . . . tu frigus amabile  
Fessis vomere tauris  
Præbes, et pecori vago.”

The peasants show another spring near the mosaic pavement, which they call “*Oradina*,” and which flows down the hills into a tank, or mill dam, and thence trickles over into the *Digentia*.

But we must not hope

“ To trace the Muses upwards to their spring,”

by exploring the windings of the romantic valley in search of the *Bandusian* fountain. It seems strange that any one should have thought *Bandusia* a fountain of the *Digentia*—Horace has not let drop a word of it; and this immortal spring has, in fact, been discovered in possession of the holders of many good things in Italy, the monks. It was attached to the church of *SS. Gervais and Protais*, near *Venusia*, where it was most likely to be found.

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\* The writer of the Letter on Horace's Villa, published in Dr. Milman's *Horace*, pronounces me to be mistaken in this matter; but he does not seem to be aware that the name *Lucretilis* is only a baptism, and a recent application of the old designation to the hill by the owner of the farm.

To be aware of this fact the traveller must lay aside all modern guide-books and peruse a French work, called 'Discovery of the Country-house of Horace,' by Mr. Chaupy. This will undeceive him as to the Bandusian fountain, which he is not to look for in the Sabine valley, but on the Lucano-Appulian border, where Horace was born :

“ ——— Lucanus an Appulus anceps.”

The vicissitude which placed a priest on the throne of the Cæsars has ordained that a bull of Pope Paschal the Second should be the decisive document in ascertaining the site of a fountain which inspired an ode of Horace.\*

Professor Nibby,† in 1828, wrote an antiquarian journey to the Horatian Villa, to Subiaco, and to Trevi, near the

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\* Confirmamus siquidem vobis Cœnobium ipsum et omnia, quæ ad illud pertinent, monasteria sive cellas cum suis pertinentiis : videlicet Ecclesiam S. Salvatoris cum aliis ecclesiis de Castello *Bandusii*. The bull is addressed to the Abbot *Monasterii Bantini* in *Apulia Acheruntin*, and enumerating the churches, goes on, *Ecclesiam sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii in Bandusino fonte apud Venusiam*. The date of the bull is May 22, 1103.—See *Bullarium Romanum*, Paschalis, P. P. secundus, num. xvii. tom. ii. p. 123, edit. Roma, 1739.

† Professor Nibby's honours were given in the title-page of this work on the Villa of Horace. They are as follows :—"Professore di Archeologia nell' Archiginnasio Romano ; Membro del Collegio Filologico della stessa Università, e della Commissione Consultativa di Antichità e Belle Arti ; Scrittore interprete di Lingua Greca nelle Biblioteca Vaticana ; Censore e Socio dell' Academia Romana di Archeologia ; Socio dell' Academia delle Belle Arti di S. Luca ; dell' Academia reale Ercolanense di Napoli ; dell' Academia Reale delle Scienze di Monaco, dell' Istituto Reale di Francia," &c. &c.

sources of the Anio. In order to fix the site of the villa he tells us that Cluverius found the Horatian Varia in Vico Varo, and Luca Holstenius, Vacuna in Bocca Giovane. This last discovery determined the site of the Horatian abode.\* But notwithstanding this, and although Fabretti and others followed Holstenius, yet Kircher, Piazza, and Volpi were unconvinced until the Valerian tombstone settled for ever the disputed question.

This tombstone was found by the monks of S. Cosimato, in 1757, a mile from Vico Varo, on the Valerian Way, and was immediately converted into a coping-stone for the altar of the said monastery. Desanctis published it first in his 'Dissertation on the Villa of Horatius Flaccus,' in 1767; but he transcribed it incorrectly. Chaupy had it taken up, and gave an authentic copy of it in his 'Découverte de la Maison d'Horace,' of the same year. Nibby, however, did not think his explanation of it happy. This is the inscription:

VAL. MAXIMA. MATER  
DOMNI . PREDIA . VAL .  
DULCISSIMA . FILIA .  
QUE VIXIT ANNIS XXX  
VI . MEN . D. XII IN PRE  
DIIS SUIS . MASSA *man*  
*Deluna* . SEPRETORUM  
HERCULES . QUEQU . PACE.

The important word *Mandela* is clear enough. The other corrections are made without much difficulty or much

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\* See Adnot. in Cluver. p. 106.



use, except *Sepretorum*, which, says Nibby, is a proper name, or *nonsense*.

Having found Mandela, knowing that there was a place called "Licenza," in the ninth century, which was the same, doubtless, as Digentia, a river, or rather a village which *probably* stood on the banks of that stream, it was no great audacity in an antiquary to decide that any remains of an ancient villa in the neighbourhood of Mandela and Digentia must belong to the far-famed Sabine Farm. Accordingly, a tessellated pavement, of which the Professor gives a detailed account, was discovered in a chesnut grove, the property of one Orazio Onorati (a happy coincidence), about half a mile from the sources of the Digentia; and although, as Nibby confesses, "*manchino documenti diretti per riconoscere questo pavimento come appartenente alla villa Oraziana*" (p. 37), yet considering the site thereof—considering also that certain reticulated ruins were discovered close at hand, but were destroyed by "a great barbarian of a surgeon," as Nibby calls him, one Valentino de' Angelis, of Licenza—considering the style of the pavement itself, simple and elegant as it is, just suitable to the Augustan age, there is no reason to think that this pavement might not have belonged to the favourite retreat, and have been trodden by the very feet of the great poet.

That the Sabine Villa was somewhere in this secluded region may be safely admitted; but I am quite at a loss to know on what authority Professor Nibby decides at once that Bandusia was a fountain of the Digentia. The

editors of Horace do, indeed, call it the Digentian fountain; but, I repeat, there is nothing in the famous Ode, nor in any other of his poems, which makes it certain that Horace meant to immortalize his Sabine rivulet, instead of the real Bandusia of his birthplace.

Unless the Bull of Pope Pasquale be a forgery, there can be no doubt where that fountain was to be found; and I am much pleased to see that Dr. Milman, in spite of the letter in his own beautiful Horace, adheres to the opinion of Chaupy.

## CHAPTER XX.

## NEMI—THE ALBAN LAKE AND TUNNEL.

NEMI, that is, the Arician grove, and the Alban hill, come within the tour commonly made by travellers; and a description, in the usual style, will be found in all the common guide-books. No one should omit to visit the two lakes. The tunnel, or emissary, cut nearly two miles through the mountain, from the Alban lake, is the most extraordinary memorial of Roman perseverance to be found in the world. An English miner would be at a loss to account for such a perforation made without shafts. It has served to carry off the redundant water from the time of the Veian war, 398 years before Christ, to this day, nor has received, nor is in want of, repairs.\*

## DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT TOMBS IN THE ALBAN HILL.

When the traveller has wandered amongst the ruins of villas and tombs, to all of which great names are

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\* All that Livy says of this great work, after mentioning that it had been prescribed by a Tuscan soothsayer and the oracle of Apollo, is "Jam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros."—Lib. v. cap. liv. It was completed in a year. It is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and 6 feet in height.

given,\* he may examine the productions of a discovery which has been lately made, and which, if there be no deception, has brought to light a society possessed, apparently, of all the arts of ancient civilization, and existing *before the arrival of Æneas in Italy*—a society which was buried in the convulsion that changed the volcano of Albano into a lake.

Doctor Alexander Visconti has enabled us to judge of this prodigious discovery by publishing a memoir on the subject, and the reader may like to see the fact stated plainly, and divested of the solemn whimsical pedantry of the antiquary, and of the legal involution of the attached affidavits. It appears, then, that the Signor Carnevali, a gentleman of Albano, had found, in January, 1817, a considerable quantity of cinerary vases in turning up the ground for a plantation, near the road from Castel Gandolfo to Marino. On the 28th of the same month, one Signor Tomasetti, breaking up a continued mass of peperine which covers the declivity of the hill near the road to Marino, on the ground called Montecuccio, when he came to the distance of 571 Roman canes from the spot where Signor Carnevali had discovered his vases, suddenly found several cinerary vases, all of them broken excepting one. These were *under* the layer of peperine.

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\* Here you have Pompey's villa, Pompey's tomb, or, if that will not satisfy curiosity, the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii; and, in another quarter, the tomb of Ascanius. Some, who are not content with tombs, call them villas. At the bottom of the hill the antiquaries know the very cavern where Milo killed Clodius.



The two gentlemen above mentioned resolved then to make farther excavations, and, in presence of several respectable witnesses, on the 4th of the following February, broke up another mass of the same *peperine*, which measured  $159\frac{1}{2}$  Roman canes in square surface. They cut downwards through about a palm and a half of common soil, and then lower, to the depth of two palms of *peperine*, and came to some white cretaceous earth, the layer of which they found to be a palm and a half deep. In this layer they found a terra cotta figured vase, broken in many pieces. The vase was seen in its bed by all the witnesses previously to being taken up. Other similar fragments were discovered as the labour continued, and it was observed that the mass of *peperine* became much thicker and covered the surface to the depth of four palms. Pieces of a conduit-pipe of some size were also found, and that not in mass, but separated from one another. The fragments of vases produced from this excavation were not of sufficient size to furnish any conjecture as to the form of the vessels; but from the bottom of one, more entire than the rest, they were thought to have had the shape of a *pila*, or water-cistern.

It should be told that, at different periods, four and three years before, other fragments of vases had been found *under* the *peperine*; and that under the *same* mass of *peperine* certain stone-cutters had found pieces of iron, appearing to them to be nails. Of these discoveries affidavits were made a little after the period of the present excavation, in March. The Signor Carnevali tells his

visitors of a metal mirror also found in the same position ; but the affidavits make no mention of it.

The whole of the *fragments* found on the 4th of February were carefully collected, and the next day, in presence of the former witnesses and a notary public, were examined and compared with the *entire* vases found in January by the Signor Carnevali. The consequence of this comparison was a solemn judgment that the *fragments* and the entire vases were of the same composition and materials.

This identity being established, the same value was, of course, attached to the vases of the Signor Carnevali, which had been found *not* under the peperine, as to that of Signor Tomasetti, and to the fragments discovered on the 4th of February, *under* the rock. As, therefore, the Tomasetti vase and the fragments were in *themselves* in nowise curious, the antiquaries proceeded to the examination of the Carnevali vases with the same satisfaction as if they had been found *under* the rock with the others.

The Doctor Visconti addressed the above letter to his *friend*, Signor Carnevali, in April ; and the memoir, having been read in the Archæological Society at Rome, was shortly after published, together with the affidavits before alluded to. This memoir discusses the contents found in the Carnevali vases, which are, indeed, so curious, that it was thought worth while to give a drawing of them, which, after personal examination, I can aver to be very correct.

The whole memoir goes to prove that the vases and

the nails, and all the Alban fragments, belong to a state of society existing in this mountain before the volcano of Albano was extinguished,—that is, at some unknown period before Ascanius founded Alba Longa, in the year 1176 before the Christian æra.

It is premised that the peperine under which the Tomasetti vase, and (by inference) all the vases, were laid, was originally a volcanic substance thrown up at the great convulsion, and gradually formed into stone. These burials, then, did not take place after, but before, the present surface was formed; therefore they belong to a people who lived at Alba before the lake was formed and the crater became extinct: these people Visconti calls Aborigines. With this foundation the Roman antiquary endeavours to show that the burials may have belonged to a people even of the extreme antiquity requisite for such a supposition.

For the burnt bones are no objection: burning the dead was practised by the very ancient Greeks, by the very ancient Trojans, by the very ancient Thebans, by the very ancient Romans, and the very ancient Gauls; also by the modern Indians.

The vessels of earth are no objection, for the tomb of Belus contained a vase of glass, therefore clay must be much more ancient; besides which, Numa had a college of potters; and, in the time of Julius Cæsar, the colonists at Capua discovered some very old monumental *vascula* of pottery, with some inscribed brass tablets, saying they belonged to the tomb of Capys; add to this, these very

ancient pottery works were of a dark colour, as are the Carnevali vases, as if tinged with the oxid of iron, and their composition differs from the common clay by the addition of a certain quantity of volcanic sand, and, according to a chemical analysis, they are thus combined in every 100 parts:—

Siliceous earth .. .. .	63½
Aluminous ditto .. .. .	21½
Carbonate of lime .. .. .	4½
Water .. .. .	10½
	<hr/>
	100

The different contents of the deposit are no objection, for the large outward jar, the cinerary urn, the ointment vase, and the metal ornaments within the cinerary vase, the *calefactorium*, the perfume vase, the vase called *guttus*, the five other vases, perhaps for wine, and milk, and honey, the bowl, and the three platters, may be all shown to be of most ancient usage. The same may be said of the funereal lamp of rough workmanship, and more especially of a little rude idol which seems to be one of the *oscilla*, a sacrifice to *Dis*, in place of the human victim, and of that sort which Rachel stole from her father. “*Erat Laban ad tondendas oves, et Rachel furata est idola patris sui.*”

As for the bronze utensils, they are also of the highest antiquity, for brass was the first metal employed; the fibula may have pinned the amianthus or other cloth in which the ashes were wrapped, a conjecture more probable from its being made without



soldering; the elegance of the workmanship does not surpass that of the coin of Servius Tullius. Tubal Cain was a worker in all works of brass and iron. The small wheel, the little lance-head, the two hooks, the stylus, were part of the sepulchral *munera* buried with the dead; the spoked wheel was as old as the time of Homer; the stylus also, having the obliterating part moveable, differs from the usual form, and, *therefore*, is of great antiquity; styli were used at Rome in the time of Porsenna.

So far the Roman antiquary. It is now our turn to make a few remarks. In the first place, then, it should be told that, in the month of May following the discovery, the ground whence the interments were extracted was covered up, and shown to no one even upon inquiry. An English naturalist who visited the spot was unable to discover the precise excavation; and it was the opinion of the same gentleman that the stone called peperine was, in fact, a tufo gradually formed by the sand and water crumbling down the declivity from the summit of the hill, and not a volcanic formation, of which he discerned no signs. According to this supposition, there is no necessity for having recourse to the extreme antiquity assumed by the Doctor Visconti.

In the second place, although there was only one entire vase actually found under the rock, and that vase was of much more simple workmanship, and con-

tained none of the curious implements of the others, the Signor Carnevali, in showing his museum, makes no distinction between the two discoveries, but, on the contrary, endeavours, both by his silence, and, when he is pushed, by his assertions, to confound the two, assuming that his whole museum is of equal antiquity with the said Tomasetti vase.

This remark becomes more important, although more invidious, when it is told that the articles of the museum are *for sale*, the price of a complete interment being fifty louis d'or. This incomprehensible dispersion of such treasures does not quite agree with the following flattering conclusion with which Visconti perorates.

“DEAR FRIEND,

“These monuments are come into your house,—

‘Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris?’

it seems to me that the most venerable antiquities strive to get into your hands, for a few days since you have acquired that very ancient *æs grave*, never yet published, weighing four pounds and a half, with an anchor on one side and a tripod on the reverse; perchance it is the destiny of tripods to fall into the hands of the best of men. I recommend to you these *innocent utensils*\* that have lasted for so many years, more

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\* “Vi raccomando queste innocenti stoviglie.”—*Lettera*, &c., p. 29.

precious than gold and than silver, since they were made in times when, according to Pliny, gold and silver were worked not for men, nor even for the gods themselves. Take care that they are not broken nor lost, but pass down from age to age like the stars. What a number of fine things you have—and you may yet possess!! but your heart is refulgent above all; and if your modesty did not snatch the pen from my hand, how much I should write on that topic! I wait then for your other agreeable commands, that I may show you by deeds that I am," &c.

The owner may think he follows his friend's advice by retaining one or two of the best specimens.

Thirdly, the museum contains a great variety of articles, all of them *inferred* to have been laid under the rock, but for which circumstance there is no guarantee, even in the affidavits attached to the memoir; the bronze implements, in great number and of every shape, are of as elegant and elaborate workmanship as is to be found in the specimens which are seen in the other museums of Europe, and which confessedly belong to a much later age than that assumed by Visconti. These bronze implements are frequently discovered in Italy and Greece, and certainly do not agree with the pottery of the large jar, or of the cinerary vase, which is of a form much more rude than suits with their shape and make. They do, however, agree well enough with the lamps and lacrymatories, which are entirely of the

kind discovered every day in Greek and Roman burials. It is possible then, and, all things considered, probable, that the interments have been completed and adjusted since the discovery, and that part of the pottery may belong to one period, and the implements and the other part of the pottery to another. The styli are in great variety, and belonged to a people whose alphabet was less rude than the pretended letters on the vases—one of the fibulæ has not altogether lost the spring. It must not be deemed too uncharitable to hesitate before we believe that all the articles were found in the Alban vases.

In the fourth place: the larger pottery is neither Roman nor Tuscan. It is not altogether unlike that found in other places, and supposed to be the work of the early inhabitants, whom it is usual to call *Indigenes*.

The most learned Roman writers, Porcius Cato, Caius Sempronius, and others, were of opinion that the *Aborigines*, or, as others called them, the *Aberrigines*, were Greeks from Achaia, who had migrated to Italy many years before the Trojan war; and Dionysius says that, in that case, they were Arcadians who accompanied *Ænotrus* and *Peucetius* seventeen generations before the Trojan war,\* some of whom settled in Umbria,† and sent out colonies to the Corniculan or Tiburtine mountains.‡ These *Aborigines* were joined by the *Pelasgi*,

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\* Lib. i. cap. vi.

† Ibid. cap. xiii.

‡ Ibid. cap. xvi.



colonists originally from Argos,\* and the two nations, about three generations before the Trojan war, were in possession of all the country from the Tiber to the Liris; † but the Pelasgi were extinct at the end of that war, ‡ or were mingled with the Aborigines. § According to this account, we have Greeks settled for ages in these hills before the coming of Æneas to Italy; but that these Greeks were little better than barbarians we may collect from the same authority, which tells us that the Arcadians under Evander, who settled on the Palatine hill about sixty years before the Trojan war, || were the *first* that introduced the Greek letters, Greek music, and Greek manners into Italy. ¶ Besides these Greek Aborigines, Dionysius seems to talk of certain indigenal natives, who assisted them and the Trojans in founding Alba Longa. But who those Indigenes were, except they were Tuscans, whom he inclines to believe natives of Italy,\*\* does not appear from his account.

Whoever were the makers of the bronze implements and some of the lesser vases, they must be supposed in a state of civilization superior to that which Evander improved by the introduction of Greek arts and letters, and which must have belonged to the people living there before the mountain assumed its present shape.

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\* Lib. i. cap. xvii. xviii. xx.

† Ibid. cap. ix.

‡ Ibid. cap. xxiv.

§ Ibid. cap. xxx.

|| Ibid. cap. xxxi.

¶ Ibid. cap. xxxiii.

\*\* Ibid. cap. xxix.

The pottery is sufficiently rude for that age, but, unless all the articles were found together and in the pretended position, nothing can be argued with safety from any of the phenomena. Visconti has gained nothing by showing the remote antiquity of similar manufactures. No one doubted that fact, but the question evidently reduces itself to the assigning *these individual* interments to a time and nation to which they may be reasonably referred. The inquiry undoubtedly is, supposing the whole discovery to be established, and that nothing has been interpolated, what people ever lived on the Alban hill at any period who might have made these vases?

After my return to England in 1818 I was favoured by an English antiquary \* with a suggestion which is certainly more ingenious, and it may be thought more satisfactory, than the researches of Visconti. That which puzzled the Italian most has furnished the Englishman with the clue of his conjecture; for those figures which Visconti thinks may be letters, or, perhaps, whole words, like the Chinese characters, have induced him to come to a very different conclusion.

The similarity between the Runic "hammer crosses" and the marks on the vases of Alba Longa is so great that one might be tempted to maintain their identity, and there is, perhaps, some connexion between both


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\* Sir Francis Palgrave.

and the *crux ansata* of the Egyptian monuments. It is certain that the mythology of the Asi, although its doctrines may have been clad in another guise, was not confined to the Scandinavian race. And it seems that a character bearing a close affinity to the Runic alphabet was once widely diffused throughout ancient Europe. The national enthusiasm of the northern antiquaries has too often outstripped their judgment, and many of the fanciful analogies of such really excellent authors as Perugakioled and Rudbuck must, unfortunately, be reckoned amongst the dreams of the learned; yet the truths which they have discovered may be easily separated from their delusions. Perhaps a Celtic origin may be ascribed to the tomb. Of the Celtic Taranus we know little; yet there are Roman inscriptions which show that he was worshipped as the Roman Jupiter. And it cannot be denied but that the deity whom the Romans knew as Jupiter was the thunderer of the Northmen. If the superincumbent body of peperine is to be considered as a proof of the remote antiquity of the tomb, it must be referred to the Celtic aborigines of Italy; but if the bed can be considered as a formation of comparatively recent date, then the vase may contain the ashes of some Gaulish chieftain or of a heathen Goth or Lombard.

A character resembling the hammer of Thor is seen in inscriptions discovered in Spain, and which resemble the legends of the medals which the Spaniards call the

“medallas desconocidas.” The same character also lurks in many magical books, though under other combinations. It may be considered as a wild speculation to discover the traces of ancient mythology in a school-boy’s scrawl; but a remarkable instance can be given of the strange stubborn vitality of these vestiges of the superstitions of the elder day. We often see English

shepherds cutting the pentalpha  in the turf, although they never heard of Antiochus or saw his coin, and although they are ignorant of its mystic power.

Sir William Jones, with his usual taste and research, has drawn a parallel between the deities of Meru and Olympus: and an enthusiast might, perhaps, maintain that the vases of Alba Longa were a relic of the times when one religion prevailed in Latium and Hindûstan. It is most singular that the Hindû cross is precisely the hammer of Thor.

It may finally be observed, that, supposing the state of remote society to have existed which the Italian antiquary assigns to the hill, and supposing these relics to have been suddenly overwhelmed by the volcano in those unknown ages, some other vestiges besides sepulchral deposits would have been found to attest the same industry and skill in the arts which are manifested in these specimens.

Notwithstanding, however, these difficulties and a



division of opinion even amongst the Romans, the discovery of the Alban vases has been considered of much importance, and has transported the antiquaries into ages and amongst nations where, having no guide to lead, and no witnesses to contradict them, they may form leisurely a world of their own.\*

## VATICAN.

This stupendous collection adds daily to its treasures, and there are many marbles for which no place has yet been found. The Borgian apartments have received many new and several well-known specimens of ancient art. The frescoes which I saw on the walls of the Villa of Munatia Procula, when first discovered in 1822, have found their way to this chamber. The five heroines are painted at full length, and, having no feature or symbol to distinguish them, except the bull of Pasiphæe, the artist has taken care to add their names—a common contrivance on the pictures of vases, but not so frequent in frescoes. The companions of Pasiphæe are Scylla, Myrrha, Canace, and Phædra. Such ladies might, as the elder Madame de Staël said of herself, have been well contented with a bust: how they came to be

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\* The conjecture that the vases might be Gothic, of the time of Totila, was afterwards adopted by Professor Nibby in his 'Viaggio Antiquario.'

favourites with Munatia Procula it is difficult even to conjecture. They would have been no very inappropriate ornaments of the apartments where they are now found, when occupied by the Borgian family ; but the prudent Pinturicchio took care to employ his pencil on other subjects—for the fresco next to the Ascension of our Saviour represents Alexander VI. himself playing a conspicuous part at the general resurrection. It must have been particularly edifying to the holy father and his daughter Lucretia to have “stared devoutly” on these painted ceilings, particularly on a composition which is thus described in the guide-books: “S. Barbara che si toglie dalle insidie del padre.”

In the same apartment are now to be seen the famous “Nozze Aldobrandini,” until lately the property of a private gentleman. The learned, after much wrangling, seem to resolve that this is the bridal of Peleus and Thetis ; but this is only a guess. That the costume is not Roman is quite clear ; yet there have been connoisseurs who resorted to the epithalamiums of Catullus and of Statius for the origin of this picture. The friezes from the Forum of Trajan, exhibited in these apartments, show a specimen of workmanship as delicate and highly finished as the intaglio of a cabinet : yet they were viewed at a height of fifty feet, perhaps, from the ground. The Boxers in relief were found in the same forum ; so also was the large portrait of Trajan, also in relief, which has been restored by Thorwaldsen.

## CORRIDOR OF BRAMANTE.

The Corridor of Bramante may be said to contain the largest collection of sepulchral inscriptions in the world. Though the great mass of them are filled with unheard-of names, yet there is something interesting in feeling ourselves at once, as it were, in the midst of long-past generations, speaking to us by records more certain and more affecting than any history, however eloquent. This is the charm of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Here, as in the Villa Albani and elsewhere, I remark that the *elder* ancients did not usually vary their expressions of regret or admiration, nor give scope to their feelings upon the tombstones of their friends, in the style of modern epitaphs. The wives are generally “dearest” and “sweetest,” the husbands “well deserving;” the patron or powerful friend is, for the most part, “the best” of his kind; but the higher the quality, the shorter and simpler the praise. The flowers of poetry are generally reserved for respectable concubines or faithful fellow-freedmen. Nothing can be shorter or plainer than the inscriptions which tell on what spot the Lords of the Roman World were reduced to ashes:—

TI. CÆSAR  
GERMANICI CAESARIS F  
HIC CREMATUS EST.

TI. CAESAR.  
DRUSI CAESARIS F  
HIC SITUS EST

C. CAESAR .  
GERMANICI CAESARIS F  
HIC CREMATUS EST.

LIVILLA  
GERMANICI F.\*

In the degeneracy of the arts the humblest and easiest accomplishment seems to have been as unattainable as the highest effort of art ; and the date of a tomb or a milestone may be guessed as much by the form of the letters, as that of the frieze of a temple, or the face of a statue, by the style and finish of the sculpture : yet mere imitation might have produced a broad, well-defined, deeply-cut, straight, or curved line. No more was wanted.

In ranging over the vast never-ending galleries and superb saloons, studded as they are with innumerable columns, statues, busts, reliefs, mosaics, and other specimens of art, of every imaginable shape and kind, the stranger may easily imagine himself in some old imperial residence, amidst the fresh un mutilated masterpieces of antiquity ; but could these wonderful works be suddenly reduced to the state in which they were first discovered, he would be still more surprised at the ingenuity and hardihood which, from headless trunks, fractured limbs, disfigured busts, and fragments of drapery, have composed an august assemblage and a tolerably complete series of

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\* These are on stones which serve as pedestals to statues in the statue gallery, near the Ariadne, found, I believe, in the mausoleum of Augustus.



the deities of Olympus, the sages and orators of Greece, and the masters of the Roman world. Very few of these were found as we now see them. The half-naked statue of Augustus in the "Sala a Croce Greca" is pointed out as a great curiosity, because discovered with his head on his shoulders. The old Romans, artists as well as emperors, not unfrequently fitted a new face on a beheaded statue. In some cases the bodies and busts were so contrived as to fit any head; and the moderns have made a thousand arbitrary restorations, which, though they add to the first effect, diminish that permanent satisfaction which is derived only from a conviction of authenticity. Before Winkelmann wrote, the first name that suggested itself was the first name applied; the artist added the appropriate symbols; a medal or a previous specimen furnished any deficient feature; the baptism was seldom controverted, and the succeeding age forgot the imposture. Even Winkelmann himself was comparatively uninformed, or over-credulous, or too presumptuous, and his merits have been eclipsed by the superior skill of Visconti. Since his time restorers have been more cautious, and antiquaries more sceptical. Some of the gross misnomers have disappeared from the common guide-books. Ariadne is no longer Cleopatra, though the verses of Castiglione still remain to perpetuate the error; nor is the Mercury now called Antinous: but the critic who rejects one mistake very often hazards an equally unfounded conjecture; and the fine statue in the "Braccio Nuovo," which is now found out not to be a real young

Esculapius, is therefore to be something still more interesting, namely, a portrait *perhaps*, says Nibby (735), of Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus. There is another Mercury in the Braccio Nuovo, which once had the head of Hadrian ; but his own head being found in the Coliseum, that of the emperor was taken off, the authentic bust replaced, and a new caduceus put into his hand to prevent future mistakes.

### BRACCIO NUOVO.

The Braccio Nuovo, perhaps the noblest gallery in the world, from its fresh and glossy splendour looks like the work of yesterday. Yet all the mosaics, the friezes, cornices, floorings, columns—in short, all the architectural decorations of this splendid saloon—are antiquities, or fragments of marbles, the ornaments of ancient Rome. With the exception of the Three Graces, whom the piety of Leo XII. banished to the secluded society of the Nymph and Faun,\* the collection remains in the same state as it was left by Pius VII.

No authorised catalogue has hitherto (in 1828) been published of the stupendous collections of the Vatican, probably because the patent or privilege of making

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\* “When a magnificent collection of engravings representing the works of Canova had been prepared, he purchased all the plates, at an enormous cost, I believe at Florence, that he might suppress and destroy such as were not consistent with delicacy of morals,” says Cardinal Wiseman, speaking of Leo XII.—*Four Popes*, p. 265.

one has been granted to a person who was not able or willing to attempt such a necessary labour ; but it is said that such a work is now in progress. In all other respects there is a magnificent liberality and good taste in the arrangements connected with the exhibition, quite worthy of those who have had the good fortune to possess such invaluable treasures.

On the public days (Monday and Thursday) there are but few guards ; but these few are sufficient to watch the conduct of the spectators, many of whom are of the lowest classes of mountain peasants, and who, notwithstanding all that has been said of their Italian taste, certainly manifest no admiration for the remains of ancient art. The divinities of the Belvedere protect themselves. There is nothing to save the Apollo or the Mercury from the wantonness of a child or the frenzy of a madman ; yet not a pin-scratch is to be seen on all their polished surface. They have not been injured by their double journey across the Alps, neither can it be said that the whole collection has lost by the Bonaparte family : indeed, it has gained ; for the Giustiniani Minerva and the Antonia, found at Tusculum, passed from Lucien to the new gallery of Pius VII.

It may seem wonderful that even Rome itself should supply such an assortment. The detail of the mosaics alone would fill a volume ; so would that of the sarcophagi. Another might be devoted to the bathing vases—another to the columns—another to the candelabras. Yet these and many other exquisite specimens of ancient

luxury are but the furniture for the glorious receptacle of the real masterpieces.

Every gallery—every collection, public or private—almost every excavation within ten miles of Rome—have contributed something to complete this work to wonder at. The Villa of Cassius, at Tivoli, furnished eight of the Muses ; but Urania was wanting. She was found at Velletri, and soon joined her sisters in the octagonal saloon. The same Tiburtine Villa provided a Pericles ; and soon after, at another spot, Aspasia reappeared. These illustrious Athenians are now face to face amidst the other worthies of Greece.

The delight of roaming through these galleries cannot be described or communicated. It may be necessary to be a connoisseur, or an antiquary, to feel the full influence of the genius of the place ; but a general acquaintance with ancient history, and that common perception of the sublime and admirable which falls to the lot of a majority of those who have received a liberal education, are sufficient for a visit to the Vatican. The variety, and number, and splendour, and value of the objects, neither dazzle, nor fatigue, nor confound the spectator. He has space, and he may find time, for the contemplation of all the principal masterpieces. But it will be advisable not to take advantage of the new arrangement which drops him through a single doorway from the ancient to the modern world, and shifts the scene of enchantment at once from the age of the Cæsars to the golden days of Papal Rome. The miracles of the picture gallery—the great frescoes of



the CAMERE and of the Sistine Chapel—the arabesques of the Loggie—should be viewed apart from the sculptures: yet it is the fashion to walk the round of all these wonders, and to climb to the Titians, and Raffaels, and Domenichinos above, on the same day, because they are to be seen in the eleven hundred rooms of the same palace.

The master and tenant of the Vatican has fitted up a villa, about six miles from Rome, in a style which shows that a daily contemplation of the noblest productions of human genius does not necessarily beget a sensible taste in the lower departments of art. In this retreat his Holiness beholds his own work—a little wood, and a little pond, and a little boat upon it, besides *two* deer and a couple or two of tame rabbits, and some tame ducks on the water. The entrance to this paradise is through a green gate, adorned by a pair of enormous knockers, in the last London fashion.

The above cursory remarks were made in 1828, whilst Leo XII. was still on the throne: he died in 1829. His successor, Pius VIII., reigned too short a time to make any additions to the Vatican galleries; but Gregory XVI. was a considerable contributor to them. He placed the Etruscan collection in a suite of ample halls, formerly the apartments of the Cardinal Librarian;\* he put together the Romano-Egyptian gallery, and added the

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\* Wiseman, *Four Popes*, p. 441, et seq.

Appartamento Borgia, a series of ten noble halls, at the end next to the palace in the Belvedere Court ; he placed the Byzantine pictures in the Christian Museum ; he continued the useful work of covering the Loggie with glass, and restored the frescoes of the upper corridor, by the help of Professor Agricola. Gregory founded the Lateran Museum, which Pius IX. has much enriched. The Antinous and Sophocles were acquisitions of his reign. All these acquisitions may fairly be attributed to Gregory XVI., and when I was in Rome in 1842-3 he was engaged in similar duties, and the Vatican, as heretofore, was accessible at reasonable hours. Not so in 1853-4. I then found many troublesome restrictions ; and, more than once, when visiting the apartments, even on public days, was obliged to leave them at an unusual hour, because his Holiness chose to walk in them.

The French garrison contributed much to the security of his Holiness in the streets of Rome ; but the sight of the patrols and sentries could not add to the pleasures of a promenade, and I can easily understand why Pius preferred his own endless galleries to a public street or suburban road. Nevertheless, the well-known liberality of former pontiffs, and of Pius himself in former times, made recent regulations, both at the Vatican and Capitol, more annoying to strangers.

#### VILLA ALBANI.

The Abate Gaetano Marini published the Inscriptions and an enumeration of the marbles, with a concise

description annexed to each. Vincenzo Poggidi also published the Inscriptions. The catalogue was reprinted in 1803, and after the plunder of the French the number of statues, busts, hermes, reliefs, mosaics, urns, and sculptured marbles of every description, including recent acquisitions, amounts to six hundred and twenty-four, the number of inscriptions to a hundred and five. Some of the stolen treasures, and amongst them the superb Antinous, had been recovered; but what must the whole collection have been when Winkelmann arranged and illustrated this great repository of ancient art? In the apartment called the Coffee-house they have supplied the place of the cameos with imitations in paste.

Hadrian's Tiburtine Villa furnished the greater part of the collection. A whole apartment in the Capitoline Museum, and very many niches in the Vatican, have been filled from the same vast assemblage of imperial rarities. The sculptor and the architect and the antiquary owe more to Hadrian and to Nero than to any other emperor. The busts of Trajan seem to have been multiplied during the reign of his grateful successor; several of them were found in his Tiburtine Villa. The best of Roman princes had a countenance displaying more benevolence than dignity. The lower does not correspond, either in size or expression, with the upper portion of the face.

Some of the Albani portraits are, I presume, apocryphal. The naked Brutus, with the iron dagger, is a strange figure; there is something mean and insignifi-

cant in the mouth and chin of the busts that pass for this patriot.

In looking at the inscriptions, sepulchral and dedicatory, of this collection, I was pleased to observe that the eulogies were concise. Even Marcus Aurelius is only "the best and most indulgent prince." "OPTIMO Civi, ob merita" is all the praise given to a Questor, an Edile, and Curator of the Public Works, Licinius Herodes. The superlatives, such as *pientissimo*, *piissimo*, *sanctissimo*, *rarissimo*, *dulcissimo*, *carissimo*, are sometimes employed, but one of these generally serves for each of the dead. I saw no affected addresses to survivors; a simple prayer to the passing traveller I did see:—

Domnadius Possessor  
Colonus sequens  
Et te, Viator, præcor,  
Parce tumulo Narcissi.

Nor are there many moral reflections in these epitaphs; I remarked but one:—

Primæ  
Pompeiæ  
Ossua heic.  
Fortuna spondet multa  
Multis, præstat nemini, vive indies  
Et horas, nam proprium est nihil.  
Salvus et Heros dant.

I remarked only one epitaph in verse, to Terentia Asiatica Alunna. The affectation of using Greek letters is observable here and there:—



Δ Μ  
 ΤΙΤΙΑΙ ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ΜΑΡ  
 ΚΟΥΣ. ΤΙΤΙΟΥΣ. ΖΗΝΟ  
 ΒΙΟΥΣ ΚΟΝΙΟΥΤΙ ΒΕΝΕ  
 ΜΕΡΕΝΤΙ. ΦΗΚΙΤ.

The famous stucco reliefs, representing the Labours of Hercules, afford an excellent specimen of what may be done by the labours of an antiquary. Let any one try to decipher a line or two of the writing, and he will be able to appreciate the merit of Corsini, who has given a version of the whole inscription on the pilasters.

The Casino of the Villa Albani possesses attractions superior to those of any of the suburban palaces of Rome. Those who are indifferent to the treasures within may still enjoy the glorious prospect to be seen from the gardens. The view from the terrace surpasses, perhaps, that from the opposite extremity of the great city, inasmuch as there is greater variety and grandeur of scenery in the Tiburtine than in the Alban hills. After being hurried through the galleries by the weary guardian of marble gods and heroes and emperors, who tells his tale with fretful impatience, you are allowed to linger in the gardens and gaze at your leisure on scenes which, even if history and fable had not attached an eternal interest to every sunny peak and dark chasm of the mountain-landscape before you, would reward you for a journey of a thousand miles—

“Enjoy them you—Villario can no more.”

The Cardinal Albani, in 1828, when this trivial sketch of his villa was made, was legate at Bologna, and never

visited his Roman paradise. At my next visit, in 1843, he was dead, and it was not to be seen without a written order.

### THE VILLA BORGHESE.

The greater part of the antiques of this famous villa, amounting to 155, were sold to Napoleon in 1808. The family claimed them in 1814, but Louis XVIII. refused to restore them, as having been lawfully purchased.\* Some, however, of the marbles remained; the gardens continued to be embellished; magnificent entrance gates were constructed; and the villa was crowded with visitors of every class and description. But in 1849 the republican forces encamped there, and in 1854 I found the principal entrance closed, many of the trees cut down, and the gardens allowed to be seen only once a week.

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\* Wiseman's 'Four Popes.'

## CHAPTER XXI.

## RIENZI.—THE ROMANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

FOR the character and exploits of Rienzi the reader may be referred to the ‘Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.’\* Those who have given us a portrait of the Romans of the dark ages have represented them as uniting in their persons all the vices that can degrade the human character; but, in spite of the invectives of Luitprand †

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\* Cap. xlix. lxi. lxx.

† Luitprand was told, at the court of Nicephorus Phocas, that he was not a Roman, although he came from the pretended Roman Emperors, the Othos and Adelheid, but only a Lombard. It was on that occasion that the bishop of Cremona became violent, and attacked the Romans with that sentence which is extracted into the Decline and Fall, cap. xlix. note 44. If, however, the reader will consult the original, *Luitprandi legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam*, ap. Scrip. Rer. Ital. tom. ii., p. 479 to 489, he will see that the insolence of the Greek Emperor, who said the Lombards were too big-bellied to fight, accusing them of “*gastrimargia*,” was the cause of the ambassador’s abuse, which was directed, perhaps, rather more against the Byzantines, who had exclusively assumed the name of Romans, than against the inhabitants of Rome. Luitprand, indeed, shows he did not allude to the Roman citizens of his day *particularly*, though he does talk of their subjection to harlots, the Theodoras and Marozia, for he begins his attack with Romulus. “Romulum fratri-  
cidam, ex quo et Romani dicti sunt, porniogenitum, hoc est ex

and Saint Bernard,\* those vices, with the exception of such as they shared with their barbarous contemporaries, seem reducible to their ancient reproach, that they could not bear complete servitude nor perfect freedom.† The barbarian blood which had been transfused into their veins was likely to irritate rather than allay this impatience of control; and conceptions of original equality, to which the enslaved subjects of the Cæsars had long been strangers, might be imported by their union with the savages of the north. The ambassador of a despot and a saint might easily be disgusted with the thousand horrid forms which this tormenting feeling would assume, and which would betray itself in violence or perfidy, in arrogance or meanness, in proportion as they were able to shake away, or obliged to submit to, the yoke. Their conduct, from the first assumption of temporal power by the Popes, must seem absurd and contradictory, if it be not regarded as the consequence of a resolution to submit to no resident

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adulterio natum chronographiâ innotuit.”—Ibid. p. 481. Nicephorus mounted the throne in 963, and, to believe Luitprand and S. Bernard strictly, we should think that the Romans continued to be the same abandoned race for two centuries; if so, the Saxon Emperors had not improved them. Luitprand, it is true, might fairly say that the descendants of Romulus had forfeited their title of lords of the world, *kosmocratores*.

\* Decline and Fall, cap. lxix. p. 270, vol. xii. oct. edit. See also Muratori, *Annali*, ad an. 1152, tom. vi. p. 499.

† “Sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem.” The Emperor Galba said this to Piso.—Tacit., *Hist.*, lib. i. cap. xvi.



master whose *foreign* authority might enable him to employ a *foreign* force for their enslavement. The objection applied both to popes and emperors; and their history, if a few broken notices may be so called, is a perpetual struggle against both, sometimes united and sometimes separated by a temporary alliance with the people themselves, formed for the same purpose of final enfranchisement.

We must not feel indignant at their ill-directed efforts because they did not terminate in the independence obtained by the states of Tuscany and Lombardy. Their city had the misfortune of being the metropolis of Christianity, in which it was for the interest of the sovereigns of Europe that a priest should reign; and, secondly, their too glorious name and the pride of their Pontiffs had tempted the ambition of every conqueror with a crown which could be conferred nowhere but on the banks of the Tiber. Thus they had to contend with pretenders who could never die, and who failed not to unite their efforts when the Romans thought themselves strong enough to aspire to an independence of both.

It was the endeavour of the people and nobles to deprive Leo III. of all temporal power that made him apply to Charlemagne, and merge both the republic and the patricianate in the imperial title of the Frank.\*

John XII. invited Otho the Great to Rome, in 962, under pretext of assistance against Berenger and Adal-

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\* See *Annali d' Italia*, ad an. 799, tom. iv. p. 431, 432.

bert, and restored the Western Empire, which had been vacant since the death of Berenger Augustus,\* in 924.

It was to assist Gregory V. that Otho III. marched to Rome;† and the protection of Benedict VIII. brought down Henry II. in 1014.‡

The league between Adrian IV. and Frederic Barbarossa cost Arnold of Brescia his life, as the price of the Emperor's coronation.§

As then the imperial and papal interests combined against the spirit of revolt, and called in succession Charlemagne, the Othos, the Henrys, and the first of the Frederics, to Rome, so the annalists of either party have joined in the censure of every independent leader. The patrician Alberic, the son of Marozia, is handed down to us as a tyrant,|| yet he held the dominion of Rome for two-and-twenty years, successfully resisted the repeated sieges of the capital, and peaceably transmitted his authority to his son, a youth of seventeen years of age. The Consul, or rather the *Cæsar*, Crescentius,¶

\* Annali ad an. 961, tom. v. p. 961, 399.

† Ibid. ad an. 996, tom. v. p. 504.

‡ Annali, tom. vi. p. 46.

§ Annali ad an. 1155, tom. vi. p. 516.

|| "Terminò in quest' anno il corso di sua vita Alberico Patrizio o Principe o vogliam dire Tiranno di Romà."—Annali ad an. 954, tom. v. p. 384.

¶ Gibbon, cap. xlix., calls him the Brutus of the Republic, but, in fact, he affected the empire. The Marquis Maffei's gallery contained a medal with IMP. CÆS. AUGUST. P P CRESENTIUS, on one side, round the head of the prince, and on the reverse a man on

is, in the same manner, declared "a bad man, a man blinded by ambition," whose just punishment "served to deter those who knew not how to obey Pope or Emperor."\* If Muratori says this, what is to be expected from Baronius? Yet the Emperor Otho III., who murdered Crescentius, undertook a barefoot pilgrimage to Mount Garganus to expiate his treachery.† The Guelph and Ghibeline writers are alike unmerciful to popular leaders. The anti-popes of the people are *Volponi* with Muratori; those of the Emperors sometimes a little anti-canonical, but often legitimate; there is no depth deep enough for either in the Ecclesiastical Annals.

Arnold of Brescia‡ is also delivered over to posterity as an heresiarch whose rebellious doctrines justly con-

horseback haranguing soldiers, with the legend *exercitus S. C.* below; and on the base *S. P. Q. R.*, similiar to the allocutions on horseback of Hadrian, Posthumus, and others. The arts appear to have been still preserved even in those ages, if we may judge from this medal.—*Verona Illustrata*, par. iii. p. 500, edit. 1732. Crescentius was put to death in May 998, and hanged with twelve others round the bastion St. Angelo.

\* "Un mal' uomo, un uomo acciecatò dall' ambizione, convien dire che fosse Crescenziò Console di Roma."—*Annali*, &c., tom. v. p. 504.

† "Il che servì ad atterrir chiunque non sapeva allora ubbidire nè al Papa nè all' Imperatore."—*Ibid.* p. 510.

‡ *Annali* ad an. 1001, tom. vi. p. 1, 2.

† "Porro circiter annum Christi MCXLII. Romanus Populus ab Arnaldi Brixiani heresiarchæ verbis seductus, rebellionem contra Petri successores justos urbis dominos primum instituit, rempublicam nempe atque Senatum prout antiquis temporibus fuerant restituere ausus."—*Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 559.

demned him to the flames of both worlds.\* These doctrines, however, were not dispersed with his scattered ashes, but were concentrated in that Capitol and by that Senate which he restored; and however the ignorance of the age may have misapplied his institutions, they served to retard for three centuries the confirmed establishment of religious despotism. The Romans were the last of all the people of Christendom who submitted to the Pope. The feudal wars of the city belonged to the times, and are not to be charged to the democratical spirit, but to the impotence of the laws.

Rienzi had the fortune to fall on better days and better tongues. With Petrarch for a poet,† and a fellow-citizen, rude, but a witness of his exploits, for a biographer,‡ his merits have been fairly balanced with his

\* “Messo costui (Arnold) nelle forze del Prefetto di Roma fu impiccato e bruciato e le sue ceneri sparse nel Tevere, acciòchè la stolidale plebe non venerasse il corpo di questo infame.”—Muratori, *Annal.* ad an. 1155, tom. vi. p. 516.

† Petr. epistola hortatoria de capessenda libertate. Opp. p. 535, 540, and the 5th eclogue. Vir magnanime, vir fortissime, Junior Brute, are the titles he gives Rienzi. De Sade was not the first who supposed the *spirto gentil* of Petrarch to be addressed to the younger Stephen Colonna: and that eulogy has been also claimed for Giordano de' Sabelli; but the Italian editors have, for the most part, recognised the *gentle spirit* in Cola di Rienzi. (See Castelvetro's edition, Venice, 1756, p. 132 et seq.) Our London editor has rejected the French hypothesis. Zotti, tom. i. p. 112. Gibbon (chap. lxix. ad. fin. and chap. lxx. p. 588, 4to.) followed his favourite Abbé.

‡ *Historiæ Romanæ Fragmenta.* Antiq. Med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 399 to p. 480, and 509 to 546.



defects; and as those who suffered by his justice were the rebellious barons rather than the partizans either of the church or the empire, his half-heroic, fantastic figure\* has been delineated with unusual partiality. The facility with which he succeeded in his first designs shows that the allure of liberty had lost none of its charms at Rome, and that the tyranny of the nobles was equally odious with that of the Emperor or the Pope.

The fall of this abortion of fortune was the fruit rather of his own intemperance than of the inconstancy of the Romans.† As the overthrower of the usurpation of the nobles, as the assertor of justice, as the punisher of violence, and the projector of a splendid system which was to restore the freedom of Rome and of Italy, he did indeed “redeem centuries of shame.” When the republican aspired to perpetuate his own power, when the tribune imitated the fopperies of royalty,‡ when the

\* “Costui era uomo fantastico; dall’ un canto faceva la figura d’ eroe, dall’ altro di pazzo.”—*Annali ad. an. 1347*, tom. viii. p. 250.

† Giovanni Villani seems inclined to divide the disgrace between the tribune and the people:—

“Nessuna signoríá mondana dura  
E la vana speranza-t’ ha scoperto  
Il fine della fallace ventura.”

—*Hist. Fiorentinæ*, lib. xii. cap. civ. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. xiii. p. 982.

‡ The account of the feast given by Rienzi in the Lateran palace is a singular picture of the magnificence and luxury of those times, as well as of the vulgar profusion of the tribune. “Sweetmeats of various kinds; a great abundance of sturgeon, a delicate fish;

reformer declared himself the champion of superstition\* and the church, he lost his distinctive character, and, like a more celebrated personage of our own times, left a convincing proof that a revolution can be maintained only by the maxims, and even the very forms, by which it was at first ushered into life.

Tiraboschi† has given Rienzi a place amongst the restorers of literature, but he seems never to have seen some specimens of the tribune's composition existing in the royal library at Turin. Indeed the Abbé de Sade appears to be the only compiler who has consulted these manuscripts, and he transcribes such only as relate to Petrarch. The continuer of Baronius cites letters of Rienzi amongst the secret epistles of the Vatican, but cannot be inferred to have seen a copy of the Turin

pheasants, kids. Every one was allowed to pocket what he liked." "Confietti de divisate manere. Fonce abbonnantia de storione (lo pescie delicato); fasani, capretti. Chi bolea portare lo rifudio, se lo portava liberamente."—*Hist. Rom. Fragmenta*, cap. xxvii. p. 453, *ibid.* Stephen Colonna told Rienzi that the decent garments of a plebeian were more becoming the tribune than those pompous robes which he affected.—*Ibid.* cap. xxviii.

\* Instead of the Holy Roman Empire, Rienzi called it the Holy Roman Republic in his title. "Nicola Severo e Clemente, de libertate, de pace, e de justitia Tribuno, anco de la Santa Romana Reipubblica Libberatore Illustre." It was in this spirit that his word of battle was *The Holy Ghost, Cavaliers!* "E ordinad le battaglie, e fece li capitani delle vattaglie. E deo lo nome *Spirito Santo Cavalieri*."—*Hist. Rom. Frag.*, cap. xxxii., *ibid.* When he came from Avignon, he came as senator of the Pope.

† *Storia della Lett.*, tom. v. lib. ii. p. 313 et seq., edit. Moden. 1775.

papers.\* By a strange fatality the acts of the Roman tribune have been preserved in the annals of a monastery at Liege.† The Canon Hocsemius has supplied us with three documents which are to be found also in the Turin manuscripts, and with two others which are not in that collection. Hocsemius was cited and translated by Du Cerceau,‡ and Du Cerceau was consulted by Gibbon, who does not appear to have referred to the original. Neither the one nor the other knew anything of the existence of these letters, which, although they are not the original acts, and although the collection whence they were transferred to the library is unknown, are undoubtedly authentic. They afford a curious specimen of the style in which a revolutionary leader addressed the Romans of the fourteenth century, and were, for the first time, published in the Illustrations to the Fourth Canto of 'Childe Harold,' 1818. It will be seen from these letters that Rienzi, like Cromwell, adopted a spiritual tone in his official discourses; and by no means openly, or, at least, in the first instance, declared against the authority of the Pope. The Abbé de Sade has argued at length against the supposed

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\* Raynaldus contin. Baronii ad an. 1347, num. xiii. xiv. et seq. tom. vi. p. 442 et seq. edit. Lucæ, 1750.

† Gesta Pontificum. Leodiens. scripserunt auctores Leodii anno 1613, tom. ii. Joan. Hocsemii Canon Leod. cap. xxxv., *Admiranda de Nicolao filio cujusdam molendarii Tribuno Romanæ urbis affecto*, p. 494 et seq.

‡ Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome, en 1347; ouvrage posthume du R. Père Du Cerceau, de la Compagnie de Jésus à Paris, 1733.

citation of the Pope by Rienzi, when the Tribune commanded the rival Emperors to appear before his tribunal, but the continuer of Baronius seems to have seen proofs of that temerity in the Vatican, and has published the excommunication of Rienzi by Clement VI. The Liege annals contain a long letter from Rienzi to Raynaldo de' Ursi, Papal notary, excusing himself for the irregularities of his conduct on the day of his knighthood, and defending the bathing in Constantine's Vase, and the other arrogant or puerile ceremonies which had alienated the affection of his former admirers.

The modern Capitol retains two objects which recall the memory of Rienzi—the horse of Aurelius,\* called, formerly, the horse of Constantine, which stood before the Lateran, and from whose right nostril the Tribune poured a stream of wine on the day of his ridiculous knighthood;† and the bronze table, usually called the *lex regia*, conferring the privileges of dominion on Vespasian, which Rienzi expounded to the populace,

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\* “A stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse: no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard.”—*Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx. tom. xii. oct. p. 348. A trifling mistake in the masterly sketch of Rienzi's life. Wine flowed from the right, water from the left nostril. “In quella die continuamente de la matina nell'alva fin a nona, pe le nare de lo Cavallo de Constantino, che esse de vronzo pe canali de piommo ordenati jescio pe froscia ritta vino roscio, e pe froscia manca jescio acqua e cadea indificientemente ne la conca piena.”—*Hist. Rom. Frag.*, cap. xxvi. p. 451, loc. cit.

† “Vitiosa buffonia” is the title given to the ceremony by the anonymous author of the Fragments. Rienzi excuses it in a letter to his friend Raynald Orsini.



and, by a strange distortion of meaning, cited as a proof of the majesty of their ancestors.\* The inscription was once in the Lateran, and is now in the Capitoline Museum.

The horse was called the horse of Constantine, *by mistake*, in the time of Theodosius II. In the regionary of the eighth or ninth century, the *Caballus Constantini* is near the Temple of Concord, and was removed from the Forum to the Lateran in 1187, by Clement III. It was so much neglected when Sixtus IV. put it in a more conspicuous situation before the Lateran, that Flaminius Vacca, writing of it, says† it was found in a vineyard near the Scala Santa, which has been mistaken for a disinterment, but it was never underground. Paul III., in 1538, transferred it to the Capitol. But what Winkelmann says‡ of a nosegay given annually by the senator to the chapter of the Lateran, as an acknowledgment of right, is not true. Winkelmann was also mistaken in saying that the man was not on

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\* Rienzi was not quite so ignorant as Gibbon has made him: he did not use the word *liberty*, but *majesty*. "Signori tanta era la maestate de la popolo de Roma, che a lo imperatore dare l' autoritate."—*Ibid.* cap. iii. Gibbon calls the table "*still* extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran." He evidently forgot, or did not know, that both this table and the horse were in the Capitol when he wrote. The author of the *Fragments* says that Rienzi was the only man in Rome who could read or interpret the table.

† Vacca relates that, in his time, the Chapter of the Lateran claimed it, and had annual lawsuits with the S. P. Q. R. on the subject.

‡ *Storia delle Arti*, tom. ii. p. 395.

the horse in Rienzi's time. Michael Angelo made the pedestal out of a piece of the architrave of the arch of Trajan.\* When Falconet was in Rome, he found many faults with this horse, but added, "Nevertheless, my horse at St. Petersburg is dead, but this is alive."

### ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

The papal government is the jest and the riddle, but is certainly not the glory, of the world. The existence of such a system, even in a country where the welfare of the community seems never to have been considered, is a standing miracle. From the foot of the Alps to the extremities of Calabria despotism has assumed various shapes, more or less hideous, more or less offensive in the eyes of those accustomed to the enjoyment of liberal institutions. But there is something absurd and fantastic in the forms and the very external appearance of the papal sovereignty, which is not to be met with beyond the pontifical state, and the full ridicule of which can be felt only at Rome. A priest may become a throne no less than a woman, and Sixtus Quintus, in his way, was a monarch no less respectable at home and formidable abroad than our own Elizabeth. A perpetual succession of women would not, however, be tolerated by any nation; and since the popes have lost that influence in other countries which gave dignity and importance to their character, it seems unaccountable that some of the fairest

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\* See Dissert. sulle Ruine, p. 410.

portions of the Italian peninsula should be subject to the dominion of a priest, chosen by priests, administering his power by priests, and coming into contact with his subjects only when in the performance of his clerical functions.

Even when at the height of their power, the popes (with few exceptions) maintained but a questionable authority at Rome either as men or as sovereigns. The Romans, fond, as has been said before, of their religion, have seldom been distinguished for attachment to the head of their church and state; and although there was a generous sympathy for the sufferings of the two last who bore the name of Pius, and a very natural aversion for foreign dominion, yet the salutary changes introduced by the French, and the present insignificance of the pope-dom in the eyes of Europe, must, it may be thought, have fully awakened the Romans to the humiliation as well as the misfortune of being subject to an authority different in its very nature and outward show from that of any portion of the civilized world.

If, under this theocracy, there were a tolerably impartial administration of justice—if the lives, the persons, and the properties of the citizens were secured by any contrivance—it would be no great hardship to submit to the anomaly of receiving laws from the altar instead of the throne. But the reverse is notoriously the case; and there is scarcely a single principle of wise regulation acted upon or recognised in the papal states.

Leo XII. visited hospitals and convents, and all eccle-

siastical establishments, at any and at all hours of night or day.\* He punished a baker who supplied bad bread to the poor of the Spirito Santo. This personal superintendence of the monarch was extolled to the skies by some worthy Romans, who did not see in such conduct an unequivocal sign of bad government, and who thought it quite a proof of generosity that the same pontiff should send a present of 200 crowns to the judge who presided at the condemnation of the Carbonari!

The first principles of criminal jurisprudence seem as much forgotten or unknown as if the French code had never been the law of the land: a secret process—a trial by one judge and a sentence by another—protracted imprisonment—disproportioned judgments—deferred and disgusting punishments—all tend to defeat the ends of justice, and to create a sympathy with the culprit rather than a reverence for the law. Useless rigour or pernicious lenity—at one time a whole town razed to the ground for having sheltered robbers—at another a gang of the same banditti conciliated by a treaty with the Cardinal Secretary of State in person—suspected Carbonari hanged at Ravenna—convicted murderers pardoned at Rome—such were some of the consequences of the restoration. But this is not all. The revenue of the state, raised by a thousand independent, conflicting, and almost arbitrary authorities, impoverishes and vexes the people more than

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\* Cardinal Wiseman gives an amusing picture of the surprise and awe created by one of these visits, 'Four Popes,' p. 262.



it enriches the government. All taxation, all commercial regulation, seems to be the effect of some momentary whim or caprice, instead of such as can be anticipated by prudence, or made tolerable by skill and industry. Not long ago (in the reign of Leo XII.) an ingenious attempt was made to improve upon the prohibitory system by forbidding the importation of certain articles of the first necessity, which no home manufacture could possibly produce; a second edict exposed and remedied the blunder. The lottery is a fruitful source of revenue. The Roman and Tuscan governments entered into partnership for this pious purpose: the lowest stake was three baiocchi and a half; and, as if to make some amends for the immorality, a "povera zitella" has sometimes a dower given to her of 200 or 300 crowns. Efforts have been made to reform the judicial character by adding to the salary of the lawyers on the bench. The usual pay of the judges was about eighteen crowns a month: it was made two hundred, "*senza le incerte*,"—that is to say, with no allowance of those bribes and presents which were formerly not only connived at, but openly permitted to be given by the suitors in the courts. Of the criminal justice some notion may be formed by the fact before mentioned, of the sovereign transmitting a reward to the president of one of his tribunals for condemning the Carbonari who attempted a revolution at Ravenna. One of these was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment, without prejudice, *i. e.* in addition, to a previous sentence of ten years of the galleys. The man was accused of

shooting at a police-officer ; but the edict which awarded the punishment said that “ the crime had *not* been proved on account of the spirit of party prevalent in that province ! ” It was but the other day\* that a man who had been imprisoned seven years at Ancona, without either trial or interrogation, was abruptly told that his cell-door was open and he might quit the gaol. The captive thought that some trap was laid for him, and refused to quit the prison until the keeper showed him the order of liberation, and prevailed on him, with great difficulty, to depart. Such is the treatment of those suspected of political offences ; but let a man commit a real crime, he is sure to find some prelate or other intercessor to plead away his punishment ; and all, as the Romans say, “ *per bontà di cuore.* ”

In no country in the world—England perhaps and Naples excepted—are laws, lawyers, and lawsuits so numerous as at Rome. Whole fortunes have often been exhausted, as in the cause between the Barberini and Colonna families, by an interminable attempt to decide on some private right. An Englishman has little right to be angry with those who still profess a sacred horror at usury ; but it must be confessed that the Romans are in this respect more zealously attached to ancient prejudices than ourselves. In 1828 an “ *assunto* ” was placarded in Rome, announcing that the Senator and his tribunal, under the power of a decree of Falconieri,

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\* Written in 1828.

governor of Rome in 1720, had condemned to certain penalties three usurers, found guilty of trading at two per cent. per month. One of them, seventy years old, was condemned to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 1000 crowns; but the punishment of one of them was remitted because, as the record averred, he had been eleven months in prison previously to his trial.\* However, the heaviest punishment—three years' imprisonment and the galleys—was threatened against both him and the other culprits if they should ever again "*fall into suspicion*" of the like offence. Against one of the condemned no proofs had been adduced; but he was ordered to present himself if proofs were ever found. How long ago is it that Beccaria wrote his book and Bentham his essay?

The Papalty, like the Ottoman Empire in Europe, subsists by sufferance, and on account of the difficulty of disposing of so much territory and so many subjects to any new master. The great Powers having determined that this strange dominion shall not be put an end to, the Romans themselves have not the means, if they had the inclination, to effect a change. Some of the provinces are more suspected of revolutionary wishes; but in the capital a government even much more oppressive than any now existing would probably be submitted to

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\* In 1854 I saw the guillotine still standing on the eminence above the Cloaca Maxima, where, the same morning, had been executed three men who had been in prison since 1849 !!!

without resistance, and almost without a murmur. The head of the state is an Italian, he is chosen by Italians, and the humblest subject of a pope may succeed to his sceptre. These reflections may console a Roman for his submission to a spiritual prince, not only insignificant but ridiculous in the eyes of all Europe.\*

Rome derives much less of her importance from the power of the living than from the remains of the dead: she is rather one great academy for the artists of the universe than the capital of an independent state. She is the metropolis of the painter, the sculptor, the architect, the antiquarian; add also, of the idle and restless of all nations. To them she belongs much more than to the Romans themselves. Even her sovereign and his court make but a part of the show for the curious of the earth, and, equally with the Column of Trajan and the Porch of Agrippa, seem to belong to another age. Neither the one nor the other interests the native. He is a stranger in his own city, whose very decorations and aggrandizement are contrived for the attraction, and, in many cases, are due to the enterprise, of foreigners.

I asked a resident for many years at Rome for a character of the nobles. This was his answer: "Their palaces are either sold to Torlonia, the Bonaparte family, or others; or falling down, like the great Chigi

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\* The above was written in 1828. I see very little to alter now (1854), except that there is more general discontent apparent than formerly.



square ; or let as apartments, like the Rospigliosi and Barberini—their fortunes are exhausted by improvidence or dispersed amongst many branches—their young men associate with the lowest of the artisans, are equally ignorant and prejudiced, and more debauched—their amusements are without vivacity—their vices without vigour—their pursuits, if such a word can be applied to him who does nothing, ignoble and effeminate. It is true that the young gentlemen who fill the promenades of London and Paris have very little more to recommend them than the patricians of modern Rome ; and it must be also confessed that the higher orders in their country have an excuse which cannot be given for the follies of any other aristocracy. There is no career open to them, and, in fact, they are not the aristocracy—at least, they are not a privileged order. The real nobility of Rome must be looked for amongst the members of the hierarchy, who, from the very reverend and most eminent Lord High Chamberlain and the legates of provinces, down to the purple-stockinged mylords of the metropolis, enjoy all the dignities and emoluments, and perform all the functions, attached to the privileged classes of other states. Of these grandees the importance is so strictly preserved that a Cardinal must not appear without three servants behind his carriage, and a Mon-signore is not allowed even to walk without one liveried attendant at his heels. The attire of these lacqueys is, however, quite a matter of indifference, and would in England denote extreme indigence. A layman, either

high or low, finds the utmost difficulty in obtaining redress from one of the sovereign order, whereas a simple 'parcho,' if he would punish an enemy, has but to apply to the Presidenza, which gives him a file of soldiers, and the offender is carried away in the night. The natural consequence of this inferiority of condition is, that, with one or two exceptions, the great nobility, or, as they are called, the princes of Rome, neither form a distinct class nor obtain consideration in mixed society. Those that are distinguished are known only by their eccentricities. The great B—— can scarcely read or write. Pius VII. would not receive him at court; but Leo XII. offered him the command of his army. One is a money-lender at eight per cent.; another is a notorious miser, not only of his money, but his marbles. This prince, wishing the other day to be very courteous, displayed some of his rare medals at his dinner-table, but only one by one, and never producing the second till he had carefully pocketed the first. The Marquess ——, the most ingenious of these gentlemen, said on one occasion, 'We go for nothing at Rome; we are ignorant and we are happy; but our Milanese friends, who know something and wanted to know more, they got themselves into prison.' Their happiness, however, may be doubted: their manner and expression denote anything but content. A party of them jaunting (on an *allegria*) into the country is the most melancholy of all human objects, even in the eyes of those who have assisted at some of our own summer excursions to the

banks of the Thames. The foibles of these nobles would not be worth a record, seeing that they are to be found amongst the higher classes of all countries, if they were not, unfortunately, the only traits by which this once powerful body is rescued from utter insignificance and oblivion. The D—— of —— is fond of bullock-driving: if he was not known by that, he would not be known at all. Prince —— ruined himself on his French embassy, and lives on three pauls a-day.” Such was my friend’s description of the Roman nobility; and that description was confirmed by much that I heard during my early visits to Rome: when I was there in 1854 they appeared to me to have shaken off some of their indolence, and their amusements were of the more manly kind. The fox-hounds of Prince Odescalchi showed us some good sport, which, I am sorry to learn, has been since forbidden, on account of a fatal accident. A more unwise interference can scarcely be imagined. Let me add, that of the Roman nobles I found a few, in 1854, worthy of a better fate than had hitherto befallen them. One or two of them had come out of the severe trials of 1848-9 with credit to themselves and advantage to the cause which they had manfully, although unsuccessfully, endeavoured to uphold.

Of the great ladies I am unwilling to speak, as I know too little of their domestic habits to be qualified to offer a fair opinion of them. I presume they differ little from the same class in other luxurious capitals. Very few of their houses are open to foreigners, and to the English

perhaps less than to those of any nation. One of these princesses, talking of our fellow-countrymen, designated them as "those who speak the strange language."

If these high-born dames have the failings of their sex, they do not parade them so ostentatiously as it is the fashion to do in some other parts of Italy; and two or three of them, at the very head of society, not indeed Romans themselves, but married to the highest nobles, have been patterns of every virtue. The Princesses Massimi, Borghese, and Doria are never mentioned but with unmingled praise. The death of the Princess Borghese was bewailed as a public calamity. Her surviving sister receives the respectful homage of all classes. She is a blessing to the poor, and the chief ornament of the society to which she belongs.\*

#### RELIGION.

I make no allusion to the doctrines or mysteries of the Roman Catholic faith, when I say that what is called religion is at Rome a part, and a great part, of the business of life, and mixes itself up with the amusements, and the most indifferent actions, of all classes, at all ages. Could the fear of God and the prospects of eternity control human conduct, the Romans ought to be the best of men. The following inscription is, or ought to be, found placarded on the shutter of every little shop: "IDDIO CI VEDE—ETERNITÀ." Children

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\* The Princess Doria also is dead.—1861.



play at church processions, with crosses, candles, bells, and tablecloths for robes; grown-up folks, looking on, cry "bravi," and cross themselves as the mimics pass. A boy, before he takes a leap, crosses himself; when a school parades through the Coliseum, all the pupils and the tutor kiss the cross in the middle of the arena: a party, after an evening-walk, finishes with a prayer in a church, generally in that church which happens to be in fashion for the season. St. Carlo and St. Isidoro were in vogue in 1828, and their contiguity to the Corso gave them a very convenient celebrity; but the true devotional loungeer will drop into a dozen churches one after another, and many such there are who seem to have no other occupation; even a poor servant-girl, if she misses mass one day, will hear two the next. A small chapel in the Via San Isidoro is supported by very poor people, who like to have a mass of their own, said by a priest of their own, and some of the contributors are street beggars. A Monsignore officiates once a year, to give a sort of dignity to this ragged fraternity, who are not, however, without their spiritual pride, for they have maintained a contest with the neighbouring monastery of San Isidoro (composed chiefly of Irishmen), respecting what is called a "Via Crucis," or pathway of stations recording the sufferings of our Saviour, which they intend should terminate in their own chapel; but the monks, whose church is above, contend that this would interfere with their road to Calvary, and induce their worshippers to stop half way up the hill. The quarrel is before the Rota.

It is computed that there are 15,000 "clerici" in Rome, and, with such a government and such a people, it is matter of surprise that the number is not greater. The priesthood have not only the consciences but the purses of the faithful, to much extent, in their own keeping. If a notary fail to ask a person, whose will he is making, whether he has bequeathed a legacy for pious uses, he is suspended; and in any process between clergy and laity, the most jealous care is taken not to give the victory, "*dar la vinta*," to the latter. In order to avoid the shame of open defeat, and at the same time to prevent too gross a partiality, private amends are occasionally made by the tribunal which has awarded the public injustice, but the inclinations and habits of the people are in perfect accord with the government. The priesthood, regular and secular, are in fact a portion of themselves, and what they give to them they give to members of their own family, so that, though superstition has some part in pious charities, fellow feeling and friendship have more. Cardinal Mikra was son of a peasant of Frascati: Cardinal Zurlo was of much the same extraction, and when Consalvi sent for him to tell him he was to have the purple, he thought he had committed some offence, and was to be punished for it.

The rule of the Theatins was to ask for nothing, neither to toil nor to spin, nor to take heed for the morrow; yet, in sixty years, these lilies of the valley flourished and multiplied exceedingly, and became the richest order in Italy. The beggarly Franciscans celebrated their six hundredth anniversary in October

(1842),\* and everything that can give life and importance to the ceremony was to be seen during the three days' holidays of the fraternity. A Franciscan is a great man in these days, yet no one seems to envy or dislike his superiority, or to compare it with his vows of poverty.

The great treasure of Aracœli, however, is the Santo Bambino, so renowned for curing the sick, that, when the patient is too infirm to visit the church, the image is carried in a coach, with much pomp, to the house of the invalid.

A marble Madonna was lately found in the vaults of a convent to which she had been consigned by the French; and one of the order also discovered a record of a certain miraculous image which once worked wonders in their chapel. Of course the Madonna was the very image; at all events it was reinstalled in ceremony, and with such success that a monk of the fraternity assured Mr. — that the oblations of the first year amounted to 18,000 crowns, and they might reckon upon a regular income of 1000 for many years to come. These are willing offerings, and to these must be added little sums paid for little sins, particularly by women who wish to keep well with their priests, and commute a penance with a small present. The same feeling sends many of those who adventure in

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\* An account of the festival is given in note † to page 10 of this volume.

the lottery to consult some favourite friar as to what numbers they ought to select.\* A prize ensures the conjurer one fat pullet at the least; or, if all his numbers are lucky, five.† A capuchin of the Trinità de' Monti practised so much in that way as to offend Cardinal Mikra, their general, who, having in vain forbidden this magic, at last imprisoned the offender. The frati missed him at their dinner, ran to the prison, broke it open, and, rescuing their brother, carried him in triumph round the refectory. The cardinal, trying to interfere, was whipped with the sleeves of the rebels, and ran away to the Vatican. The disturbance, in which at least one life was lost, for the cardinal was not without friends in the convent, was not quelled without the interference of the gendarmes. The story was incautiously told in the '*Diario di Roma*,' but was formally contradicted in the same journal, which also contained an order not to speak or write of the pretended transaction.

Another version of the origin of this holy insurrection is, that the Pope, having received certain anonymous letters complaining of Mikra's severity, showed them to the cardinal, who hurried to the convent, and, looking into the refectory, read the letters to the monks at dinner,

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\* We have much to be ashamed of in regard to these practices at home; but with us the frauds of conjurers are punishable by law.

† The author of the amusing work called '*Rome Contemporaine*' has devoted a whole chapter—the VIth—to the lottery and the miracles connected with it.



and asked who had dared to write them ; on this one of the party rose and said, "I am the man." The cardinal ordered the culprit to be seized ; resistance was made, and knives were used. The arrival of the gendarmes, and the subsequent dispersion of the brotherhood into various monasteries, put an end to the disorder, but the scandal survived, and, as may easily be imagined, the silence enjoined was far from strictly observed.

The age of miracles is not gone by. At the last beatification, during the Jubilee of 1825, one of the attested deviations from the common course of nature, in favour of the person who was to receive the holy honours of the day, was painted and placarded on the door of St. Peter's. The Beandus, coming one fast-day into the kitchen of an unscrupulous Catholic, beheld sundry thrushes and larks on the spit. The good man was scandalised thereat, and, to reprove and punish the offender, ordered the birds to resume their feathers and their lives, and fly incontinently away. They obeyed. This miracle, of very recent occurrence, was seen and recorded by several trustworthy witnesses, and the King of Naples paid the expenses incurred by the beatification of the holy father.

It is asserted that men of intelligence privately deride these things. It may be so ; but their public conduct is that of all others at Rome. Cardinal Consalvi had the reputation of extreme liberality, not to say indifference, on this point. Indeed, his language now and then was a little too sportive for one of his cloth. It was only a

few days before his death that, conversing with Dr. W——, who had lately returned from the Holy Land, and who was giving him an unfavourable picture of the Christian clergy in those parts of the world, the Cardinal observed, “*La religione Christiana, apparamente, comincia d’invecchiarsi in quella parte.*” Yet Consalvi left the bulk of his fortune to the Jesuits, besides bequeathing a considerable sum for the completion and embellishment of two churches, one of which is finished and bears his name, and records his munificence on the façade. This inconsistency is observable in all classes of Roman society. St. Joseph’s day is not unfrequently made the subject of a most unseemly jest, which I forbear to record; and the priests themselves are, by the nature of their office, made the confidants of all the numberless intrigues of a large and luxurious city, where brothels and prostitution are put down by ordonnances of a government which has broken the moulds of the celebrated engravings of the Farnesina frescoes, and covered the nakedness of the statues.

Whatever can be done by edict, Leo XII. has done to restore the full sway of that religion which has made him a sovereign. The Feast of St. Michael—29th of September—once a half-holiday, he has made a whole one, because that saint is especially the conqueror of Satan. In such reforms he has been admirably seconded by his subjects, whose hereditary love of holidays has made them the idlest people of the earth. Indeed, a pope who should be suspected of philo-

sophy would not add to his character or his power at home, whatever might be his reputation abroad. A professor was allowed by Pius VII. to lecture on astronomy, but he was forbidden to publish his dissertations on the solar system, as being at variance with the Mosaic account of the Creation. Ganganelli said to Mr. Townley, "People do not come here as formerly for benedictions; we must have other attractions;" and accordingly the Clementine Gallery was founded. But this applies to strangers: the native loves the priest who gives most plenary indulgences, and encourages by his own example all the forms and fashions of the faith. The excellent Pius VII. complained to an English gentleman of the folly of those who had represented him as rapt in an extasy at Savona; but, said he, "I am not despotic; I must fall in with the temper of my clergy."\*

A belief, or a profession of belief, in miracles is not confined to the lower classes. Cardinal Wiseman—of whom we may fairly say that he is not an ordinary man †—attributes the recovery of Leo XII. from an apparently fatal illness to a Monsignore Strambi, of the Congregation of the Passion, who offered up his own life for that of the Pope, and whose prayers were granted; for he himself died the next day, 31st of December, 1823, and the Pontiff rose like one recovered from the grave.‡ Pius VII. foretold that Cardinal Castiglione

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\* Written in 1828. † οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ.—*Longin. sec. ix.*

‡ Four Popes, p. 236.

would be Pope, and, says our Cardinal, "to tell the truth, one does not see why, if a Jewish high-priest had the gift of prophecy for his year of office, one of a much higher order and dignity should not occasionally be allowed to possess it."\* But this capacity was not confined to Pontiffs; for, one day, when, before his pontificate, Pius VI. and his successor were riding in the same carriage, a peasant, who was never seen nor heard of afterwards, foretold to them that they would both be Popes.† A very celebrated personage of our own time and country was extricated from some difficulty by a heavenly messenger. Daniel O'Connell, when young at the bar, was pleading an important cause, the decision of which turned on the meaning of the phrase "a lax weir," and the future Liberator would have been nonsuited had not a mysterious stranger thrown a twisted paper to him, and disappeared. He opened the paper, and found that a lax weir was a salmon-weir. The interpretation gained the cause, and O'Connell began the career which made him a great man. The stranger was never seen again. Far be it from me to say that these tales are not true; but the publication of them by a Cardinal, as instances of Divine interposition, shows what may be expected from the common people of Rome.

I take this opportunity of adding that, miracles apart, 'The Four Popes' is a very agreeable work, and that the Cardinal's account of his college life in Rome and

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\* Four Popes, p. 364.

† Ib. p. 366.



the neighbouring hills exhibits a most pleasing picture of the society to which he belonged.

But if modern Cardinals partake of the popular superstition, so did the statesmen and warriors of ancient days. In the Via di Poli, on a strip of marble inserted in the wall of a church (the *Crociferi*), is an inscription which has always struck me as one of the most singular of Roman curiosities, although not noticed in the guide-books used in 1817. It is this:—

“Hanc vir patricius Belisarius urbis amicus  
Ob culpæ veniam condidit ecclesiam;  
Hanc idcirco pedem sacram qui ponis in ædem  
Ut miseretur eum sæpe precare deum

Janua hæc est Templi Domino defensa potenti.”

It will be perceived that this inscription is in monkish rhyme, and the question arises at what period such a construction of verse began to prevail. Muratori,\* in his Dissertation on Latin Rhymed Poetry, of which he gives specimens from the time of Ennius to the eighth Christian century, alludes to this inscription, and seems, though with much hesitation, to agree with Cardinal Baronius in thinking that it is to be assigned to the same date as the church to which it belonged, namely about the year 538, when, it is said, Justinian imposed this penance of church-building upon his General. Muratori probably had not himself noticed the inscription, for he does not give the last line of it, which is quoted by Baronius and by Nardini, and which shows that the

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\* Antiq. Mæd. Ævi, tom. iii. Dissert. 40.

inscription was placed over the porch of the original church. The present edifice was raised "ex fundamentis," in 1575, by Gregory XIII.

I cannot say that I think the argument in favour of the antiquity of the inscription, as adduced by Muratori, at all conclusive.\* The belief that the soul of Belisarius might require the prayers of the faithful, may have lasted ages after the original church was built, and the inscription may have been put up by some pious restorer of the building. I remarked that the name of the repentant warrior was written thus:  $\sqrt{E}L$ , the E being inserted in the V, and the I in the L. It is somewhat singular that Gibbon, who has devoted so much diffusive eloquence to the praise of Belisarius and to the mean jealousies of Justinian, makes no allusion to this record of the disgrace of almost the last of Roman conquerors.† What was the crime for which the construction of this church was the penance can now only be conjectured. The dissolute Antonina founded a convent after the death of Belisarius, and it is possible that she may have attributed the deed to the posthumous piety of her illustrious husband.

A statue, formerly in the Villa Borghese, repre-

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\* Si quisquam rejiciat post sæcula x. adversari nolim—attamen sunt quæ suadeant ipso sæculo Xtianæ æræ viæ inscriptionem fuisse positam—vix enim post multa sæcula rogandus fuerat populus ut precibus repetitis Belisarius misericordiam a Deo impetraret.—*Murat.*, ib.

† Decline and Fall, chaps. xli., xlii.

senting a person with his hand stretched out, as if asking charity, was called a Belisarius, until the criticism of Winkelmann\* rectified the mistake, and the story of the conqueror of Carthage and the saviour of Rome degraded to a blind beggar was consigned to the romance of history.

What Augustus feared Belisarius suffered. Perhaps a more striking instance of the repeated vicissitudes of fortune cannot be furnished by the whole range of history—vicissitudes not brought about, like that of the great conqueror of our own days, by his own inordinate ambition, but by that inconstancy of fortune which the worship of Nemesis was intended to avert.

It was the fear of the sudden termination of prosperity that made Amasis, king of Egypt, warn his friend Polycrates, of Samos, that the gods loved those whose lives were chequered with good and evil fortunes. Nemesis was supposed to lie in wait particularly for the prudent—that is, for those whose caution rendered them

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\* Winkelmann, *Storia*, lib. xii., cap. iii., tom. ii. p. 422. Visconti calls the statue a Cybele. It is given in the 'Museo Pio Clementino,' tom. i. par. 40. The Abate Fea, *Spiegazione dei Rami*, *Storia*, &c., tom. iii. p. 513, calls it a Chrysippus; and it is now, I believe, still called a Philosopher. The old name of the statue was "Augustus propitiating Nemesis"—a ceremony which that emperor performed once a year! Sueton. in *Vit. Augusti*, cap. 91. Casaubon, in the note, refers to Plutarch's *Lives* of Camillus and Æmilius Paulus, and also to his *Apophthegms*, for the character of this deity. The hollowed hand was reckoned the last degree of degradation: and when the dead body of the præfect Rufinus was borne about in triumph by the people, the indignity was increased by putting his hand in that position.

accessible only to mere accidents: and her first altar was raised on the banks of the Phrygian Æsepus by Adrastus, probably the prince of that name who killed the son of Croesus by mistake. Hence the goddess was called Adrastea.\*

The Roman Nemesis was *sacred* and *august*: there was a temple to her in the Palatine under the name of Rhamnusia: so great indeed was the propensity of the ancients to trust to the revolution of events, and to believe in the divinity of Fortune, that in the same Palatine there was a temple to the Fortune of the day. This is the last superstition which retains its hold over the human heart; and from concentrating in one object the credulity so natural to man, has always appeared strongest in those unembarrassed by other articles of belief. The antiquaries have supposed this goddess to be synonymous with fortune and with fate: but it was in her vindictive quality that she was worshipped under the name of Nemesis.

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\* DEAE NEMESI  
SIVÆ FORTUNÆ  
PISTORIVS  
RVGIANVS  
V. C. LEGAT.  
LEG. XIII. G.  
GORD.

See *Questiones Romanæ*; &c., ap. Græv. *Antiq. Roman.* tom. v. p. 942. See also Muratori, *Nov. Thesaur. Inscript. Vet.* tom. i. pp. 88, 89, where there are three Latin inscriptions and one Greek to Nemesis, and others to Fate.



## REVOLUTION OF 1848.

I intended to give a detailed account of the political events that have recently occurred in the Roman States; but, having heard totally opposite opinions from trustworthy persons resident in Rome during the late troubles, and having consulted those published works which treat of them, I confess that I am unable to tell what appears to me to be the truth without running the risk of producing unhappy results. The ashes of the conflagration are yet warm, and I would not awaken, by however small a spark, a flame that might only add to the previous desolation.

Nothing would be easier than to point out the mistakes of some of those who were the principal actors in the struggles of 1848-9, but I am afraid that something must be added to the well-known apophthegm of Bacon, and that, although it may be very true that a man is never made wise except by his own experience, it is a lamentable fact that even his own experience does not always teach him to act well in the future conduct of life. The efforts made by some Italians since the peace of 1815 afford the strongest possible instance of this tendency to neglect contemporary lessons, and repeat previous errors.

It appears that, ever since the disasters of 1848-9 and the restoration of the old system throughout the whole of Italy excepting Piedmont, unceasing efforts have been made to organise insurrections, not only in the states

governed despotically, but even in portions of the Sardinian dominions, happily enjoying true constitutional freedom.\* The most discouraging of all the symptoms of this fever is the aversion with which the extreme partisans of "Unity and Independence" regard the Sardinian Government—which, however, it must be confessed, is the main obstacle to the establishment of the purely democratic confederation of the Italian States; for so long as the example of the advantages of a mixed form of government, on the English model, is before their eyes, and attains daily greater strength and influence, purely republican principles, advocated by men made desperate by oppression and misfortune, can make but little way with the Italians.

I had an opportunity, in the spring of 1854, of seeing something of the working of the Sardinian constitution, and of forming an acquaintance with the excellent man then and now (1858) at the head of the Government.

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\* This fact may be inferred from Orsini's 'Memoirs,' which may be presumed to be generally authentic, although it is to be hoped that a letter ascribed to Mazzini, contained in these 'Memoirs' (p. 131), dated in September, 1854, is a forgery. That letter recommends the organization of a "Company of Death, like our fathers of the Lombard League, composed of eighty young men robust and devoted," to undertake the simultaneous murder of the principal officers of the Austrian army in Lombardy!

The Lombard League is calumniated by this reference. The true prototype of the notable scheme is alluded to in other parts of the letter, although the arrangement by which each Austrian officer was to be watched and dogged and disposed of by three assassins is somewhat of an improvement on the Sicilian Vespers.

No one can fully appreciate the merits of the Cavour Ministry without being acquainted with the difficulties with which they have to contend. One of the cabinet observed to me that they had three Irelands—Genoa, which is always discontented, and elects for deputies either partisans of Mazzini or friends of the Pope; Savoy, which sends to the Chamber eight or ten representatives zealous adherents of the Papal interest; and Sardinia, which is in a half-barbarous state of feudalism. But the great majority of the Representative Chamber is in favour of the Government, and it is in the other House that the principal difficulty occurs, for the majority is decidedly unfavourable to the new Constitution, and, as they sit for life, it will be only by a large addition of new senators that any material change in this body can be made. How Charles Albert in 1847 came to select such men I could not learn; perhaps as a balance against the ultra-democratic party in the Chamber of Deputies.

In 1854 there were 30,000 refugees in Turin and the immediate neighbourhood, and of these not a few were known emissaries of Mazzini, introduced into Piedmont by Austrian passports. The press was totally unfettered so far as the expression of political opinion was concerned, and was used most freely by the enemies of the present constitutional system. The journals which represent the most decided republican principles were more than suspected of being supported essentially by the Austrian and Neapolitan Governments; and when a Genoese newspaper indulged in abuse of the Prince of

Carignan so violent that the editor was alarmed for the personal consequences of it, he escaped on board a Neapolitan man of war.

So long as the system happily established in Piedmont is supported by the virtue and energy of such men as Cavour, it may, in all probability, continue to exhibit a living example of the value of free institutions; but that existence is precarious which depends on individual character; and should any material change take place in the Sardinian Cabinet before the nation itself has become much more united and stronger than it is at present, the fairest hopes of the Italian peninsula might be blasted at once. I say of the Italian peninsula, for the only chance of constitutional freedom being established throughout that fair land seems to me to depend upon the permanence of the present Sardinian system.

In estimating the value of that system we should never forget the trials through which, independently of its present difficulties, it has been its misfortune to pass. The ambitious enthusiasm, to use no harder term, of Gioberti, and similar advisers, was fatal to Charles Albert; and I am afraid, from all I have heard, that the 'Glance at Revolutionized Italy' gives too faithful a picture of the mischiefs produced by the club speeches and circulars of that short-lived popular leader and minister.\* Those who look at the proceedings of the

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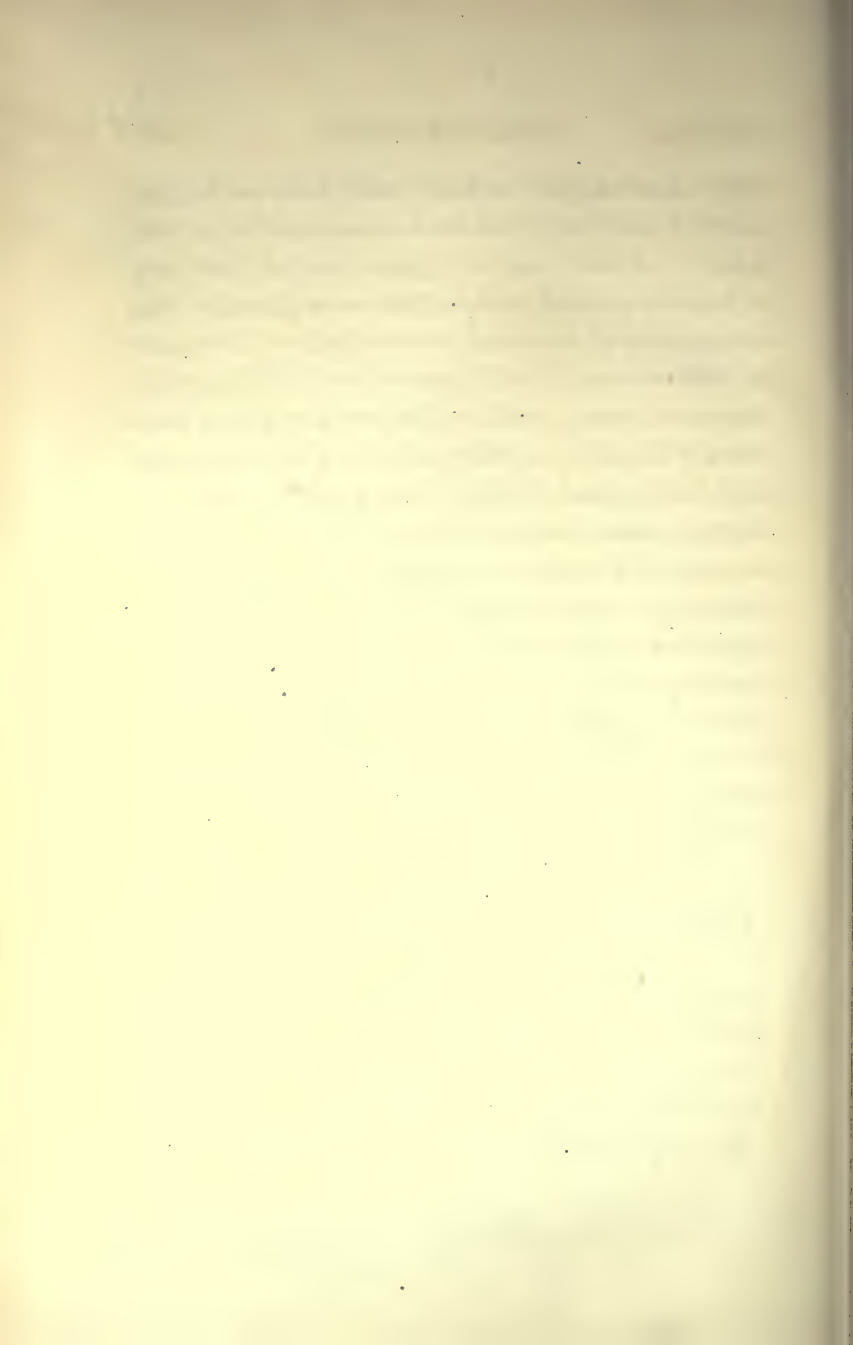
\* See 'A Glance at Revolutionized Italy,' vol. ii. chap. 23; and particularly the Address of 'Le Comité Central de la Société pour la Confédération Italienne,' at p. 264.



regenerators of Italy in that period from an English point of view may pronounce them half crazy and absurd ; but how could the Italians look at them from an English point of view ? They were persuaded that their projects of unity and independence would receive the active support and interference of England—a grievous mistake certainly ; but how could they know that the English generally, and the great majority of their talkers and writers, know nothing, and care nothing, about foreign politics ; and that, whatever attention they can devote to such subjects is absorbed by their too spiritual, too restless, and too powerful neighbours ?—How could they know that, even of those who have some knowledge and love of Italy, the most prudent and trustworthy regard her Unity and Independence as little better than a pleasing dream, the reality of which has never been, nor is likely to be, actually attained ?\*

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\* See Remarks in Appendix [C.] on Recent Events.—1861.



## APPENDIX.

( A. )

### LETTERS OF RIENZI.

#### TRIBUNUS SENATUI POPULOQUE ROMANO.

EXULTENT in circuitu vestro montes, induantur colles gaudio, et universe planities, atque vestra Romana civitas, et valles pacem *germinent*, ubertate *fœcundentur*, et eterna lætitia repleantur. Resurgat Romana civitas diurne prostrationis a lapsu, solium *solite* majestatis ascendens, vestitus *viduitatis* deponat et lugubres, sponsalem induat purpuram, liberam diadema caput exornet, colla manilibus muniat, resumat justitiæ sceptrum, ac totis circumfulta, et renovata virtutibus, tanquam sponsa ornata, se placituram sponso suo exhibeat. Excitentur sacerdotes ejus, et proceres, seniores ejus, et juvenes matrone, pupilli simul et virgines, omnisque Romanus exercitus in voce salutis attonitus, flexis in terram genibus, fixis in cœlum oculis, palmis erectis ad sidera, lætissimis animis devotissimis mentibus, gratias Deo referrant, et gloriam resonant in excelsis. Ecce namque cœli aperti sunt, et Dei gloria, Dei patris orta lux Christi; Spiritus Sancti lumen effundens nobis inter tenebras habitantibus umbras mortis preparavit gratiam *inopinatè* et admirabilis claritatis. Ecce quidem clementissimus Agnus Dei, peccata confundens, sanctissimus vir Romanus Pontifex, Pater Urbis, Sponsus et Dominus sue sponse clamoribus, querelis, et luctibus excitatus, compaciensque suis cladibus, calamitatibus, et ruinis, ad renovacionem ipsius urbis, gloriam plebisque, attonitus, mundi leticiam, et salutem, inspiratione Sancti Spiritus, sinum clementie sue graciosus aperiens, *miserecordiam* nobis propinavit, et gratiam,

ac universo mundo redemptionem promittit, et remissionem gentibus peccatorum. Etenim post honorabilem ambaxate nostre supplicationem non humano, verum divino consilio conformatam [perhabita deliberacione matura Dominorum Cardinalium, omniumque Romane curie prelatorum, diversis ac variis linguis in divinam consonantibus voluntatem Spiritus, sancti oracionibus, ac missis per universas Christianorum Ecclesias celebratis], die vigesima septima mensis hujusmodi in magna frequentia populi *preclari* Romani exercitus vocem gratie expectantis, solempnissime, immo angelico premissio sermone, in voce salutis, et leticie, decreto apostolico ad futurum quinquagesimum, et sic deinceps perpetuo, annum, promulgavit et edidit jubileum; nec non oblatum sibi urbis dominium grata voluntate suscipiens, visitacionem sedis apostolice post sedata *Gallorum* scandala, cum ineffabili novit affectu, sermone, vultu, manibus, toto decore corpore totis signis exterioribus, ultra quam dici poterit, *animosis*. Cum itaque, fratres karrissimi, a domino factum sit istud mirabile *quoddam* in oculis intuencium non aliter nisi ut civitas vestra, Sponsa Romani Pontificis, expurgata viciorum vepribus, *suasibus* renovata virtutibus in odorem unguentorum suorum *vernarum* suscipiat sponsum suum. Idcirco letis vos precamur in lacrimis ardentibus *extorquamur exortam affectibus*, quatenus, depositis ferreis armis, guerrarum flammis extinctis, mundificatis cordibus gratis desideriiis, hæc grata, hæc divina munera, hæc dona cælestia capiat, magnificantes in hymnis, psalmis jubilantes, et laudibus, nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, necnon clementissimo successoris ejus Domino nostro summo Pontifici humiles gratias referentes, in cujus labiis gratia divina diffusa renovati estis, et benedicti eciam in eternum, insignem purpura, et auro ejus sculptam imaginem in Romano amphitheatro, seu capitolio statuantes, ut ipsius clementissimi Patris, *patriæ*, auctoris, et liberatoris urbis eterne, vivat in posteros leta et gloriosa memoria nullorum diuturnitate temporum peritura. Quis enim Scipio, quis Cæsar, quis Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius liberatores patrie veteribus *rencensem* annalibus, et inextinguabili dignos memoria judicamus, quorum solempnes



effigies in preciosis lapidibus sculptas pro virtutis memoria et splendore miramur, tanta tanquam gloria decorare patriam potuissent? Illi quidem armati in bellorum austeritatibus mundi calamitatibus, morte et sanguine civium perituras *paruere* victorias. Hic non rogatus cum omnium vita, leticia civium, et salute, immortales, ac eternos subjecit oculis posteritatis et nostris solo verbo triumphos. *Nonne hic est* qui spiritualibus telis armatus exurgens, adversus presentes, futurasque calamitates patrie, providum bellum gerens, omnem miseriam inopum, gentium pauperum, Romanæ reipublice debilitate, ac paratam desperate plebis mortem, uno sanctissimo ac triumphali verbo delevit? Venerandam itaque et colendam hujus Patris memoriam Romanum genus ceterorum memoriis antecellat, presentes predicent, et levata natio future posteritatis expectet, honorificantes denique urbem ac vestram sanctissimam tantis muneribus dignam, tantis honoribus celitus validatam, per quam, fratres carissimi, nisi solutis viciorum calciamentis, et innocentibus, ac mundatis pedibus ambulare gentibus non liceret, quoniam locus in quo statis, et vivitis, terra verissime sancta est.

Annunciando denique vobis id gaudium, quod si Dominus noster summus Pontifex per hanc celestem gratiam vos virtutes, et vicia expurgare, optata sibi fama dicante, perceperit, apertis tociens clemencie suæ alis ad visitacionem *dilecte* urbis sue, cum comitiva apostolorum, *cicinius*, quam gentes crederent, transvolabit.

Nicolaus Laurencii, Romanus Consul, orphanorum, viduarum, et pauperum unicus popularis legatus ad Dominum nostrum Romanum Pontificem animo, manuque proprii.\*

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\* This letter is marked fol. 182, v. 183, of the Codex Taurinensis, and was published for the first time in the Historical Illustrations to the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold.'

## TRANSLATION.

*The Tribune to the Senate and the Roman people.*

Let the mountains around you exult! Let the hills, and the plains, and your city of Rome be covered with joy; and may the valleys shed peace, and be abundantly fruitful, and filled with everlasting gladness! May the Roman city, ascending the throne of her wonted majesty, rise for ever from the fall of her long prostration! Let her cast off the garment of widowhood and mourning, and put on the bridal purple! Let her head be adorned with the diadem of liberty, and her neck strengthened with collars! Let her resume the sceptre of justice, and, strong and regenerate in every virtue, like a fair-dressed bride, let her show herself to her bridegroom! May her priests and elders, her young and old matrons, her orphans and virgins, be raised, and with the old Roman army, roused by the voice of salvation, on bended knees, with eyes fixed on heaven, and hands lifted to the stars, give thanks and sing glory to God in the highest with minds most cheerful and most devout. For behold the heavens are opened, and the glory of God, the light of God the Father of Christ has arisen; which, shedding upon us the rays of the Holy Spirit amidst the dark shadows of death, has prepared for us the grace of unexpected and wonderful brightness. Behold, indeed, the most merciful Lamb of God, confounding our sins, the most holy man, the Roman Pontiff, the Father of our city, the bridegroom and Lord, roused by the clamours and plaints and wailings of his bride, and compassionating her sufferings, disasters, and destructions, amazed at the regeneration of his city and exultation of the people, and at the gladness and salvation of the world, being also inspired by the Holy Spirit, and graciously opening the bosom of his clemency, has acquired for us grace and mercy, and promised redemption to the world, and forgiveness to sinners. For after the honourable supplication of our Embassy, ordained, not by human but divine counsel

(inasmuch as it was sent after a mature deliberation of the Lords Cardinals, and of all the prelates of the Roman Senate, many and various tongues according with the divine will of the Holy Spirit, in discourses and masses celebrated in every Christian church), He (*the Pope*) did on the 27th day of this month, in a great assembly of the noble Roman people and army, then expecting the voice of grace, most solemnly, and in an oration truly angelical and full of salvation and gladness, proclaim and ordain a Jubilee by an Apostolic decree on the coming fiftieth year, and so on successively, assuming at the same time with gratitude the government of the city which was offered him, and accepting the visitation of the Apostolic Seat when the scandal of the French residence\* shall have been put an end to; which offers he heard with an ineffable expression of speech, and countenance, and hands, and was in his decorous person, and indeed in all exterior appearances, animated beyond description.

Since, therefore, my dearest brethren, that miracle has been done in the presence of all of you, insomuch that your city, the bride of the Roman Pontiff, cleansed from the thorns of her vices, and regenerate in virtue, receives her bridegroom into the odours of her own vernal perfumes, we beseech you with ardent tears of joy to cast off your iron armour, to extinguish the flames of war, and with hearts cleansed of all your cherished desires, to accept these precious divine gifts, magnifying and extolling in hymns and psalms the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and offering our humble thanks to his successor our Lord the supreme Pontiff, by whom ye are regenerate and blessed for ever, through the divine grace poured forth from his lips: and do ye place his image, adorned with purple and gold, in the Amphitheatre, that the memory of the most merciful Father of his country, the founder and liberator of the Eternal City, may live renowned and survive all time. For what Scipio, what Cæsar, what Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius—names of ancient

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\* Avignon.



renown, and whom as liberators of their country we deem worthy of imperishable memory, and whose venerable and precious statues are admired as monuments of their virtue, and also for their splendour—who of them have adorned their country with so much glory? They indeed in arms, and amidst the hardships of war, and the miseries of mankind, and the blood and destruction of their fellow-citizens, obtained victories : but he, unsolicited, has prepared for our eyes and those of posterity triumphs immortal and safety to the state, by his word alone ! Is it not he who, armed with spiritual weapons, warring against the present and future calamities of his country, has relieved the misery of nations made wretched and poor by the weakness of the Roman commonwealth, and has driven away from the despairing people the death which was ready for them, and has done all this by one most holy and triumphant word ?

Let the Roman race, therefore, prefer the venerable memory of this their Father to the memory of all others : let the present people foretell, and let our rising posterity hope for another such ! Finally let us honour your most holy city worthy of such great gifts, and strengthened with so great glory from above, and through which, my dearest brethren, it is not permitted for the nations to walk except the sandals of their vices be loosened, and their feet be clean and innocent, for verily the soil on which you stand and live is holy !

Lastly, I announce these glad tidings to you, that if our master the high Pontiff should receive a previous report of your purification by means of the divine grace, he will open the wings of his repeated clemency, and fly to visit his beloved city with the company of his Apostles quicker than the nations do expect.

Nicolas, the son of Laurentius, the Roman Consul, the only Legate of the people, for the Orphans, the Widows, and the Poor, to our master the supreme Pontiff, of his own will, and with his own hand.

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*Copia literarum, quas misit Tribunus Populo et Universitati Viterbii de obedientia, ac subsidio requisitis per eum pro republica gubernanda.*

Auctore clementissimo Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Nicolaus, Severus et Clemens, Libertatis, pacis, justicieque Tribunus, et sacre Romane rei publice Liberator, nobilibus et prudentibus viris, Potestati, Capitaneo, Bonis Hominibus, Sindico, Consilio, et Communi Civitatis Viterbii in Tuscia constitutis, sacri Romani Populi filiis, et devotis, salutem, et cum reconciliacione Dei pacem et justiciam venerari.

Denunciamus vobis id gaudium Domini sancti Spiritus, quod pius Pater, et Dominus noster Jesus Christus in hac veneranda die festivitatis Pasche Pentecoste per inspirationem sanctam hujus sancte urbis, et populo ejus, ac et vobis et omnibus fidelibus populis viris, qui nostra membra consistunt, dignatus est miseracorditer elargiri. Sane cum status ipsius alme urbis, et populi, ac tocius Romane Provincie pravorum, et crudelium rectorum et destructorum ipsius esset ex omni parte quassatus, in perdicionem, et miserabilem destrucionem jam *deducitur*, adeoque intime in eadem *alma* urbe *omnis erat* mortificata justicia, pax expulsa, prostrata libertas, ablata securitas, dampnata caritas, *miseri-cordia* et devocio prophanate, quod nondum extranei et peregrini veri Christi cives Romani carissimi provinciales ad comitatum nostri nullatenus ibidem venire poterant, vel inibi remanere securi, quinmino oppressiones undique, sediciones, hostilitates, et guerre, distruciones animalium, incendia intus et extra, marique, continue effrenatissime penetrabantur, cum magnis ipsius sancte urbis, et totius Romane provincie periculis, jacturis et dampnis animarum, bonorum et corporum, et detrimento non modico totius fidei christiane heu! jam diminute, et quasi totaliter derelictae erant peregrinationes, et visitaciones indulgenciarum et itinerum Sanctissimorum Apostolorum Petri, et Pauli civium, principumque nostrorum, et aliorum sanctorum Apostolorum quorum octo in eadem urbe corpora requiescunt, et sancto-

rum infinitorum Martyrum, atque virginum, in quorum sanguine ipsa sancta civitas est fundata; nec mirandum erat, quin ipsa sancta civitas, que ad consolacionem animarum constructa fuit, et que fidelium omnium debet esse refugium, facta erat offensionis silva, et spelunca latronum potius quam civitas apparebat; vos etiam, et alii devoti populi nostri nullum ab ipsa urbe poteratis percipere consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, qui primo sub *specie* senatus, sub nomine capitaneatus, sub colore milicie eratis oppressi, et injuste sepius lacerati. Igitur prefatus Pater et Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad preces, ut credimus, Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, civium principum et custodum nostrorum, misericorditer excitatus, ad cónsolacionem non solum Romanorum civium, verum totius nostre provincie *comitatum*, peregrinorum, et aliorum omnium fidelium Christianorum, ipsum Romanum populum inspiracione spiritus sancti ad veritatem, et concordiam revocavit, ad desiderium libertatis, justicie, inflammavit, et ad salutem, et defensionem suam, et nostram mirabiliter illustravit, et ad observacionem perpetuam bone voluntatis, sancte, et juste deliberacionis eorum: idem populus, nobis, licet *indigno*, plenam, et liberam potestatem, et auctoritatem reformandi, et conservandi statum pacificum dicte urbis, et totius Romane provincie, ac liberum professus arbitrium commisit, et concessit in suo publico, et solempnissimo Parlamento, ac plena concordia totius populi prelibati. Nos autem, licet ad supportacionem tanti oneris humeros nostros insufficientes, et debiles cognoscimus; tamen, apertissime cognoscentes, quod a Domino factum est istud, et est mirabilius in oculis nostris, et de gratia Dei, et beatorum Petri, et Pauli, ejus gratia, et favore confisi, ac de Romani populi nostris, et totius Romane provincie sequelis, et suffragiis spem habentes, auctoritatem, et potestatem predictas devoto corde, et animo virili suscepimus, et ad reformacionem, et renovacionem justicie, libertatis, et securitatis, statusque pacifici prefate Romane urbis, ac totius provincie, oculos nostre mentis direximus, et prosequi *intendimus* viriliter, et potenter, secundum ordinem antique justicie, per virtutem juste, fortisque milicie mo-

deracione : Quapropter nobilitatem, prudenciam et devotionem vestram presentibus exhortamur, gratias reddatis altissimo salvatori, ac sanctissimis apostolis suis, quoniam in tempus afflictionis, et desperacionis propinaverunt Romano populo, ac nobis consolacionis remedium, ac salutis; suscipientes et participantes nobiscum hoc donum Dei cum magna leticia, gestis et gaudiis manifestis; necnon ad domandum protinus, et *proterendum* superbiam, et tirampnidem quoumcunque rebellium; credentes hunc vobis a Christo concessum impedire quomodolibet, vel turbare statum, propulsata campana communis, et preconibus destinatis sollicitatis populum, et commune ad *preparandum* se armis, equis, et ceteris opportunis ad exercitum, et destrucionem eorum, et exterminium manifestum, et sub proteccionem Dei, et vexillo sancte justicie cum manibus nostris, superbie et tirampnides confundentur, et libertas, pax, et justitia per totam Romanam provinciam reformetur. Nihilominus vobis tenore presentium, sub fide, legalitate, et pena arbitraria precipimus, et mandamus, quatenus infra tres dies post assignacionem presentium, mictatis ad nos duos syndicos, et ambaxiatores ydoneos vestra terre ad consilium, et Parlamentum, que intendimus in eis diebus in Romanorum commodo ad salutem, et pacem tocius nostre provincie celebrare: volumusque, et in signum caritatis et amoris presentibus postulamus, quatenus unum sapientum juris peritum, quem vos duxeritis eligendum, ad nos particulariter destinetis, quem ex nunc in *numero* judicum consistorii nostri cum salario, gagiis, et muneribus conjunctis pro sex mensibus deputamus. Datum in Capitolio, vigesimo quarto mensis Maii decima quinta indicione.\*

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\* This is marked fol. 166 in the Turin MSS., and was printed for the first time in the 'Historical Illustrations' of the 4th canto of 'Childe Harold.' It has not been thought worth while to make any attempt at emendations: the style and historical notices, not the language, being the principal object of publishing these letters. The absence of the diphthong is observable throughout the whole of the manuscript.



## TRANSLATION.

*Copy of the Letters which the Tribune sent to the People and University of Viterbo, concerning the Obedience and Assistance required from them in the Government of the Republic.*

Under the authority of our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ. Nicolas, the Severe and Merciful, of liberty, peace, and justice, the Tribune, and the Liberator of the sacred Roman republic, to the Noble and Prudent Men, to the Podestà, to the Captain, to the Good Men, to the Sindic, to the Council, and to the constituted authorities of the Tuscan city of Viterbo, the devoted children of the Roman people, health, and, through the reconciliation of God, the love of peace and justice.

We announce to you the joy of the Lord the Holy Spirit, which, on the venerable day of the festival of the passover, our pious Father and Lord, Jesus Christ, has vouchsafed in his mercy to bestow upon his people, and upon you and all the faithful who compose our members, through the holy inspirations of this sacred city. Verily, when the state of the cherished city itself, of the people, and the whole Roman province, was convulsed on every side, and reduced to perdition and wretched ruin by its depraved, and cruel, and destroying rulers—and justice was so inwardly death-stricken in the same city, tranquillity so expelled, liberty so prostrate, security so taken away, charity so injured, and piety and devotion so profaned, that the foreign pilgrims, the true citizens of Christendom, and our very dear Roman provincials, could not reach our convocations, or remain in them securely. But owing to the oppressions on every side, the seditions, hostilities, and wars, the ravage of living beings, the conflagrations which, within and without, upon the land and on the waters were continually raging, with great danger to the sacred city itself and of the whole Roman province, with the loss and destruction of soul, and body, and property, and with no small detriment to the whole



Christian faith, now, alas! decayed, the pilgrimages and the visitation for indulgences, and to the shrines of the most holy apostles Peter and Paul, our citizens and chiefs, and of other holy apostles, eight of whose bodies rest in this city, and of innumerable holy martyrs and virgins, in whose blood the very city itself is founded, became as it were totally abandoned: nor was it to be wondered at that the holy city itself, which was made for the comfort of our souls, and should be the refuge of all the faithful, became a forest of crimes, and resembled a den of thieves more than a city: ye also and others of our devoted people were not able to obtain counsel, or assistance, or favour from the city, but were oppressed and oftentimes unjustly injured, first by what was called a Senate, then under the name of a Capitanate, and with the pretext of military service.

Wherefore our aforesaid Father and Lord Jesus Christ, moved with compassion, as we believe, by the prayers of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, our chief citizens and guardians, hath (for the comforting not only of our Roman citizens, but of all the provinces and counties, and of all pilgrims and other faithful Christians) recalled this very Roman people to truth and concord by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and hath inflamed them with a desire of liberty and justice, and enlightened them for their security, for their own and our defence, and for the perpetual observance of good will, of holy and upright judgment. And this same people hath, of their own free will and unanimous accord in their public and most solemn parliament, granted and entrusted to us, though unworthy, full and free power and authority to reform and preserve the tranquil state of the said city and of the whole Roman province—and, notwithstanding we feel our shoulders insufficient and too weak for so great a load, yet, seeing most clearly that it is the work of the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes, and trusting, through the grace of God and the blessed Peter and Paul, to his grace and favour, and relying on the followers and suffrages of the Roman people and of the whole Roman province, we have with a devout heart and manly resolution

taken upon ourselves the aforesaid authority and power, and have directed the eyes of our mind to the reform and regeneration of justice, liberty, security, and tranquillity of the aforesaid Roman city and whole province, and we will resolutely and strenuously follow up the order of ancient justice, by virtue of a constitutional and moderately strong army.

We therefore recommend it to your dignity, and prudence, and devotion, to return thanks to the most high Saviour and to his holy apostles, because that in the season of affliction and despair they have greeted the Roman people and us with comfort and salvation, partaking and participating with us in this gift of God with exceeding gladness and manifest signs of joy. We exhort you also to subdue and quell the pride, tyranny, and rebellion of those who think to harass and confound this state, granted us by Christ, in whatsoever manner it may be : do you by sounding the alarm-bell, or by the public criers destined for that purpose, summon the people and Commune to equip themselves with arms, horses, and other warlike materials for the destruction of any such, and for their manifest extermination : so that under the protection of God, and the standard of holy justice in our hands, may their pride and usurpation be confounded, and liberty, peace, and justice, be reformed through the whole Roman province. We no less command and order, by the tenor of these presents, under your faith, loyalty, and for fear of such penalties as may seem fitting, that you send two proper Sindics and Ambassadors of your district to our council and parliament, which we mean to hold in these days, for the welfare of the Romans and the safety and tranquillity of our whole province : and we will, and by these presents do require, as a token of our affection and love, that you specifically appoint for us at least one wise man learned in the law, whom you shall deem eligible, and whom we, from this date, depute among the number of judges of our constitution, with the salaries, profits, and emoluments appertaining.

Given in the Capitol the 24th day of May, 15th indiction.

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*Responsio Domini Tribuni transmissa amico suo in Romana Curia commoranti, eo quod primo sibi scripserat, quod dicebatur per Curiam quod terrore preteriti volebat dimittere officium Tribunatus.*

Amice Karissime. Inter causas alias, quibus multipliciter vobis afficimur, continue obligamur, et tenemur vobis de frequentia literarum, quas nobis ita sollicitè direxistis, et si ad ea non hucusque rescripsimus, non processit ex alia quam ex diversitate ardua, et arduitate diversa negotiorum, quibus persona nostra continue occupatur. Scire tamen vos cupimus, et tenere certissimum, quod urbs sic reducta est ad statum, Spiritu Sancto faciente, pacificum, liberum, et felicem, quod non videntibus impossibile foret credi: nemo enim credere posset Romanum populum plenum dissidiis, hactenus sordidum omni genere viciorum, reductum ad tante unitatis effectum, ad tantumque amorem justicie, et honeste virtutis, et pacis in tanta temporis brevitate . . . . . domitis cessantibus odiis, percussionibus, homicidiis, et rapinis. Nec est in urbe qui ludo uti audeat taxillari; qui Deum, vel sanctos audeat *laccessire blasphemia*; nec laicus quispiam, qui teneat concubinam, inimicantes omnes gaudent; etiam leta pace uxores, diucius a viris abjecte, ad viros reducte sunt. Magnates, quibus inequa rerum communitas causam dissensionis prestabat, ad divisionem, et porcionem equalem; nec non et discordes omnes ad concordiam tempore isto nostri regiminis per Dei gratiam mirabiliter sunt reducti; et totus Romanus populus ad devotionem accensi plusquam nunquam fuerunt a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi gloriosissimi. Quilibet suo gaudet, quilibet de suo vivere est contentus. Securi ad urbem veniunt qui solebant in urbis januis spoliari peregrini cujuslibet nationis. Pax viget, et floret securitas. Non sunt modo Castra Potentum, ut hactenus, spelunce latronum; nec retinent eos silve. Et novit Deus, cui omnia patent, quod non ambicio dignitatis, officii, fame, honoris, vel aure mundialis, quam semper abhorruì, sicut, cenum, sed

desiderium communis boni totius reipublice hujusque sanctissimi status induxit nos colla submittere jugo adeo ponderoso . . . . nostris humeris non ab homine, sed a Deo, qui novit si officium istud fuit per nos precibus procuratum ; si officia, beneficia, et honores consanguineis nostris contulimus ; si nobis pecuniam cumulamur ; si a veritate recedimus ; si homines tenemus in verbis, si nobis, vel heredibus nostris facimus compositiones ; si in ciborum dulcedine, aut voluptate aliqua delectamur ; et si quidquam gerimus simulatum. Testis est nobis Deus de iis, que fecimus et facimus pauperibus, viduis, orphanis et pupillis. Multo vivebat quietius Cola Laurentius quam Tribunus. Sed pro huius loci beatus amore labores reputamus nobis singulos ad quietem, immo in testimonio Spiritus Sancti, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum causam prosequimur, et tuemur. Hora diei quietem sumere possumus ; sed noctem addimus operi, et labori.

## TRANSLATION.

*Reply of the Lord Tribune sent to his friend in the Roman Court\* to that which he had written, mentioning the report that prevailed in the Court that, alarmed at what had happened, he was desirous of resigning the Tribuneship.*

Dearest Friend,

Amongst the other causes on account of which we are in innumerable ways affected towards you, we are continually obliged and beholden to you for the frequency of the letters which you have written to us ; and if we have not hitherto replied to them, it has only proceeded from the difficult variety and various difficulty of the concerns with which our person is continually occupied.

We are desirous, however, that you should know and be assured that, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, the city

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\* At Avignon.



has been brought back to a state so tranquil, free, and happy, as to be incredible to those who do not witness it; for it is not to be believed that the Roman people, till now full of dissension, and corrupted by every description of vice, should be so soon reduced to a state of such unanimity, and to so great a love of justice, honourable virtue, and peace, and that hatred, assaults, murder, and rapine should be subdued and put an end to. Nor is there any person in the city who dares to play at forbidden games, nor to provoke God or his saints with blasphemy; there is no layman who keeps his concubine; all enemies are reconciled; and even wives, who had been long cast off, return to their husbands. The nobles, who had grounds of dissension in the unjust community of property, have consented to an equal division and proportion; all the discontented, through the grace of God, are wonderfully brought to contentment in this period of our government, and the whole Roman people has been animated to a devotion, such as has never been witnessed since the nativity of our most glorious Lord Jesus Christ. Every man enjoys his own: every man is content to live on his own. Pilgrims of every nation, who used to be plundered at the gates of the city, now come to us in safety. Peace blossoms forth, and security flourishes. The castles of the nobles are not as hitherto dens of thieves; nor do our woods abound with robbers. And God, by whom all things are seen, knows that no ambition for dignity, office, fame, honour, or worldly favour, which I have always abhorred like dirt, but anxiety for the general good of the Republic, and of this holy state, induced us to submit our neck to so ponderous a yoke, placed upon our shoulders not by man but by God, who can testify whether this office was put upon us at our own entreaties; whether we have conferred places, benefits, or honours upon our relations; whether we have heaped up money for ourselves; whether departed from truth; whether we have held men together by words only; whether we compound for ourselves or our heirs; whether we are fond of luxury in our food, or of any

voluptuousness; and whether we have done anything with hypocrisy. God is our witness of what we have done, and are doing, for the poor—for the widows, and for the orphans, and all the young. Cola the son of Laurence lived much more tranquilly than Cola the Tribune: but for the love which we bear to this place, we consider all our labours are for its tranquillity, and for this we appeal to the witness of the Holy Spirit, and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, whose cause we follow and defend. At the hour of day we can take rest, but the night we give to labour and study.

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*Primum Membrum presentis Littere.*

Ad id autem, quod scribitis audivisse, quod inceptum jam *terreri*, scire vos facimus, quod sic Spiritus Sanctus, per quem dirigimur, et *movemur*, facit animum nostrum fortem, quod ulla discrimina non timemus; immo si totus mundus, et homines sancte fidei christiane, et perfidiarum hebraice, et pagane contrariarentur nobis, non propterea terremur. Nobis enim propositum est cum reverencia Dei, et Sancte Matris Ecclesie, et pro amore, et cultu justicie velle mori. Talis autem timoris opinio, qui nunquam cecidit nec cadere poterit in cor nostrum, potuit fortasse procedere ex eo, quod, dum pridem, in concilio peterimus, quod istud officium in diversas personas singulis tribus mensibus mutaretur, illi, qui in concilio erant aceratis pre tristitia vestibus, omnes conclamantes lacrimabiliter responderunt, dicentes aut quod iste status sanctissimus decidat, et regimen istud ad aliud deveniret, singuli moriamur, ita quod illud, quod faciebamus causa virtutis, adscripsit nobis aliena ignorantia ad timorem. Nec id ob aliud petebamus, nisi ne causa nostri ad perpetuitatem officii aspirare aliquatenus crederetur.

## TRANSLATION.

*First Part of this Letter.*

With regard to what you mention as having heard, that we had begun to be frightened, we give you to know that the Holy Spirit, which governs and cherishes us, so fortifies our mind that we feel no perils—nay, if the whole world, both people of the holy Christian faith, and perfidious Jews and Pagans, should oppose, we would not therefore be dismayed; for it is our intention and desire, with all due reverence to God and our Holy Mother Church, to die for the love and maintenance of justice.

But is it probable that such mention of terror, which never did, and never can, reach our heart, arose from this circumstance, that when we proposed in council that this office should be changed and given to different persons every three months, those who were present, tearing their garments in sadness, and weeping, began to exclaim, that “the Good Estate itself would perish, that the government would undergo a change, and all would be slain”—so that what we did out of our love of virtue, the ignorance of others hath ascribed to fear. And we only desired this measure that we might not be thought in any way, on our own account, to aspire to hold this office in perpetuity.

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*Secundum Membrum.*

Vos etiam cupimus non latere, quod Joannes de Vico, olim prefectus *fricida* (*fratricida*) et proditor vocatus, et expectatus diutius, venire noluit ad mandata; propter quod contra eum direximus nostrum victoriosum exercitum, qui jam occupavit Vetrallam, et Viterbium tenet obsessum, quod continue devastatur. Omnes quoque Tuscie Civitates miserunt jam in servitio nostro, et Romani Populi in dictum

nostrum exercitum auxilia gentis sue. Omnes hoc statu letantur, omnes Romano populo favent contra proditorem prefatum. Soli rectores Patrimonii, et Campanie assistunt, et subfavent proditori qui aliter fuerant sui hostes; de quo etsi dolemus, sine causa nos tractari indebite ab eisdem, altiori tamen in mente peragimus, quod proinde turbabuntur omnia corda Romanorum. Videtur enim eis in culpas ipsorum Rectorum non solum ab eis, sed a Domino nostro Summo Pontifice recipere lesionem; dicunt quidam: nos Domini nostri summi Pontificis in auxiliis *sperabamus*, et officiales suos ita nobis contrarios experimur, quod non sit sine aliquali infamia Domini prelibati: fratisque germani dicti Comitum Campanie cum quatuor banneriis equitum, et cum gente Regis Ungarie invadentis Regnum Sicilie in Aquila contra Reginam Joannam, et Dominum nostrum summum Pontificem; Nec obmittemus, quod tanta est circa hunc statum vicinarum bona dispositio civitatum, quod viginti sex denarios antique parve monete, valentes nunc Carlenum unum, et denarios quatuor parvos, petitos ab eis pro quolibet focolari, libenter exsolvunt, videntes nos ipsam pecuniam, et aliam pro defensione personarum, et rerum suarum in stipendia *militie* convertisse, quamvis Rectores ipsi hoc visi fuerint impedire; et illi, a quibus pecuniam ipsam non petimus, dolent quodammodo, et spontanee solvunt illam, ne a defensione nostra videantur exclusi. Igitur nulla nos cura sollicitat, si, Deo exeunte nobiscum, nobis homines *adversari* contingat; et spem nostram in Deo posuimus; de auxiliis hominum non curamus. Legisse namque recolimus, et vidisse virum in suâ, et hominis potentia confidentem succumbere, et quod humana auxilia in ejus, ad cujus sunt parata favorem, sepe in confusionem sint solita torqueri. Quidquid igitur nobis objicitur, quasi mane . . . . . reputamus, existentes certi, quod quanto plus hic status sanctissimus impugnatur in terris ab homine, in celis roboratur plus a Deo, qui quod ipse dignatus est misericorditer stabilire, non patitur per homines infirmari.



## TRANSLATION.

*Second Member.*

We are also desirous that it should not be concealed from you that John de Vico (formerly prefect), fratricide and traitor, though called and expected a long time, would not come to our summons: we have, therefore, sent against him our victorious army, which hath occupied Vetralla, and keeps Viterbo, which is incessantly laid waste, in siege. All the Tuscan states also in our service, and the Roman people, have sent auxiliaries from their own people to our said army. All rejoice in this proceeding, all assist the Roman people against the aforesaid traitor. But the governors of the Patrimony\* and of Campania, who were formerly his enemies, connive with the traitor, which, although it sorely grieves us that we should be treated so unworthily, yet are we more deeply affected, because the hearts of all our Romans will be troubled thereat: for it is their belief that, owing to the offence of these governors, they are not only injured by those lords themselves, but also by their lord the Pope himself; for, say they, we trusted in the assistance of our lord the Pope, and now we see his officers are against us, and against us to the discredit, in some degree, of the same lord the Pope, and of the brother of the Count of Campania, invading with four banners of horse, and with the people of the king of Hurgary, the kingdom of Sicily, in *Aquila*, in prejudice of Queen Joanna and of our sovereign lord the Pope. Nor will we omit, that such is the good disposition of the cities near this state, that they willingly pay twenty-six pence of the ancient small money (now worth a carline) and four small pence which are demanded of them for each hearth: for they see that we convert this and other money into stipends

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\* A part of the Roman states called the Patrimony of St. Peter.

for soldiers for the defence of their persons and property, and notwithstanding the governors themselves would hinder this tribute, those from whom we have not demanded contribution are in some measure disappointed, and offer it of their own accord, that they may not appear excluded from our protection.

We are, therefore, under no apprehensions if men should become our adversaries, whilst God goes out with us: and we have placed our reliance on God, not caring for the help of man. For we recollect to have read of and have seen such as trusted to human powers succumb, and human aid is wont to be turned to the confusion of him for whose help it was prepared.

Let us, therefore, consider what is objected to us as . . . . . being certain that the more this holy state is assailed on earth by men, the more it is fortified in heaven by God, who does not permit that what he has pitifully vouchsafed to establish, should be loosened by the hand of man.

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*Tercium Membrum.*

Ad disconsolacionem nostram illud novum accidit, quod, tenentibus nobis in carcere singulos potentes de hujus status *impedicione* suspectos, et cum eis nuperrime Lucam de Sabello, *Vicarius* Domini nostri Pape, aut timore ipsius Luce perterritus, vel aliis tirampnidum dolis flexus, credentium ad turbacionem hujus santi status preter istas non posse unam aliam invenire causam, querit de capitolio recedendi: nec unquam in aliquo volumus, ob Domini nostri summi Pontificis reverenciam, *ejus* honoribus, et beneplacitis deviare; de quo etiam Romanus Populus est admiracione, et dolore commotus, dum singulos officiales Domini nostri summi Pontificis, aliquos malacia, aliquem negligencia obviare prospiciunt huic sancto statui, et quieti. Sed frustra tu mescunt maria, frustra venti *furunt*, frustra ignis crepitat,

et inanes resolvuntur in favillas contra hominem in Domine confidentem, qui, sicut Mons Syon, non poterit commoveri : nec obmittimus, quod Comes Campanie cum aliquibus tirampnis *damnabilibus*, machinatus procuravit tres Bannerias equitum a se dolose remove, quasi renunciasset eisdem, et ipsi venientes ad nostra stipendia, debebant nos occidere, prout inter eos fuerat ordinatum. Sed Deus, defensor noster, de eorum manibus nostram innocentiam liberavit. Sciatis eciam ad despectum, et dedecus Joannis de Vico, nequissimi proditoris, recepimus a Romano Populo officium Prefecture urbis ad gaudium, subjungentes, quod in Dei nomine in Kalendis Augusti proxime futuro die Pontificali, ac Imperiali intendimus per Romanum Populum, Spiritus Sancti gratia, ad militiam promoveri, et sic existentes Spiritus Sancti Miles, in festo gloriose Virginis Marie ejusdem mensis, Tribunicia laurea, quam Tribuni antiquitus assumebant disposuimus coronari, mores eorum imitari eciam non verebamur, *qui ab aratris* ad officia promoti videntur.

De iis omnibus informatis reverendum Patrem Dominum F. de filiis Ursis Domini Papi Notarii, qui nobis quam plurimum ascripsit, nec habuimus adhuc sibi copiam rescribendi. Et excusatis nos ei, quod si modo non scribimus, est enim propter festinanciam hujus occurrentis ; vos quoque kalidissime studeatis et vestrum reditum festinare, quia vobis providimus de officio honorabili, atque bono ; scientes, quod non de facili, non simonia, not precibus, et instancia aliena officiales assumimus, sed opinione virtutis viros probos ad officia promovemus.

Datum in Capitolio, in quo, regnante justitia, recto corde vigemus, die decimaquinta Julii, decimaquinta indicione, liberate rei publice anno primo.\*

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\* The foregoing letter has never been published : it is marked fol. 175, 176 of the Turin MSS.

## TRANSLATION.

*Third Part.*

It has lately happened to our discomfort, that, whilst we held in prison certain princes suspected of opposition to this state, and amongst them very recently Luca of Sabello, the Vicar of our lord the Pope, either overcome with terror of the said Luke, or influenced by the treachery of usurpers (who could find no other means of disturbing this holy state), is seeking to quit the Capitol: nor would we ever do anything contrary to his dignity and wishes out of the reverence we bear our lord the Pope, towards whom also the Roman people are moved with wonder and grief on beholding the officers of our lord the supreme Pontiff endangering the tranquillity of this holy state, some from malice, others by negligence.

But the billows swell in vain—in vain the winds rage, and in vain the fires crackle and are dissipated into empty sparks against the man who puts his trust in God, who is as immoveable as Mount Sion. We do not omit that the Count of Campania with certain damnable tyrants has contrived that three banners of horse should leave his party by stealth as if he had renounced them, and come into our pay for the purpose of slaying us, as had been determined amongst them. But God, our defender, has saved our innocence out of their hands.

Know, also, that in contempt and to the disgrace of John de Vico, that most wicked traitor, we have received from the Roman people the prefectureship, to the joy of the city, and that, through the Roman people and the grace of the Holy Spirit, we in the name of God on the pontifical and imperial day of the approaching kalends of August do intend to be promoted to the knighthood; and thus having become a knight of the Holy Ghost, we have arranged that we shall be crowned on the festival of the glorious Virgin Mary, in the same month, with the Tribunician Laurel,



which the tribunes assumed of old, not fearing to imitate their customs who were promoted from the plough to high duties.

You will tell all these things to the reverend lord father Orsini,\* the notary of our lord the Pope, who wrote to us much at large, and we have not yet had an opportunity of replying to him; and you will excuse us to him that if we do not now write, it is by reason of these events. You also will eagerly endeavour to hasten your return, because we are looking out for some honourable and good office for you, knowing that we do not easily, nor by simony, appoint our officers, nor at the intreaties and instance of other persons, but promote honest men approved for their virtuous characters.

Given in the Capitol, where in this reign of justice we flourish in upright heart, on the 15th day of July, the 15th indiction, and 1st year of the freedom of the republic.

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*Copia litterarum missarum per Tribunum urbis ad Dominum Papam excusando se ab inimicis occultis, narrans etiam aliqua contra Comitem Fondorum.*

Sanctissime Pater, et clementissime Domine, ne dolo-  
sarum linguarum astucia, a quibus . . . . liberari, vestra  
clemencia *quatenus* non facilis, imo impossibilis, sicut reor,  
verbis inclinari fallacibus, cum sit scriptum omni sermoni  
non esse credendum, suspectum teneat tamen de cogni-  
tione mee puritatis auditum, presens litera sanctitati vestre  
transmittitur veri nuncia, *mendacii* inimici et dolo obvia  
alicujus, qui ex acuta lingua ut gladio in jaculatum sagit-  
tarum nititur in occulto, cujus *innata* et inveterata nequicia  
non participio status, et honoris ecclesie ipsum facit im-

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\* This was Raynaldo degli Orsini, the same to whom the long letter is addressed which is given in Hocsemius.

meritum, verum efficit suscepcone aule vestre sanctitatis indignum. Noverit igitur sanctitatis vestre benignitas, me humilem servum vestrum in festo beatissime Marie Virginis de presenti mense Augusti fuisse per manus Preceptoris Hospitalis Sancti Spiritus, et Vicariorum ecclesiarum cathedralium urbis antiquitus solita dari tribunis laurea coronatum: videlicet sex coronis, quarum quinque fuerunt frondee, secundum Romanorum antiquum institutum, dari audentibus rem publicam consuete, et sexta fuit argentea, que valorem quinque florenorum auri non excedit; et post ipsarum susceptionem sex hujusmodi coronarum pomum recepi per manus Syndici Romani Populi milicie signatum, que devote suscipiens ad memoriam sex donorum Spiritus Sancti ab ejusdem largitate alui, et sub sancte Romane Ecclesie, et Sanctitatis vestre reverencia recognovi, in quibusque suscipiendis nulla perpetuabitur auctoritas *in consensu, sive licentia nulla fuit Pontificalis oportuna potestas curie*. Non in pleno, at plenissimo publico parlamento, de assensu totius Romani Populi, et aliorum quamplurium omnium fere civitatum Tuscie Syndicorum Ecclesie Zelo fratres, omnes homines civitatum, in quibus etiam cardinalium tituli, et bona eorum ab omni vassalagio liberavi, cives Romanos *effeci* et reduxi ad vestrum dominium, Minorum Cardinalium, quorum in eis non modicum iurisdicio lesa erat, adversis potentibus vestre urbis. Item quod nullus Imperator, Rex, Princeps, Marchio, sive quovis alio censitus nomine cum gente audeat in Italiam mittere sine vestre Sanctitatis, vel Romani Populi licencia speciali; ad que me induxit pura, quam habeo ad Ecclesiam, sancta fides, et desiderium pacis, et quietis Italie, atque Regni. Item quod nemo detestabilia nomina Guelfum, et Guibellinum tanti jam proh dolor! Christiani sanguinis *estuaria*, audeat per totam Italiam nominare, sed, omni . . . . . deposita, fidelem *sexorem* sancte Ecclesie in unitate, et pace, . . . . . asserat, et cognoscat. In quibus, et aliis per me gestis, si aliquid potest reputari Ecclesie sancte contrarium, que per universum pacem decantant, et predicant, relinquo vestre iudicio sanctitatis, cupiens anxie,

et non fiete, quod dignetur vestra sanctitas mittere aliquem virum Dei, ut de singulis, que peregi, voluntate vestri Romani Populi *discuciat*, et inquirat; et si forte mali quome inculpat reperiatur, ante pedes vestros venturum me obligo, pena qualibet, juxta sanctitatis vestre justiciam sine misericordia puniendus. Nec vestram clemenciam lateat, quod contra hostem Ecclesie, atque vestrum Nicolaum Gartanum, olim Fondorum comitem, per exercitum victoriosum procedo viriliter, paratis opportunis, et jam misi Cancellarium, urbis Angelum Malabreme in ostensionem terrarum Comitum prelibati cum equitibus quadringentis *positis* in campo feliciter, cum Spiritus Sancti gratia, et favore, uttra duodecim centenaria equitum strenuorum cum balistariis, et hominibus aliis infinitis, et quod ipsum spero faciliter conculcare, quod nunquam . . . . ut resurgat. Cujus exercitus Joannem natum Stephani de Columpna, Principem milicie ordinavi. Et quod in iis partibus cepit indere aliqua, licet modica carestia, cui adhibui, et adhibeo proposse remedia, procurans de Sicilie partibus granum defferri facere, ac eciam aliunde, et terras Romani districtus, quarum diu inculta pars maxima jacuit, reduci faciens ad culturam; et per concessionem Jubilei nisi provideatur aliter posset excrescere, dum multi de diversis mundi partibus Romam perperam confluent, multique granum procurabant abscondere.\*

*Cetera desiderantur.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*Copy of the Letters sent by the Tribune of the City to the Lord the Pope, defending himself from his secret Enemies, and mentioning certain things against the Count of Fondi.*

Most holy Father, and most merciful Lord, lest through the craftiness of deceitful tongues, from which even . . . .

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\* This letter is not in Hocsemius: it is marked fol. 167 of the Turin MSS.

would desire to be delivered, your clemency, hitherto not easy, nay, as I suppose, impossible to be turned from me by fallacious words (for it is written we are not to credit everything we hear), may not hold me suspected, notwithstanding the known proofs of my purity, this present letter is sent to your Holiness to declare the truth, to oppose falsehood, and to repel the craft of any person who darts arrows from his sharp tongue, like a secret sword, and whose innate and inveterate vice renders him unworthy not only of all dignity and honour in the state, but even of being received into the court of your Holiness.

Your Holiness will have known that on the festival of the most blessed Virgin Mary, in this present month of August, your humble servant received from the hands of the preceptor of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and of the vicars of the cathedral churches of the city, the laurel crown which was wont of old to be given to the tribunes, consisting of six crowns, five of which were of natural leaves, given, according to an old Roman custom, to persons who had advanced the commonwealth, and the sixth of silver, not exceeding the value of five gold florins; and that, after taking the above six crowns, I received also from the hand of the Sindic the apple, the ensign of the army of the Roman people; all which, devoutly taking in memory of the six gifts of the Holy Ghost, I cherished as a token of his bounty, and in acknowledgment of my reverence for the most holy Roman church and of your Holiness. And in the reception of these *there will be no perpetual assumption of authority; nor was there any infraction of the power of the court of Rome.\** In the full, or rather in the complete public parliament, and with the assent of the whole Roman people, very many of the Sindics of all the cities of Tuscany, brothers in Christian zeal, and all those of the cities which give titles to cardinals, were not only freed from all vassalage as to their property, but were declared by me

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\* This appears to be the meaning of the Latin text.



Roman citizens, and were brought back to your authority, and to that of my lords the cardinals, whose rights had received manifest injury, in consequence of the inimical nobles of this your city. Also, that no emperor, or king, or prince, or marquis, or any other, under whatever title, may dare to put foot in Italy, without the special licence of your Holiness, or of the Roman people; to which I was induced by that pure and holy faith which I bear to the Church, and by the desire of peace and of the quiet of Italy, and of the kingdom at large. Also, that no one may for the future dare to mention the detested names of Guelf and Ghibeline; but, laying aside all party distinctions, assert and acknowledge the power of the . . . . . of the Holy Church in unity and peace. In all which, and other things by me done, if there be anything that can be esteemed contrary to Holy Church, seeing that they proclaim and preach universal peace, I leave to the judgment of your Holiness; desiring anxiously and unfeignedly that your Holiness would deign to send hither some man of God to discuss and inquire into all those things which I have done by the will of your Roman people; and if the said shall find any of that evil in me with which I am charged, I do oblige myself, under any penalty, to be punished without mercy according to the justice of your Holiness. Nor let it be unknown to your clemency that against the enemy of the Church, and of yourself, Nicholas Gartanus, formerly Count of Fondi, I am now proceeding manfully with a victorious army, and have already sent before me Angelo Malabreme, the chancellor of the city, to make an incursion into the lands of the said Count, with four hundred knights well arrayed for battle, with the grace and power of the Holy Spirit, besides twelve hundred other horsemen with slingers, and an infinite number of other soldiers; who, as I hope, will easily tread him under foot, so that he shall never again rise. Of which army I have appointed John the son of Stephen Colonna, prince of the soldiery; and because there is in those parts a commencing scarcity, although to no great extremity, I

have resorted, and, as far as I am able, do now resort, to certain remedies; enacting that grain shall be imported from Sicily and from other countries, and ordaining that many lands of our Roman district, the greater part of which have long lain uncultivated, shall now be again sown; for I am aware that otherwise this scarcity may increase, owing to the granting of the jubilee, which will bring such multitudes from all quarters to Rome, and because many have found means to amass and conceal the grain.

*The rest is wanting.*

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Since the appearance of these Letters, in 1818, a discovery was made of certain documents which were published for the first time in 1841 at Hamburgh. They were edited by a learned German, Dr. Papencordt, in a work called 'Cola di Rienzi and his Times, chiefly from unpublished documents.' I have not seen the book itself, but have read what seems a masterly summary of it in the 'Quarterly Review' for March, 1842. The Letters of Rienzi addressed, during his residence in Bohemia, to Charles IV., Emperor of Germany, and to the Archbishop of Prague, certainly add some new details to the strange history of the Tribune, but they do not appear to alter in any material degree the previous estimate of his character. They do not make him a better or a wiser man than he is usually thought to have been—rather the contrary; but they illustrate the character of the age and country in which Rienzi rose and fell. Under no other circumstances of time, place, and manners, could such an impostor have met even with temporary success.

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(B.)

ESSAY ON THE  
PRESENT LITERATURE OF ITALY.

(PUBLISHED IN 1818.)

It is the boast of the Italians that their literature has flourished with unequal but uninterrupted brilliancy from the thirteenth century to the present day.

The progress of time alone would naturally have produced and obliterated many innovations, but the frequent domestic revolutions, the repeated irruptions, the arms and the arts of strangers, succeeding each other rapidly and imperceptibly, and bringing with them new laws, and manners, and opinions, have occasioned in Italy more vicissitudes than are to be found in the literature of any other country. Thus it is that their critics have been able to point out at least ten different epoques when it has assumed certain characteristics, or, to use a single word, a physiognomy, altogether distinct from that of any preceding or subsequent period. The average duration assigned to each of these epoques has been laid down at about half a century. This is the utmost length that any individual taste and mode of writing can be discovered to have prevailed.

The above remark is purposely premised to a short account which it is intended to give of the present state of Italian literature; that is to say, of the character of the actual epoque, which embraces not only those writers at present in existence, but others who have powerfully contributed to form the taste and the tone which will continue

to prevail until succeeded by another revolution in the republic of letters. The latter Italian authors may be expected to form a diversity more distinct than those of any other generation, when it is recollected that, whilst they wrote, the most extraordinary change was prepared and consummated that had ever affected the moral or political world. That the great convulsions which shook not only "mightiest monarchies," but also the mind of man, in all the countries of Europe, should communicate itself to these authors was inevitable, and will be discovered in the works, the principles, the character, and the estimation of the most celebrated amongst them, whom it is proposed to examine and portray. These authors will be their poets; who are selected, first, because the verse of every country is the depository of the language, the taste, and the manners of the times; secondly, because this is found more particularly the case in those nations whose imagination is their predominant faculty; and, in the third place, because the writers chosen on this occasion are in part distinguished for their compositions in prose.

This method of illustration might be liable to objections in any other country than Italy, where the few men of superior genius are separated from the crowd of writers by a barrier which, in other nations, is rarely visible until posterity has pronounced the final decision. In Italy the judgment is in some sort formed and given by their contemporaries; and thus, although the struggle to attain the eminence may be more serious and protracted, there is less danger of future degradation.

An intimate acquaintance is, however, requisite to perceive the difference between the esteemed and the popular author; for, otherwise, the above-mentioned singularity of Italian literature would be reduced to a shade only of distinction from that of other countries. A book may be in the hands of all readers, and, during some years, be the study and the talk of all. This was the case with the *Animali parlanti* of Casti, but the author had no pretence or right to renown. On the other hand, a work which few



comparatively shall peruse, because every one cannot understand, having obtained the suffrages of those distinguished above the common class of readers, acquires for the author an established name, which the people themselves are soon taught to repeat with respect, although entirely ignorant or insensible of the specific merit which has obtained their applause. Such esteem may be compared to the blind honours conferred upon a successful general by the mass of the people, who wish no other signal or reason for their shouts than the gazette, but it is not less devoted and sincere.

If we endeavour to account for this characteristic in the literature of Italy, a partial, or perhaps a sufficing, reason may be found in the difference between countries like England and France, and one in which, as there is no single capital, there are, comparatively speaking, none of those court intrigues, none of those party passions, none of those fashionable cabals and tribunals, which are called into play and employed in Paris and London in deciding the fate of authors. It is not that there are no reviews composed by the personal enemies or friends of the respective writers; it is not that fashion has no voice; but the injustice of criticism or the folly of a coterie, which may sway public opinion for awhile in one of the great cities, is inevitably corrected before it has run through the mass of disinterested readers, and travelled the wide circle of Venice, Bologna, Parma, Verona, Milan, Turin, Florence, Naples, and Rome. The same instances of undeserved neglect and elevation may be found in each of those towns as are the constant complaint throughout the vast extent of our own country. But even in any single capital the error is more speedily corrected by the justice of many rival, or, what is better, impartial neighbours; and, speaking of the whole of Italy, there cannot be an instance of that rapid rise, and as sudden precipitation, of which we have seen so many examples in our times, and which are to be attributed solely to what we call the fashion of the day. You do not even hear the

expressions usual with us applied to their national writers. The favourite of *the town* would be an absurd solecism in a country where there are twenty towns with distinct literary interests and pretensions, and where the attachment of one city secures the opposition of another ; nor, as it has been before mentioned, can some of the most established authors be said to be most *in vogue*, for they are certainly not the most read.

A reviewer may irritate the public curiosity, a lady of high rank may give a letter of recommendation, but neither the one nor the other can raise those phantoms of fashion, who, although they come and depart like shadows, walk the whole round of our united kingdoms with all the honours and attributes of substantial existence.

If, then, we find any living author enjoying very nearly the same character in all the provinces of Italy, we can safely prognosticate that he has received his final estimation—that the just appreciation of his merits alone having raised him, will prevent him from ever sinking into total neglect ; that he has become one of the national writers, subject, indeed, to the fluctuations which, as it has been before remarked, affect more especially the literature of Italy, but always to be ranked amongst the *classics* of his country.

The above circumstance furnishes the foreigner with a criterion not found in other countries : his survey is facilitated by being contracted to a narrower space ; and when he has collected the judgment pronounced upon a very few, he need not embarrass himself with the multitude of writers, but be assured that he has seized the traits that are at present, and will always be esteemed, characteristic of the literature of the age. Of the writers, then, whose influence may be more or less discerned in the formation of the present taste and style, it may be sufficient to enumerate six : Melchior Cesarotti, Joseph Parini, Victor Alfieri, Hippolitus Pindemonte, Vincent Monti, and Hugo Foscolo. The three first are, it is true, no longer

alive,\* but they clearly belong to the present day, and are no less to be taken into an actual survey than their surviving contemporaries. There is nothing bold in pronouncing that these are decidedly the authors of the day ; but it is an endeavour of great difficulty and no little danger to attempt to show the specific reputation which each of them enjoys, and to describe their respective performances so as to give, on the whole, the acknowledged result of their effects upon the opinions of their countrymen. Such an effort has, however, been made in the following sketches of these distinguished Italians, and so much of their biography has been added as appeared serviceable in illustrating the motives that inspired, and the occasions that called forth, their various compositions.

#### CESAROTTI.

Melchior Cesarotti was a Paduan, and died, in extreme old age, in the year 1808. Bold, fruitful, eloquent, and deeply versed in ancient and modern literature, this writer impressed his readers with the conviction of his genius ; and yet, although he resembled no one of his predecessors or contemporaries, there was something more of novelty than originality in all his compositions.

He was brought up in the ecclesiastical seminary of Padua, which prides itself, and with some justice, on the constancy and success with which it has preserved the Latinity of the purer ages. Indeed, the Latin verses of Cesarotti are a proof no less of his talents than of the merit of this celebrated institution, which, had he continued to pursue the same studies, would have produced a new rival of Vida or Fracastorius. But he no sooner entered into holy orders and quitted the seminary than he declared war against the poets of antiquity, and more especially of

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\* All of them now have been long dead.—1858.



Greece. An Englishman passing through Venice made him acquainted with Ossian, at that time the delight, or at least the wonder, of the transalpine critics, and Cesarotti lost no time in translating it into blank verse, accompanying his version with notes, for the most part, against Homer. Ossian delighted the Italians, who did not, generally speaking, embarrass themselves with the examination of the authenticity of the pretended epic. Palmieri of Placentia, and a few others, ventured to contest the antiquity of the poet, but the mass of readers, seduced by the authority of Blair, or by their inclination to be pleased with their Italian Ossian, were resolved to discover the genuine son of Fingal in the spurious offspring of Macpherson. Some there were who still defended the heroes of the old school, and exclaimed against a precedent fatal to the reputation of the ancient models and to the purity of the modern language. But they read the work and they admired the translator. His verses, in truth, are harmonious, are soft, are imbued with a colouring, and breathe an ardent spirit altogether new; and, with the same materials, he has created a poetry that appears written in a metre and a language entirely different from all former specimens. His superiority was evinced by the want of success in those who endeavoured to imitate him, and whose exaggerations and caricatures were received with a ridicule that, by little and little, was attached to their model and partially diminished his fame. The translation of Ossian will, however, be always considered as an incontrovertible proof of the genius of Cesarotti and of the flexibility of the Italian tongue.

The reputation into which he thus leapt, as it were, at once, encouraged him to still bolder innovations; and being raised to the Greek professorship in his own university of Padua, he translated Demosthenes and others of the Greek orators, subjoining criticisms full of learning and ingenuity, the chief aim of which was to convince the world that the veneration with which they read those orators was



derived more from their antiquity than their intrinsic excellence.

His next work was a translation of the *Iliad*. But the magic of his Ossian was not transfused into his Italian Homer.

This work is in ten large octavo volumes: each book is translated literally into Italian prose, and "almost every passage is illustrated by the compared opinions of the critics of every nation, from Aristarchus to those of our own days. He *invariably* cites the adversaries of Homer, and *often* opposes them with the partisans of the poet. When he subjoins his own decision, it very rarely inclines to the favour of his original.

To every book thus translated and commented upon he adds his own poetical version, which, as it was intended to correct the errors discovered in the original, changes, omits, and transfers from one book to another whole passages of the text. These alterations were so many and so material that, in the end, he resolved to change the title of the poem, and his *Iliad* reappeared as the 'Death of Hector.'

The bold style and the harmonious numbers of this version procured for it many readers, and the work was applauded by a public accustomed to admire the author. The journalists, who in Italy are frequently without learning, and almost always without genius, exalted the translation as an extraordinary and successful effort, and the harmony of the blank verse of the 'Death of Hector' became in a short time proverbial. But some few literary men of real merit and discernment, whose voice it is much more difficult totally to suppress in Italy than in any other country, prognosticated that the work, at some future day, would be more frequently cited than read. Their prophecy is now fully verified.

In his treatise on the Italian language, Cesarotti stepped forward to defend the privilege assumed by certain authors of enriching, by new words and combinations, their native language. His positions are undeniable, his observations

profound, and his deductions exceedingly just. The didactic form of his treatise has not deprived it of the elegance necessary for the attraction of his readers. The style is precise, yet ornamented, and very few authors have so happily combined the language of evidence and of metaphysical disquisition; very few have made a grammatical discussion so alluring, or have arrayed materials so abstruse in eloquence so engaging. This is the only work of Cesarotti's that has preserved its original reputation up to this day. The author himself abused, however, the privilege which he claimed for all writers; and in one of the reviews then most esteemed in Italy, it was asserted that the preacher of liberty had awakened a spirit of licentiousness, and yet might easily raise himself to the dictatorship.\* The truth was, that Cesarotti was, by his partisans, regarded as infallible, and was the terror of his opponents, whose censure was confined to the adoption of a practice contrary to his powerful example.

His prose is endowed with all the qualities that constitute a superior writer. The depth is no obstacle to the clearness of his ideas, his manner is free, his phraseology abundant, his periods are harmonious. He is lively, yet graceful; he is not so copious as to be tedious, nor so brief as to be obscure; he is full of pleasantry, which never degenerates into affectation, or is applied to the purposes of malicious controversy. But those who were obliged, had they not been willing, to discover these excellences in Cesarotti, were relieved from unqualified admiration, by finding that all of them were spoilt and rendered inefficient; in the first place, by the intemperate and systematic use of *Gallicisms*; and, secondly, by their being lost upon discourses either critical or metaphysical, and such as could not interest the general reader. It was in his power to

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\* "Predicando la libertà letteraria aveva suscitato la licenza e però gli fu facile ad erigersi in dittatore."—See *Annali di Scienze e Lettere*, an. 1811, Numero iii. article on the Odyssey.

have furnished a model of the oratorical style in his translation of Demosthenes; but his deliberate purpose, and all his efforts in this work, were directed to fritter down his original, and with this unaccountable design he has affected a style scrupulously *Cruscan* and pedantic.

His 'Familiar Letters,' published after his death, have discovered to us an excellence and a defect that might not be collected from his other writings; for they show him to have been an indulgent encourager of the talents of others, as well as very liberal of his own information; but at the same time he appears so over prodigal of his praises as to incur the suspicion of premeditated flattery.

His conversation was distinguished by its eloquence and its amenity; his ideas were rapid and clear, and he gave a certain grace and embellishment to the most abstruse arguments. He took delight in the education of those who attached themselves to his opinions, and were loyal to their literary faith, more especially when he discovered in them any signs of future excellence; and although he was far from rich, it was not unusual with him gratuitously to receive his pupils as his domestic guests. His confidence went so far as to entrust them with his secrets. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his kind patronage and their devoted attachment, his most constant disciples attained to no reputation; either because imitation is in itself incapable of rising above mediocrity, or because there was in the system of this great writer something rather pernicious than conducive to success. This circumstance, so painful for the head of a sect, did not, however, sour his temper, or diminish his regard. He was the same affectionate noble-minded man to the last, and his friends had just reason to praise him and to lament his loss.

His political conduct was not distinguished for its constancy. The revolution found him more than a sexagenary—devoted to literary pursuits—a priest—and one who had never wandered beyond the narrow confines of his native country, which for more than a century had enjoyed the most profound calm.



Bonaparte had read and re-read the Italian Ossian, and at his first occupation of Padua he eagerly sent for Cesarotti, and named him one of the chiefs of the new government. Our author took that opportunity of publishing a small treatise on the rights and freedom of mankind, on the duties of the magistrate, and the character of the people. Three or four years afterwards the chances of war brought him into the hands of the Russians and the Austrians, and he was *forced*, if such an expression may be applied to such an exertion, to compose a short poem in praise of the victorious potentates.

Finally, when Bonaparte had become Emperor, and was again master of the Venetian States, he created Cesarotti a knight commander of one of his orders, assigning to him at the same time a pension, which was meant to insure his gratitude and his praise. Napoleon was not mistaken; his pensioner published his poem, called '*Pronéa, or Providence,*' a most extravagant performance, where the style of Lucan, of Claudian, and of Ossian, bewilders the reader, already lost amidst the mazes of metaphysics and of theological allegory. The work, from the first to the last page, was such as might be expected from a systematic innovator, from a devotee trembling on the brink of the grave, and from a poet who wrote by commission.

He survived this effort too short a time to enjoy his pension, but not before his poem had been consigned to oblivion.

Had this writer been born in other times; had he expanded his ideas and escaped from the circle of his own metaphysical speculations, by visiting other countries and mixing with other minds; had he encountered greater obstacles in his ascent to fame; but, above all, had he devoted himself to original composition and made a more judicious use of his acquaintance with foreign literature, it is probable that Cesarotti would have taken a prominent place amongst the classical authors of his country. As it is, the Italians accuse his system and accuse his example; but whilst they pronounce both the one and the other to have



been highly prejudicial to his native literature, they are all willing to allow that he was possessed of great natural ability.

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A short notice of Angelo Mazza, the schoolfellow and the friend of Cesarotti, may be fairly subjoined to a mention of that poet. His first essay was made in the year 1764, when he translated the 'Pleasures of the Imagination,' and convinced the Italians that the compressed style of Dante was capable of being applied to their blank verse, which as yet was little more than a string of sonorous syllables.

The poetry published by him in a maturer age consists in great part of lyrical pieces on *Harmony*. They are to be found in two small volumes; and Saint Cecilia is the inspirer and patroness of two of his best odes. It was not likely that he should equal the invention of Dryden; he wisely, therefore, was contented with trying a version of the great Ode, and his translation of that lyrical masterpiece has the merit of having extended the fame of our Poet to every corner of Italy.

The imitations and even the translations of Mazza have a certain air of originality impressed not only on their style, which is extremely energetic, but even on the ideas which appear generally drawn from a metaphysical turn of mind. He excels much in the poetical array of abstract images, and what the 'Theodicea' of Leibnitz is in prose, he sometimes contrives to execute in verse. In spite, however, of the inspired tone of some of his verses on the Universe and the wisdom of the Creator, displayed, according to Mazza, in the harmony of all things, and notwithstanding he has represented this same harmony under aspects entirely new and beautiful, the poet has failed no less than all others who have attempted to embellish these sacred subjects, in keeping alive the interest of his reader, and has succeeded only in attracting the admiration of those who are delighted to see objections encountered and difficulties overcome. His odes are composed of stanzas, the melody of which is often

sacrificed to what the musicians call *contrapunto*, which is calculated to surprise more than please, and he has even adopted those difficult rhymes which the Italians call *sdruc-ciole*, or slippery, and which not only lengthen the eleven syllabled verse into twelve syllables, but change the position of the accent, as appears from the following specimen extracted from the same Mazza :—

“ A me le voci di concento gravide,  
A me le forme dello stil Pindarico,  
Date a me l' ispirata arpa di Davide.”

The only work of Mazza which has been often printed, and has hit the taste of the Italians, is a poem in thirty pages, addressed to Cesarotti, in which he gives a masterly sketch of the great poets of every nation, and has placed the English on a distinguished eminence amongst the immortal brotherhood. It is only the women, who affect our endemic melancholy, and the younger readers, who occasion the immense demand for ‘Young’s Night Thoughts,’ translated as they are into poor verse or ampullated prose ; for the more enlightened Italians study Milton and Shakespeare.

Mazza is remarkable for the candour with which he has treated his contemporaries, even those attached to a system totally different from his own. This discretion, however, has not silenced the voice of criticism, and in spite of his own reserve, his partisans and his opponents have carried on a war of words, which is seldom to be equalled by English polemics, and is outrageous even in a country distinguished by the pedantry, the fury, and the illiberality of its literary quarrels. The foreigners who have by turns usurped the Italian provinces, have extended their claims to all the productions of that fruitful soil : not only the corn, and the wine, and the oil are put in requisition, but the tythe of the poetry is claimed by the conquerors. Mazza, in his quality of perpetual secretary of the academy of Parma, composed the usual complimentary sonnets for the successive governments of his country ; but he cautiously avoided all

political topics, and left his opinion still uncompromised and unknown.

It is generally reported that he finished, although he never ventured to publish, a translation of Pindar. The Greek poet has had many happy imitators in Italy, especially in the days of Chiabrera, of Filicaja, of Menzini, and of Guidi; but his translators have failed there no less than in all other countries. Mazza, besides his poetical reputation, had the character of a scholar profoundly versed in ancient and modern languages, and the acquisition of the latter is the more singular, as he had never been out of Italy, and indeed had seldom quitted his native town.\*

#### JOSEPH PARINI.

Parini was almost the only Italian poet of the last century who dared to conceive, and certainly he was the only one who was capable of completing, the project of directing the efforts of his art towards the improvement of his fellow-citizens. If by *moralizing his song* he has failed to correct his contemporaries, he has, however, acquired a reputation much more valuable than can be the share of those whose talents are devoted solely to the amusement of the public.

His parents were peasants on the borders of the lake Pusiano, the Eupilis of Pliny, about twenty miles to the north of Milan. It is usual in Italy to choose from the poorest classes those destined to supply the humblest and most laborious duties in the church, whilst the valuable benefices are reserved for the younger sons of noble families. When one of these children of poverty shows signs of superior talent, the monks endeavour to attach him to their community, and the charity of the bishop provides him a gratuitous education. In this way Parini was sent to study in the capital of Austrian Lombardy. He applied to his scholastic pursuits until nearly his twentieth year, when

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\* Mazza died in 1817, at Parma. He was in his 76th year. There is a long epitaph on him in the cathedral.



his constitution, feeble from the beginning, almost sank under an attack which took away the use of his lower limbs, and occasioned his retreat from the seminary in a condition that seemed to deprive him of all hopes of aspiring even to a country curacy. All that medical care, all that time could do for the improvement of his health, from his youth to the day of his death, barely enabled him to crawl along by the help of a stick, or by leaning on the arm of a friend.

Some of the verses published in his posthumous works are painfully affecting, from the picture which they afford of his extreme indigence even after he had arrived at years of maturity. His whole livelihood, and that of an aged mother, were derived from composing articles for a newspaper. He speaks thus in requesting an intimate friend to send him relief:—

“La mia povera madre non ha pane  
Se non da me, ed io non ho danaro  
Da mantenerla almeno per domane.” \*

He had already published some poetry which had dropt after the partial applauses that usually succeed the first essays of every author, that are not bad enough for ridicule nor good enough for envy. Parini would never allow these specimens to be reprinted. It was not until his thirty-fifth year that he published the first canto of that poem, which rendered him formidable to the most powerful families around him, and established him in the eyes of the literary world as the founder of a new school in poetry. This poem is called ‘The Day’ (*Il Giorno*), and is divided into four cantos—Morning (*Mattino*); Noon (*Meriggio*); Evening (*Vespro*); and Night (*Notte*)—and it contains a satirical description of the manner in which the Italian nobles contrive to waste away the four-and-twenty hours of an existence for the most part truly despicable. Before entering into an examination of this poem, a word or two may be requisite

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\* Parini, Oper., vol. iii.



on the author. The literary history of every nation abounds with instances of the distresses and ill success of those endowed with the finest abilities; and it is a painful truth that the union of the severest virtue with those abilities is no shield against the arrows of Fortune.

The case of Parini, however, is not to be confounded with these examples. Infirm, indigent, without the advantage of a regular education, struggling against the obscurity of his birth, and the disgrace of poverty, he lived in a city where the nobles are not only more rich, but are perhaps more haughty and more ignorant than in any other town in Italy. At that time they were important from their influence, direct and indirect, and formidable from the impunity with which they could give a loose to their revenge.

It is universally known that before the revolution the Italian nobles enjoyed a sort of prescriptive right of employing assassins; but it is more wonderful still, that at this day, and in the face of the new *noblesse* created by Bonaparte, there is not a single instance of the daughter or wife of any but those in possession of ancient titles being admitted to the ball-room or drawing-room of a Milanese patrician. The same absurd distinction prevails at Turin. At Venice, at Bologna, at Florence, at Rome, the exclusion is not so strictly observed, and a few young females of the middling ranks are allowed to stand in the same dance with the daughters of barons and of counts.

Such was the state of society that Parini undertook to correct. And this difficult, this dangerous task he ventured upon, by boldly reproaching the nobles with their vices and their crimes. He raised his own reputation by the depression of a whole order, which, in spite of their being essentially more despicable than in any other country of Europe, were, owing to the ignorance and extreme poverty of the lower classes, in fact, more respectable. The care taken by Parini to conceal his personal allusions could not prevent the discovery that his portraits were all drawn from living characters; and if his originals recognised their likeness only now and then, the public were

never mistaken. There was not a single Milanese who did not see, in the chief personage of the poem, the Prince Belgiojoso, of the reigning family of Este, the eldest brother of the field-marshal of the same name, who was Austrian ambassador at our court, and governor of the Low Countries.

It should be here observed, to the honour of Parini, and indeed of the Italian authors in general, that, let a work be ever so much admired, it never brings the writer money enough to defray the expense of the first edition. There is but a very limited number of readers in Italy; and though a work may receive from their applause a character which secures the esteem of the whole nation, a multitude of purchasers, such as we are accustomed to, is not to be procured by any merit, or any accident. Twelve hundred names to a subscription are reckoned an extraordinary instance of public patronage, and it is hazardous to demand more than three francs (half-a-crown) for any new production in a single volume under the quarto size. The copyright law can hardly exist in a country divided into so many small governments, and the booksellers find it no difficult matter to elude the prosecutions, which must be transferred from one state to another before they can be brought before any competent tribunal. After the revolution an effort was made to correct this abuse; but it was found almost impossible to change the practice of a whole class of tradesmen long habituated to consider all literary profits their own, and to esteem every mercenary art a fair branch of speculation.

Those accustomed to the liberality of English publishers, which affords a decent subsistence to many whose talents and whose fame do not rise above mediocrity, will hardly believe that the best authors in Italy think themselves fortunate if they find a publisher to take the expense of printing off their hands. In that country the booksellers are also printers, and have it in their power to multiply indefinitely the copies of any edition, without accounting for the accruing profits. The fidelity of the printer, and our

other protections of literary property, are unpractised and unknown.

Alfieri, in a sort of preface, in verse, prefixed to the second edition of his tragedies, complains that his eagerness for renown has cost him a portion of his health, of his intellects, of his peace of mind, and, above all, of his fortune—the latter having been sacrificed to the rapacity of the bookseller:—

“ Profonder tutto in linde stampe il mio,  
E per che altri mi compri, accattar io :  
Soffrire il revisor che l' uomo strazia ;  
Appiccicarmi i masnadier libraj  
Che a credenza ricevon e san grazia  
Nè metallo per foglio rendon mai.”

There were, however, certain coincidences favourable to the bold project of Parini. A sort of colony of French encyclopædists had settled at Milan, and four or five patriots having taken to reading, dared also to disseminate in writing the principles of the approaching revolution. The Marquis Beccaria had recently published his work on ‘Crimes and Punishments,’ which effected an important change in the criminal jurisprudence of his own country, and extended its beneficial influence to many other nations, where torture prevailed, and was consequently abolished. Joseph II. had himself begun those innovations, which ended by diminishing the preponderating influence of the Lombard nobles. Count Firmian, the governor of those provinces, when questioned as to the publication of the poem of Parini, exclaimed, “Let him make haste; we want it mightily!”—*Qu’il se hâte, nous en avons une nécessité extrême.*

In addition to such a powerful ally, Parini was backed by all the middling classes of society, which, generally speaking, are certainly the most moral and the most enlightened portion of civilised mankind. Some individuals amongst them having quarrelled with the church-rectors of certain collegiate establishments, found in Parini a champion who overwhelmed their adversaries with a few

strokes of his pen. Parini published a pamphlet on that occasion, which, in the cooler hours of revision, appeared to him too violent, and he would not suffer it to proceed to a second edition: but this work introduced him to notice before the publication of his poem, and those whose cause he had advocated continued his friends to the last moments of his melancholy existence.

The 'Day' is one continued strain of irony from the first line to the last. The author assumes the character of preceptor to a nobleman, and teaches him how to devote his morning to the toilette, his noon to the serious occupations of the table, his afternoon to the public walks, and his night to the *Conversazioni*. The most frivolous actions, the most contemptible vices, the most ridiculous follies, and sometimes the most atrocious crimes, are detailed with minuteness, and always with the pretext of recommendation. The 'Advice to Servants' is carried into the highest departments of society, and a magnificence of diction and of images is tastefully employed, instead of the familiar tone of Swift, to portray the luxury and the pride which the Italian nobility carefully wrap round the naked wretchedness of their hearts.

The variety of the objects, and the numerous portraits of individuals, all in the higher classes, of every age and sex, engage the attention, whilst the faithful and fine-spun description of manners keeps alive the curiosity of the reader. The poet has shown no little address in contrasting the effeminacy of the actual race of nobles, and the industry and the courage of their ancestors, who, in the middle ages, restored the civilisation of the South, and with unshaken constancy defended the liberties of the Italian republics. This contrast naturally transported Parini to the days of Romance; and the wild life of the military patricians, the old castles, and the glittering arms of the half barbarous ages, were a happy relief for the silken barons, the palaces, and the embroidered suits of his contemporaries, whom it was necessary to amuse in order to instruct. The ruins of dungeons and towers neglected by



the heirs of those who raised them, enabled the poet to employ his fancy in restoring them to their ancient splendour, and he thus threw in those sombre shades and colourings which the Germans afterwards appropriated to themselves, and were believed to have formed a new and national school of poetic fiction.

With this mixture of romance Parini also recurred to the characters and allegories of the old mythology, the favourite resource of the Italians, who still think it the only fabulous system whose images combine the truth of real nature with the charms of ideal grace. But even in this department of his art, which an Englishman would abandon as hopeless, our author contrived to give an air of reality to his classical fables, by applying them to the practices and principles of his own times. Thus it is that his Cupid and Hymen are introduced. They are engaged in a war to all appearance interminable, but they agree to treat, and peace is made on condition that Cupid shall reign all day, and Hymen all night. An English reader would not be much struck with this invention; but whoever meets a handsome Italian matron, decently pacing between her husband and her cavaliere servente, will instantly remember the Love and Hymen of Parini, and the graceful, solemn air with which his verses march majestically along.

Our own nation can hardly have a just idea of this species of poetry. The Italians who admire it the most compare it to the 'Georgics;' and the 'Giorno' has certainly more than one property in common with the poem of Virgil. Both the one and the other are employed in dignifying topics essentially common and familiar. Both the one and the other display their poetical vigour in frequent episodes; and the Italian perhaps has gone less out of his way for those embellishments than the Latin poet. It was the misfortune, not the fault, of Parini, that he could not employ the hexametral structure; and owing, partly to the same defect of language, and partly perhaps to real inferiority, he was not able to adorn every picture with those images, nor lend to every word that harmony,

which are the constituent excellence of Virgil. If Parini's style does not rival that of Virgil, it is some comfort for the Italians to think that their poet has approached that great master nearer than any other follower. His countrymen are besides hardy enough to suppose that in the grouping, in the invention, in the connexion of all the parts with the whole, the pictures of the 'Giorno' are superior to those of the 'Georgics.' It is not certainly too hazardous to assert that no one can learn farming from the verses of Virgil, but that much instruction may be gained by avoiding the follies which characterise the hero of Parini. If the 'Sofa' of Cowper were a little more varied, and tintured with satire, it would, in the domestic details, and the easy flowing versification, be a tolerable counterpart of the 'Giorno'—at least we cannot furnish a stronger resemblance.

The versification of Parini is not altogether unlike the Latin, and is entirely different from that of the other authors who, in this age particularly, distinguished themselves by trying every variety with which they could rival each other, and improve the structure of Italian verse. This has been already observed in the remarks on Cesarotti and Mazza, and the same truth will be deduced from subsequent notices in this essay. The imagery, the expressions, the numbers, the very words of Parini, have a certain solemnity which they never altogether lay aside; and the melody and change of tone so conspicuous in the soft and varied descriptions of the Greek and Latin epics are, in the verses of the Italian poet, not so much recognised at once as they are imperceptibly felt by the reader.

It may be sufficient to give a short example of the distinction here alluded to. The poet conducts his hero, at nightfall, into the public walks, where he leaves his mistress alone in her carriage, and slipping through the crowd, steals quietly into the carriage of another lady, who has also been abandoned by her cavalier. Such a scene required some delicacy to portray. A loose or careless poet would hardly steer clear of indecent images; but Parini

is not less adroit with his carriage and his night than is Virgil with the cave and the storm that were so fatal to the happiness of Dido. He invokes the goddess of darkness with his usual irony, and prays her to arrest her progress that he may contemplate at leisure the exploits of his chosen hero.

“————— Ma la Notte segue  
 Sue leggi inviolabili, e declina  
 Con tacit' ombra sopra l' emisfero ;  
 E il rugiadoso piè lenta movendo,  
 Rimescola i color varj, infiniti,  
 E via gli sgombra con l' immenso lembo  
 Di cosa in cosa : e suora de la morte  
 Un aspetto indistinto, un solo volto,  
 Al suolo a i vegetanti a gli animali  
 A i grandi ed a la plebe equa permette ;  
 E i nudi insieme e li dipinti visi  
 Delle belle confonde, e i cenci, e l' oro :  
 Nè veder mi concede all' aer cieco  
 Qual de' cocchj si parta o qual rimanga  
 Solo all' ombre segrete : e a me di mano  
 Tolto il pennello, il mio Signore avvolge  
 Per entro al tenebroso umido velo.”

Nevertheless it is evident that this kind of poetry, beautiful as it is, and recalling to us some of the most delicate passages of the 'Rape of the Lock,' is addressed rather to the imagination than to the heart. Yet Parini has occasionally proved himself a master of the pathetic, and he calls forth tears of regret when he shows us a servant, after twenty years of faithful attachment, dismissed, persecuted, and reduced to beggary, for no other offence than slightly beating a favourite dog that had bit him. We may be here reminded of some of the efforts of Mr. Crabbe, when he is most harmonious and most tender ; but the Italian awakes, by the same picture, feelings more allied to indignation than to pity, and his sleepless irony somewhat fatigues the attention, and helps to counteract the general effect. The perpetual aggrandisement and decoration of objects, in themselves little and mean, display a curious felicity, and succeed in exciting the proposed ridicule ; but the effect



diminishes as the effort is continued, and concludes in being mistaken for affectation. A single pebble set tastefully in diamonds may amuse the spectator, but a whole cabinet of such curiosities would hardly be worth attention or examination.

Another deficiency will be apparent to the foreign reader of Parini. The poet never saw any other city than Milan. His infirmities and his poverty confined him entirely at home. It was thus impossible that he should not give too much importance to objects which those accustomed to a wider sphere of action would consider unworthy of regard. It was natural also, for the same reason, that his style, formed altogether on the classical writers, should occasionally degenerate into pedantry. What could be performed by an exquisite and cultivated taste has been done by Parini, but he is not to be classed with the inspired poets. The great defect of the 'Giorno' is the little interest excited by the hero of the poem, who is contemptible from his entrance to his exit. Yet even this capital objection seldom occurs to those absorbed in admiration at the effect produced by the address and execution of the author.

The great merit of Parini lies in the dignity, not only of his style, but of his conduct in wielding the weapons of satire. His poem has nothing of that impotent rage against the powerful, of that invidious detraction of the wealthy, of that plaintive accusation against patronage and ingratitude, which have been the favourite topics of all satirists, from Horace to the English Imitator of Juvenal. The vices of the great he contemplates with a pity worthy the noblest of their own order; he does not indulge himself with epigrams; he never degenerates into obscenity; he will not condescend to be the buffoon, nor to administer to the bad passions, of the multitude.

There is a grandeur in the expression of his censures which casts, as it were, a shield between those whom he condemns, and the anger and hatred of the people. He respects human nature; he is not misanthropic; and he takes care to attribute the depravity of the nobles to their



total idleness. Throughout his whole satire he shows himself bent upon the generous project of repairing the disgrace of his country, and never incurs the suspicion that he would only satisfy his private animosities.

Soon after the appearance of this poem, all those of easy circumstances in the middle classes, and the few patricians who, being addicted to literary pursuits, were the natural opponents of the great body of the nobles, interested themselves with the Austrian government in providing for Parini. They persuaded that government to found a professorship of eloquence expressly for their favourite, who justified the high expectations entertained of him; and, by his efforts in his new capacity, gave a stability to his rising reputation. He was indeed by nature qualified more than any one, perhaps, of his contemporaries, to give lessons on the *belles lettres*, and to perform that task in a way totally different from that usually employed in the Italian schools. There was a gravity, and at the same time an ease, in his eloquence, which enabled him to cite the examples of former great writers with a powerful effect, and to illustrate them with new and brilliant observations. He applied the various theories of the sublime and beautiful not only to the productions of the pen, but to all the creations of nature; and many of his contemporaries, already in possession of literary renown, were not ashamed to put themselves to the school of Parini. Those persons, and readers in general, were perhaps surprised to find, when they came to peruse his dissertations in print, that the ideas, although just, were seldom very profound: that a clear method, a chaste style, and an ingenious view of the subject, were their chief merit; but that the flow of words, the soul, the fire of expression and sentiment, had vanished with the delivery, and that the genius, and even the polished correctness of the poet, were not to be recognised in the discourses of the rhetorician.

Parini was so painfully scrupulous, and at the same time so idle a writer, that he never published more than the two first cantos of his poem, the whole of which does not

amount to four thousand lines. The two last cantos were published after his death, and they contain several half-finished verses, a great many variations, and two large chasms, which a long life was, it seems, too short to enable him to fill up to his satisfaction. This severity of taste he applied to others as well as to himself; and it was his favourite expression, when speaking even of Virgil and Horace, "*We should study them in those passages where they are not mortal men like ourselves.*" From such a master the youth of Milan imbibed a delicacy of taste bordering upon affectation, and these scruples were easily cherished in a people less given to poetry than any other of the inhabitants of Italy. Indeed Parini himself is the only distinguished poet that this city has produced from the revival of letters to the present day.

In addition to this individual propensity, it may be remarked that a severity of judgment prevails more or less with all the Italians, who are, as it were, saturated with poetry, and are besides accustomed to disregard the matter in comparison with the manner of metrical expression—a feeling deducible from the surpassing variety and beauty and strength of their language. Add to this that they judge all modern compositions with a reference to their most ancient poets, whom they worship with a veneration almost superstitious.

Parini was not remarkable for his erudition, and knew but very little Greek. He could not write Latin, but he felt all the beauties of the Roman writers, and made them perceptible to his audience. His favourite Italian studies were Dante, Ariosto, and the 'Aminta' of Tasso; yet he imitated none of these great writers; and it may be said of him as of our own Swift, that it would be difficult to point out a single idea that he has borrowed from his predecessors. He may be called an imitator, inasmuch as he sedulously traced back to their great constituent causes the effects produced by the old writers, and then made use of his discovery; but his manner is altogether his own; is inspired by his own genius, and attempered by his own

inexorable taste. He followed the rule of Horace which inculcates the sacrifice of every thought, however noble, which is found incapable of embellishment; and he renounced the adoption of those beauties, which vulgar readers are apt to call natural, but which in fact are obvious and commonplace.

Treatises upon the fine arts, and more particularly the lives of celebrated artists, were his favourite and constant study. Amongst the few books which he possessed at the time of his death, his executors found two copies of 'Vasari's Biography,' both of them worn away by repeated perusal. He never applied either to drawing or to music, but he was perfectly well acquainted with the theory, and sensible to the charms, of both, and the most celebrated professors had frequent recourse to his advice. His posthumous works furnish us with the ideas, the composition, and even the details of several pictures which he had communicated to distinguished artists, and which are now to be seen, faithfully executed according to his directions, in many of the palaces at Milan. Parini employed, indeed, his whole life in carrying into practice the maxim that *poetry should be painting*; for, with the exception of Dante, the other Italian poets have only occasional pictures: all the rest is but description. Parini effected by dint of meditation that which was the natural production of the wonderful genius of Dante, and it would be difficult to point out ten consecutive lines in the 'Giorno' from which a painter might not extract a complete picture, with all the requisite varieties of attitude and expression.

Parini also published in his lifetime about twenty odes, of which the Italians consider *four* as inimitable, six or seven of the others tolerable, and the remainder absolutely bad. The whole of them bear a nearer resemblance to those of Horace than of Pindar, but neither of them has a shadow of likeness to the lyric poetry of Petrarch, or of Chiabrera, or of Guidi. Not only the style, but even the language appears quite different. It is his constant practice here, as in the 'Giorno,' to avoid detailed descriptions

and to throw out his images in mass and at one stroke of his pencil. He has also the same object in view; namely, the correction of national manners.

The ode addressed to a young woman of eighteen, who had adopted the Parisian fashion, then called "*robe à la guillotine*," is written in a style more than usually intelligible to a foreign reader. The beauty and the innocence of the maiden are presented under colours that contrast admirably with the depravity of mind and manners which the poet foresees must be the consequence of imitating so vile an example.

"Oh nato da le dure  
Selci chiunque togliere  
Da scelerata scure

Osò quel nome, infamia  
Del secolo spietato;  
E diè funesti augurii  
Al femminile ornato;

E con le truci Eumenidi  
Le care Grazie avvinse;  
E di crudele immagine  
La tua bellezza tinse."!!

He digresses to the history of the ancient Roman females, from the earliest times to those days of cruelty and corruption when they thronged the gladiatorial shows, and a Vestal gave the signal for the slaughter.

"Potè all' alte patrizie  
Come alla plebe oscura  
Giocoso dar solletico  
La soffrente natura.

Che più? Baccanti e cupide  
D'abbominando aspetto  
Sol dall' uman pericolo  
Acuto ebber diletto;

E da i gradi e da i circoli  
Co' moti e con le voci,  
Di già maschili, applausero  
A i duellanti atroci:

Creando a sè delizia  
E de le membra sparte,  
E de gli estremi aneliti,  
E del morir con arte."



The poet has contrived that the progress of his ideas shall correspond with the gradual corruption with which the imprudent imitation of novelty seduces by little and little the incautious female into the worst practices of debauchery.

The biographer of Parini, who has furnished the greater portion of the preceding account, has been accused of swelling out the works of his author into six volumes, although those published during his lifetime scarcely occupy two hundred pages;\* and perhaps we may add that, of all the posthumous works, little more than the two last cantos of his 'Giorno' deserved to be rescued from that obscurity to which they had been consigned by their scrupulous author.

It is true that none of them are deficient in affording instruction to those who delight in the study of human nature, and love to watch the development of the mind. The odes which are reckoned Parini's best were composed in his old age; and such of the verses as appear in their first form, and as were not intended for publication, are remarkable chiefly for their good sense, and for their unaffected taste. But their imagery is not abundant; their style has little warmth, and the thoughts are commonplace and trite; yet they enable us to form some conception of the time and labour employed in the elevation and constant support of a style which frequently borders upon sublimity. His commerce with mankind laid open to him the most secret recesses of the heart, and furnished him with that acquaintance with our natural foibles of which he discovers so intimate a knowledge in his principal poem, and in his odes. In the same manner his continued and minute contemplation of Nature in all her varieties furnished him with the beauties necessary for his poetical purposes, and enabled him to recognise their recurrence in the old classical writers, and to copy them with success.

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\* See Opere di Giúseppe Parini, publicate ed illustrate da Francesco Reina, vol. vi., in 8vo., Milano, 1801.

The result of study and cultivation was never more conspicuous than in the example of Parini. It had all the appearance, and produced all the effect of genius: and yet his was, doubtless, one of those minds rather capable of culture, than naturally fruitful. The soil might have brought forth none but barren plants, had not care, and labour, and patience, qualified it to receive the seed, and supply the nourishment of the richest productions.

The Milanese nobles did not dare to revenge themselves openly for the boldness of Parini. There is a story current of an attempt to assassinate him, but this, perhaps, is an invention suggested by the ancient manners of Italy.

His enemies took another course. The emoluments of his professorship amounted only to 3000 francs, a little more than one hundred pounds a year. Leopold II., on a visit to Milan, was struck with the physiognomy of an old man, lame, and moving slowly along, but with an air of dignity. He asked his name, and being told that it was Parini, ordered the municipal council to increase his pension sufficiently to enable him to keep a small carriage. But the verbal command of a foreign monarch is seldom strictly obeyed in distant provinces, where the nobles have an interest or a will distinct from their duty. Parini continued without any other prop than his stick. The poet whom the Milanese pointed out to strangers as the pride and glory of their city, was often pushed into the dirt, and was repeatedly near being run over by the carriages, in streets where there is no pavement for foot passengers.

In an ode, which he calls the *Caduta*, the *Fall*, he describes the accidents which happened to him in rainy and foggy days; and although this production is not in the first rank of his poetry, it can never be perused without delight, nor be quoted without exciting our admiration at the profound pathos, the honest pride, and the philosophy with which it abounds.

The French, on their arrival in Italy, soon understood the active part which the literary classes had played in the

revolution. They employed many of these individuals, and amongst others Parini, who found himself all at once amongst the chiefs of the republican government, with no other qualification or capital for such an elevation, than what was derived from a love of liberty, a habit of speaking the truth, an unbending character, and a total disregard of all selfish interests. He felt the embarrassment of his situation, and having often spoken harshly to the French generals, it was not difficult for him to obtain permission to retire, after a few weeks of thankless employment. His name and his integrity commanded respect, and the opposition of a whole life against the nobles, made him regarded by all the lower classes as the great partisan of the democracy. This influence was not lost even when he opposed the follies of the populace. They still show a square at Milan, opposite to the great theatre, which was one day filled by a large mob of idle fellows, who ran about crying, "*Long life to the Republic—death to the Aristocrats!*" Parini issued from a coffee-house and exclaimed, "*Viva la Repubblica—e morte a nessuno; Canaglia stolta!*" The crowd instantly dispersed. Whatever may be the honours acquired by poetry in England, we cannot form an idea of the influence enjoyed by a man who has obtained a great literary reputation in a country where the largest portion of the people cannot read. He is listened to with a sort of religious obedience.

The circles at Milan were afraid of every word that might drop from Parini, and he now and then abused his acknowledged ascendancy. But his intolerance never extended to his friends: with them he was indulgent to the last degree, and his severity was laid aside for a sort of infantine joviality. He was pleased with the company of those young people who were distinguished by the fire, the frankness, and the gaiety of their age: but he was incensed somewhat extravagantly against those who either affected, or were naturally inclined to, gravity. He was complaisant and affable to strangers who came, even without introduction, to visit him; but if they unfortunately



ventured to praise him, they did not escape without a reprimand, and found his door shut against them ever afterwards.

His philosophy, strengthened as it was by the useful alliance of disease and age, did not, however, defend him against the attacks of love; and the odes written towards the end of his life, are sufficient proof that he never looked upon female charms with impunity. He confesses this truth, and perhaps has adopted the safest course to avoid ridicule, by declaring openly, that his good genius, which had preserved him from the tortures of ambition and avarice, had still left him accessible to the soft torment of the most tender and most disinterested of all the passions.\*

Those high-born dames who were often the objects of his affection and of his poetry, were much flattered by his preference, and forgave him all that he had said of their husbands and of their *Cavalieri Serventi*. With these he never made peace. And although he was an inmate in many great houses, he stayed not a moment after he saw that he was required to submit to condescensions incompatible with his principles, and unbecoming his character. After all that has been said of the liberality of the great, it is clear that the precedence granted to genius does not commence during the lifetime even of the most fortunate writer. It was by a noble perseverance that Parini, indigent, unknown, imperfect, and perpetually boasting of his paternal plough, succeeded so far as to make himself respected by those powerful classes whose vices he decried; and maintained the dignity of his character and calling in a country where flattery, common as it is elsewhere, is found more base and abject amongst the men of letters than in the other orders, where the poets are very often the buffoons of their society, and where the tutors of boys of rank are confounded with the domestics of the family. At the time that almost all the Italian *rhymesters*, an innumer-

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\* See the two most celebrated odes, *Il Messaggio* and *Il Pericolo*.



able class, were dedicating their canzoni and their sonnets to their respective patrons, Parini refused to recite a single verse at the table of any great man.\*

He is to be exactly recognised in the portrait which he has given of himself.

“ Me, non nato a percuotere  
Le dure illustri porte,  
Nudo accorrà, ma libero,  
Il Regno della morte.” †

He preserved his dignity and his poverty, the strength of his mind and the powers of his genius, to his seventieth year. He had been employed a few days in projecting some verses, ‡ and one morning he dictated them to a friend. Having read them over, he said that he was satisfied with them, and begged his friend to get them printed. He then retired into his bedchamber, and, in half an hour afterwards, expired.

### VICTOR ALFIERI.

The life of this author has been written by himself. His tragedies have been criticised in every European language. There still remain some notices on his death, and some opinions on his other works, which may be new to the English reader.

His connexion with the Countess of Albany is known to all the world, but no one is acquainted with the secret of that long intercourse. If they were ever married, Alfieri and the Countess took as much pains to conceal that fact, as is usually bestowed upon its publicity. Truth might have been spoken on the tomb of the poet, but even there we only find that Louisa, Countess of Albany, was his *only*

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\* See the ode entitled ‘La Recita de’ Versi.’

† See his ode ‘La Vita Rustica.’

‡ It is the last copy of verses at page 44 of the second volume of Parini’s works.

love—"quam unice dilexit."—A church, perhaps, was not the place to boast of such a passion; but, after every consideration we may conclude, that the Abate Caluso, who wrote the epitaph, and received the last sighs of Alfieri, knew, and did not choose to tell, that his friend was never married to the widow of Charles Edward Stuart—" *Tacendo clamat* "—his silence is eloquent.

Alfieri, in the languor of a protracted agony, which the presence of Caluso assisted him to support, received the visit of a priest, who came to confess him, with an affability for which he was not distinguished in the days of his health; but he said to him, "Have the kindness to look in to-morrow; I trust that death will wait for twenty-four hours." The ecclesiastic returned the next day. Alfieri was sitting in his arm-chair, and said, "At present, I fancy I have but a few minutes to spare:" and turning towards the Abbé, entreated him to bring the Countess to him. No sooner did he see her than he stretched forth his hand, saying, "Clasp my hand, my dear friend, I die." \*

The religious opinions of Alfieri cannot be collected from his writings. His tragedies contain here and there a sarcasm against the Popes, and in his fugitive pieces may be found some epigrams against the monastic orders, but more particularly against the cardinals. Not a word, however, has ever escaped him against the Christian doctrines. It is only upon close inspection that we find, in a treatise on tyranny, that auricular confession, and the indissolubility of marriage, have contributed to the enslavement of Italy. His latter years were divided between a haughty irascibility and a deep melancholy, which afflicted him by turns, to a degree which rendered him scarcely accountable for his actions. Alfieri was then not unfrequently seen in the churches from vespers to sunset, sitting motionless, and apparently wrapt up in listening to the psalms of the monks, as they chanted them from behind the skreen of

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\* Stringetemi, cara amica! la mano, io muojo.

the choir. The way in which he died would, however, lead us to conjecture, that his meditations were not those of religion, and that he chose such a retreat in search of that solemn tranquillity which alone promised him a temporary repose from the relentless furies that preyed upon his heart:—

“Due fere Doune, anzi due Furie atroci  
Tor’ non mi posso—ahi misero!—dal fianco;  
Ira e Malinconia.”

The complaint is from one of his own sonnets. He printed, during his lifetime, but he could never be persuaded to publish some prose works, and amongst them the treatise before mentioned, ‘Della Tirannide,’ and another entitled, ‘Il Principe e le Lettere.’ They are in two small volumes. The first is a series of close arguments and severe remarks against monarchy. The second is written to prove that poets, historians, and orators, can flourish only amongst a free people, and that tyranny is interested in the advancement only of the sciences, and more especially of medicine and jurisprudence. In both these works he has shown that his address lay chiefly in the vigour of his attack; his preparations for defence were less skilfully disposed. Indeed he seems to forget that he was liable to a retort. Thus it is that although he may invigorate the partisans of freedom, he can hardly make a convert from the ranks of their opponents.

The Italians look upon the prose of Alfieri as a model of style, particularly on political subjects. It is simple and energetic: his ideas are not abundant, but they are clear and precise, and connected according to the exactest rules of reasoning. It corresponds well with a metaphor employed for its description by one of his own countrymen—“I suoi pensieri in prosa sono non tanto vagamente dipinti quanto profondamente scolpiti.” His language is pure, and founded upon that of the oldest writers, but is free from the pedantry and the rust of antiquity. No man, therefore, was more qualified than Alfieri for the translation of Sallust.

In fact his version of that historian is reckoned a masterpiece.

He tells us, in his preface, that this translation cost him many years of painful application. The whole of his works, indeed, bear the mark not only of laborious effort, but of retouching, repeated and indefatigable. In the latter half of his own memoir he had not time to be equally scrupulous, and that part is written in a style occasionally careless, and in a language not always remarkably correct.

Alfieri, however, was not born to be the translator of Virgil. Could perseverance have obtained his object, his success was certain; for he sat down to his task with the same constancy with which he commenced pupil in the Greek language, after he had passed his fortieth year. He translated the whole of the '*Æneid*' three times over; and yet the version published after his death, generally speaking, gives us but the contents of Virgil. The harmony, the glowing style, have no representative in the Italian epic. Alfieri was a perfect master of his language; his words were admirably adapted to the expression of sentiments which flowed warm from his heart; but which, being invariably animated by the same ardent temperament, absorbed his imagination, and left no room for those finer and varied graces which constitute the charm of poetry. Above all, he was extremely deficient in that branch of his art, in which his original is so consummate a master—the elevation of a mean subject by the happy use of metaphor. He could not

“Throw about his manure with dignity.”

This must appear the more surprising, since the Italian language is essentially metaphorical, and is by that very quality capable of being adapted to an unlimited variety of styles, according to the invention, the taste, and the imagination of each succeeding writer.

Alfieri was not quite so unfortunate in his translation of '*Terence*;' but even there his simplicity is studied, not natural; and in his happiest effort he betrays the secret that he had no genius for comic writing.



The six comedies found amongst his posthumous works are compositions extravagant in the extreme. It is possible that some may admire them for their originality; but the sober reader is much more astonished at the perseverance with which the poet pursued such unprofitable labour. One only, entitled 'The Divorce,' is a satire on Italian marriages. The others cannot possibly be adapted to the theatre. They are in the manner of Aristophanes, and all turn on political subjects. The 'One' (*L'Uno*) is a satire against monarchy, 'The Few' (*I Pochi*), and 'The Too Many' (*I Troppi*), attack the aristocratic and the popular government. A fourth is meant to teach that the 'One,' the 'Few,' and the 'Too Many,' should be mixed together, and may then compose a system somewhat tolerable.

The other comedy, called 'Il Finestrino,' is a satire partly against religious impostors, but more against the philosophers who invent no good religion, but yet would destroy all the old creeds, although (so thinks Alfieri) a bad one is better than none at all. One of the principal persons of the drama is Mahomet.

The verse and the language of these comedies are still more extravagant than their original conception. In short, they are seldom read, and are regarded, except by a very few, as unworthy the genius of Alfieri.

His posthumous works contain also some translations from the ancient dramatic writers; the 'Frogs,' the 'Persians,' the 'Philoctetes,' and the 'Alceste.' To the latter he added another play of his own composition on the same subject, and formed exactly on the Greek model. He pleased himself with the innocent assertion that the new 'Alceste' was a translation from a recovered manuscript, which might fairly be attributed to Euripides. It is the happiest of his latter efforts, and is only not fit for the modern stage. In the closet it affects us by that pathetic tenderness with which Alfieri either could not or would not embellish his other tragedies, constructed as they were expressly for the purpose of bracing the relaxed vigour of his effeminate fellow-countrymen.

With this noble design he composed a sort of drama, altogether new, which he called a *melo-tragedy*. His object here was to unite the music which the Italians look upon as a constituent part of the theatre, with the grandeur and pathos of tragedy. He chose the 'Death of Abel' for his subject, and he adopted that repeated change of scene which his countrymen would have regarded as a monstrous innovation, although it is one of the characteristics of their opera.

Angels and demons are part of the persons of the drama, and are the singers of the play. The poetry of their songs is composed in different metres. Adam, Eve, and their two sons also discourse in verse, but in blank verse, and without music. This composition has some brilliant passages; but is, on the whole, devoid of interest. As an experiment it would perhaps be unproducible on the Italian stage, where the opera has formally excluded all display of ideas or sentiments, and almost of words, and is solely devoted to the musician and the ballet master.

The satires of Alfieri will cherish the melancholy of every discontented member of human society. They are directed against every condition. Kings and nobles, rich and poor, priests and philosophers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, none are exempt; all of them, in fact, are made the subject, and furnish the title of a separate censure. The satirist is free from personality, and even all individual allusion; he strives no farther than to convince his reader, that whatever may be his place or pursuit, he runs a great risk of being unhappy, and wicked, and contemptible. Of the women alone he says nothing good, and nothing bad. His satire on them is contained in a very few verses, and resolves itself into the maxim, that the stronger is responsible for all the vices of the weaker sex.

There are, however, certain of his satires which are commendable from their wit, and from their acquaintance with human nature. We may select the 'Cavaliere Servente Veterano,' 'I Pedanti,' 'L'Educazione,' and 'Il Duello.' In the latter he steps forward, like another Johnson, in defence of a practice necessary for the protection of the man

of honour, from the intrigues, and calumnies, and assaults of the coward and the bully. Another of the same class, 'I Viaggi,' is devoted to the censure of *himself*, and of the nobility, and of those who travel for want of occupation.

This satire is in *terza rima*, and is the best specimen of that harshness of versification which the warmest admirers of Alfieri allow to be indefensible. He was seduced into this error by a wish to shun the opposite defect which characterised the poets of the preceding generation. The plant had been so warped and drawn to the earth on one side by Metastasio, that Alfieri thought he could never recover its position without bending it backwards as much on the other. The tree is not yet upright. Yet his strange words, and his capricious innovations in phraseology, profusely as they are spread over his satires and his comedies, will be forgotten or forgiven, and the force and purity of his diction will ever recommend the prose of Alfieri to the study of his countrymen. It is worthy of remark, that the Paris edition of his tragedies, which he printed at the press of Didot, is *partially* exempt from that harshness of versification observable in all his former editions.

The errors of a man of genius are not unfrequently of service to the cause of literature. Mr. Bellotto, in his translation of Sophocles, chose Alfieri for his model, as far as regarded his method and general style; but he softened the diction, he harmonised the numbers of his prototype, and thus succeeded in producing a work which had been long expected, and often essayed in vain.

Alfieri, a little after the year 1790, and before his return to Italy, printed at Kell some specimens of lyrical poetry in two volumes. The first contains an ode on the taking of the Bastille, and five odes on the emancipation of America. The one addressed to Washington is the best; but bespeaks, after all, only the originality of the poet. It no less shows that he had misdirected his genius; for his ode is in the same harsh, dry style which spoils his translation of Virgil. The eulogist of America could not be expected to spare the English; but his dislike was confined

to the minister of the day—the nation which he has praised so often in his memoirs he did not degrade in his poetry. Indeed his ode on the Bastille contains an appendix with which we cannot but be content. This is a short apologue, in which the English are the *bees*, the French the *flies*, of the fable.

The other volume of his lyrics consists in great part of amatory sonnets, almost all addressed to the same person. The delicacy of his sentiments, the fire of his passion, and the novelty of his turns of thought, redeem that want of elegance and harmony, which must be observed in the whole performance, and may, perhaps, be discovered in the following specimens.

The first was written in the Album, at Petrarch's house, at Arquà.

“ O Cameretta, che già in te chiudesti  
Quel Grande alla cui fama è angusto il mondo,  
Quel gentile d' amor mastro profondo  
Per cui Laura ebbe in terra onor celesti.

O di pensier soavemente mesti  
Solitario ricovero giocondo !  
Di che lagrime amare il petto inondo  
In veder che ora inonorato resti !

Prezioso diaspro, agata ed oro  
Foran debito fregio e appena degno  
Di rivestir sì nobile tesoro.

Ma no ; tomba fregiar d' uom ch' ebbe regno  
Vuolsi, e por gemme ove disdice alloro :  
Qui basta il nome di quel Divo Ingegno.”

The other is on the tomb of Dante.

“ O gran padre Allighier, se dal ciel miri  
Me non indegno tuo discepol starmi,  
Dal cor traendo profondi sospiri,  
Prostrato innanzi a tuoi funerei marmi ;

Piacciati, deh ! propizio a' bei desiri,  
D' un raggio di tua mente illuminarmi :  
Uom che a perenne e prima gloria aspiri  
Contro invidia e viltà dee stringer l' armi ?

Figlio, i' le strinsi, e ben men duol, che dièdi  
Nome in tal guisa a gente tanto bassa  
Da non pur calpestarsi co' miei piedi—

Se in me fidi, tuo sguardo non abbassa ;  
Va, tuona, vinci, e niun di costor vedi,  
Non che parlarne ; ma sovr' essi passa.”



His work, called the 'Misogallo,' of which he speaks with so much complacency in his own memoirs, was not printed until the year 1814, ten years after his death, and just as the French evacuated Italy. One might have thought the period well chosen; and yet the editors were obliged to leave *gaps* in certain passages, particularly where he told truth of the Popes. The Misogallo is a mixture of prose and of epigrams. These latter would be a wretched effort, even in a middling author—they betray the rage of impotent sarcasm. As for the book itself, it is also seasoned more with spite than wit—a remark that holds good of some other epigrams published during the life of the author. Mr. Forsyth has cited two that are just in point.\* The prose of the Misogallo contains two pieces worthy of perusal: one is the defence which Alfieri would have put into the mouth of Louis XVI. in presence of the Convention. The other is the apology of the author himself, for his detestation of the French revolution, as having ruined the cause of liberty, that cause to which Alfieri had dedicated all his talents, and the better portion of his fortune and his life.

Amongst the ancient and modern poets of Italy, no one has furnished so many pictures and busts as Alfieri. Fabre, who excels in portraits, and was his friend, has taken four likenesses in oil; all of them much esteemed, and, it should seem, justly. There is also a profile, having for inscription the sonnet in which he describes both his person and his character.

“Sublime Specchio di veraci detti  
 Mostrami in corpo e in anima qual sono.  
 Capelli or radi in fronte, e rossi pretti;  
 Lunga statura e capo a terra prono.  
 Sottil persona su due stinchi schiètti;  
 Bianca pelle, occhio azzurro, aspetto buono,  
 Giusto naso, bel labbro, e denti eletti,  
 Pallido in viso più che un Re sul trono.  
 Or duro acerbo, ora pieghevol, mite,  
 Irato sempre e non maligno mai,  
 La mente e il cor meco in perpetua lite;

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\* Remarks, &c., on Italy, p. 62, 2nd edit.

Per lo più mesto, e talor lieto assai,  
 Or stimandomi Achille, ed or Tersite.  
 Uom, sei tu grande, o vil? Mori e il saprai."

Compare the 'Orestes,' the 'Virginia,' the 'Myrrha,' the 'Saul,' and some other of his tragic masterpieces, with his comedies and his Misogallo, and we shall almost think it was the voice of conscience that told him he was sometimes the Achilles, sometimes the Thersites of authors.

His own opinion of his dramatic supremacy may be collected from an autograph inscription, at the back of a miniature portrait of himself, which is now preserved at Holland House.

"Chi fu, che fece, e che mertò costui?  
 Tentò il coturno; in cui  
 Fors' ebbe ei pregio il non voler altrui."  
 — *Vittorio Alfieri.*

His example has confirmed the opinion, that genius is the distinctive merit of poets. Alfieri, whose education was very much neglected, and whose youth was sunk in the loosest dissipation (*dissipatissima*)\*, rose, in a few years, to the highest literary distinction, and was ranked amongst the great writers of his country. His perseverance and his ardour were, it is true, such as are rarely seen: the same perseverance, the same ardour, were employed in the production of his latter writings: his learning was greater, his knowledge of the world more extensive, and his understanding more enlightened by the progress of years, and by that revolution of which he was an eye-witness, and which sharpened even very inferior intellects: neither was he, at any period of his life, too advanced in age for mental exertion, for he was not fifty-three when he died. Yet it is incontestable that the suppression of the greater part of his posthumous publications would have been of infinite service to his fame. Perhaps he was born to shine

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\* See his letter to Mr. Calsabigi, printed in the preface to his tragedies.

in tragedy, and in tragedy alone; and perhaps the prodigious exertions of his first efforts exhausted his vigour and depressed his spirit, and condemned his latter years to languor and to regret. He might exclaim, with the ancient poet,

“Non sum qualis eram : periit pars maxima nostri  
Hoc quoque, quod superest, languor et horror habent.”

It is affirmed by those who knew him, that between his fits of melancholy, Alfieri conversed with warmth, but always with a certain tincture of bitterness; and it is distressing to be told that he studiously avoided all those whom he had not known for several years. He carried this aversion to new intimacies to such a length, that a letter addressed by any other than a well-known hand, and under any but the seal of a friend, was thrown into the fire unopened. It need hardly be added, that he had but two or three correspondents. The public journals and periodical papers he never once looked into for many of his latter years. Thus he had no means of becoming acquainted with his real share of that glory which had been the principal object of his life. Nor did he believe himself arrived at the position which he actually occupied in the eyes of his countrymen, and of all Europe. His melancholy divested the vanities of life of all their charms, and he refused to cherish the only illusion that could console his existence.

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Count Alexander Pepoli, who inherited the wealth and the name of that powerful family which, during the middle ages, made themselves masters of Bologna, and alarmed the princes of Italy, was the contemporary, and, it may be said, the rival of Alfieri. He wrote tragedies, he wrote comedies : both the one and the other were applauded on the stage ; both the one and the other now slumber in the libraries. He aspired to the invention of a new drama, which he thought Shakesperian, and which he called ‘Fisedia’—a compliment to our poet, and a tacit reproof to all other writers for the stage, from Æschylus downwards. His

'Representation of Nature' pleased both the people and the actors, but never came to a second edition. Like Alfieri, he also was passionately fond of horses, and he was bolder than our poet, for he drove a Roman car, a *quadriga*, at full gallop over some ascents and descents of the Apennines. He built a theatre for the representation of his own tragedies; he founded the magnificent printing press at Venice, from which, under the name of the *Tipografia Pepoliana*, have issued many works, and particularly several editions of the Italian historians. His daily occupations were divided, with a scrupulosity which they hardly merited, between his studies, his horses, and his table. His guests consisted of men of letters, of buffoons, of people of fashion, and of parasites. His nights were devoted to the pursuits of gallantry, in which he was sufficiently successful; for he was handsome and he was rich. His amours were occasionally postponed for his billiards, at which he lost large sums of money in the pursuit of an excellence which he would fain have attained at all games of skill. His great ambition was to be the first *runner* in Italy, and he died in 1796, before he was forty, of a pulmonary complaint, which he had caught in a foot-race with a lacquey. He merits a place in this memoir, not for the brilliancy of his compositions, but for the shade of relief which they furnish to the similar and successful efforts of Alfieri.

#### HIPPOLITUS PINDEMONTE.

The Marquis John Pindemonte, eldest brother of him who will be here treated of, is a proof of the preliminary observation that a man of literature may be very popular in Italy, and yet be without that settled reputation which owes its origin to the suffrages of the learned class of readers. This nobleman, in conjunction with Pepoli, kept for some time possession of the stage. The tragedies of John Pindemonte, which are now almost forgotten, brought crowds to the theatre at the time that Alfieri was listened to with impatience. Hippolitus Pindemonte has perhaps less imagi-



nation than his brother, but he was naturally endowed with a certain delicacy of taste, the development of which, by an education truly classical, has secured for him the highest distinctions of literature. It is, however, a fact which any one will verify by a careful inquiry, that the poetry of Hippolitus Pindemonte is not relished by the generality of readers, who are nevertheless obliged to repeat his praises, having been taught that lesson by the learned distributors of literary fame, and by those who are by tacit consent allowed to possess the most cultivated taste. The same obedient crowd throng the play-houses to see the tragedies of his elder brother; but the fear of the same censors prevents them from praising the composition of their favourite dramas.

Hippolitus has also written a tragedy on the death of Arminius, the German hero, whose conspiracy against the liberties of his country was punished with death from the hand of his own relations. The style of this piece is much applauded; the plan of it is on the model of Shakespeare, without, however, a total abandonment of those ancient rules which the Italians will allow no writer to violate with impunity. He has introduced a chorus sung by young warriors and maidens, and has thus combined, with some success, the English, the Greek, and the Italian drama: as to the French plan, the example and the system of Alfieri have created a persuasion that it is irreconcilable with the Italian theatre. Whether the 'Arminius' has stood the great test does not appear in the published play. Perhaps it has never been acted, and perhaps it may be as little qualified for any stage as the 'Caractacus' and the 'Elfrida' would be for our own.

The works of Pindemonte which are most esteemed are some lyrical poems, and particularly his epistles in verse. These last contain a happy assemblage of qualities not easily combined. The Italians behold in them the amenity of Horace, the tenderness of Petrarch, and a certain gravity of ideas and sentiments, for which, perhaps, he is indebted to his acquaintance with English poetry. A similar transfusion of our style was before attempted by Mazza. The

epistles are in blank verse, the favourite metre of the present day.

This writer has not only borrowed the English style, but many individual passages of our poets, more particularly of Milton and of Gray. The plagiaries, if they may so be called, are inserted with considerable taste and effect. A great part of his youth was spent in travelling, and he lived long enough in England to become familiar with our literature. His 'Campestri' contain some copies of verses addressed to Englishmen. He speaks with enthusiastic admiration of their country; and it may be pleasing to see a fine description which he gives of a park, one of the characteristic beauties of England.

Speaking of the practice of raising tombs in gardens, he continues—

“Così eletta dimora e sì pietosa  
L'Anglo talvolta, che profondi e forti  
Non meno che i pensier, vanta gli affetti,  
Alle più amate ceneri destina  
Nelle sue tanto celebrate ville,  
Ove per gli occhi in seno, e per gli orecchi  
Tanta m'entrava, e sì innocente ebbrezza.  
Oh chi mi leva in alto, e chi mi porta  
Tra quegli ameni, dilettesi, immensi  
Boscherecci teatri! Oh chi mi posa  
Su que' verdi tappeti, entro que' foschi  
Solitarj ricoveri, nel grembo  
Di quelle valli, ed a que' colli in vetta!  
Non recise colà bellica scure  
Le gioconde ombre; i consueti asili  
Là non cercaro invan gli ospiti augelli:  
Nè Primavera s'ingannò, veggendo  
Sparito dalla terra il noto bosco,  
Che a rivestir venia delle sue frondi.  
Sol nella man del giardinier solerte  
Mandò lampi colà l'acuto ferro,  
Che rase il prato ed agguagliollo; e i rami  
Che tra lo sguardo, e le lontane scene  
Si ardivano frappor, dotto corresse.  
Prospetti vaghi, inaspettati incontri,  
Bei sentieri, antri freschi, opachi seggi,  
Lente acque e mute all'erba e ai fiori in mezzo,  
Precipitanti d'alto acque tonanti,  
Dirupi di sublime orror dipinti,  
Campo e giardin, lusso erudito e agreste  
Semplicità—Quinci ondeggiar la messe,

Pender le capre da un' aerea balza,  
 La valle mugolar, bellare il colle :  
 Quinci marmoreo sovra l' onde un ponte  
 Curvarsi, e un tempio biancheggiar tra il verde ;  
 Straniere piante frondeggiar, che d' ombre  
 Spargono Americane il suol Britanno,  
 E su ramo, che avea per altri augelli  
 Natura ordito, augei cantar d' Europa.  
 Mentre superbo delle arboree corna  
 Va per la selva il cervo, e spesso il capo  
 Volge, e ti guarda ; e in mezzo all' onda il cigno  
 Del piè fa remo, il collo inarca, e fende  
 L' argenteo lago. Così bel soggiorno  
 Sentono i bruti stessi, e delle selve  
 Scuoton con istupor la cima i venti.  
 Deh perchè non poss' io tranquilli passi  
 Muovere ancor per quelle vie, celarmi  
 Sotto l' intreccio ancor di que' frondosi  
 Rami ospitali, e udir da lunge appena  
 Mugghiar del Mondo la tempesta, urtarsi  
 L' un contro l' altro popolo, corone  
 Spezzarsi, e scettri ? oh quanta strage ! oh quanto  
 Scavar di fosse, e traboccar di corpi  
 E ai condottier trafitti alzar di tombe ! ”

It was, however, neither our parks nor our learned leisure that awakened such lively feelings, and called forth such ardent vows for his return to England. Our women must share the merit of the inspiration, for Pindemonte has given the initial of some nymph who had the good fortune to be the object of his first real, as well as his first poetic, passion. It may perhaps be flattering to this person, if she is still in existence, to know that the poet's verses to Miss H \* \* \* are esteemed by the Italians as some of his best, and not unworthy of comparison with those which have immortalized the charms of Laura. They are in the form of a canzone, in the manner of Petrarch, and the two first stanzas are as follows :

“ O Giovanetta, che la dubbia via  
 Di nostra vita, pellegrina allegra,  
 Con piè non sospettoso imprimi ed orni ;  
 Sempre così propizio il ciel ti sia !  
 Nè adombri mai nube improvvisa e negra  
 L' innocente seren de' tuoi bei giorni.

Non che il Mondo ritorni  
 A te quanto gli dai tu di dolcezza,  
 Ch' egli stesso ben sa non poter tanto.  
 Valle è questa di pianto  
 E gran danno qui spesso è gran bellezza,  
 Qui dove perde agevolmente fama  
 Qual più vaga si chiama :  
 Come andrà l' alma mia giojosa e paga !  
 Se impunemente esser potrai si vaga !  
 " Il men di che può donna esser cortese  
 Ver chi l' ha di sè stesso assai più cara  
 Da te, vergine pura, io non vorrei :  
 Veder in te quella che pria m' accese  
 Bramo, e sol temo che men grande e cara  
 Ciò ti faccia parere agli occhi miei.  
 Nè volontier torrei  
 Di spargerti nel sen foco amoroso,  
 Chè quanto è a me più noto il fiero ardore  
 Delitto far maggiore  
 Mi parria se turbassi il tuo riposo.  
 Maestro io primo ti sarò d' affanno ?  
 O per me impareranno  
 Nuovi affanni i tuoi giorni, ed interrotti  
 Sonni per me le tue tranquille notti ? "

The whole of the remainder of this canzone gives a flattering picture of the beauty, of the modesty, and of the unaffected graces, of the English young women of that day ; and the delicacy of such a passion redounds not less to the credit of the poet than of the lady, who must either have been naturally exempt from the ambition of coquetry, or must have taken great pains to conceal it.

The same author has published a romance in prose, which, as far as regards the apparent purpose of the work, reminds us of *Rasselas*. But Pindemonte's '*Abarite*' has failed to procure him the reputation of a distinguished prose writer. For purity, for erudition, for polish, it is not inferior to his verses, but it wants the charm of those pleasing compositions. His prefaces, his literary correspondence, and his little biographies, have never been seriously criticised, and are perhaps not worth it.

He has been assailed, like all other writers, by repeated criticisms ; but those criticisms have made little noise, and, however they may have really affected him, have not dis-



turbed his apparent tranquillity. The baseness of flattery, the bitterness of censure, will not be found in the personal allusions of Pindemonte. His writings, like his conversation, are those of an accomplished gentleman.

He has always in theory been devoted to the cause of liberty, but at the coming of the French he laid down for his conduct one inviolable maxim—"Hide thy life." Notwithstanding that his eldest brother and many of his friends have been actively engaged with different political parties,\* he has confined himself to some poetical complaints of the ravages and degradation which the sword of the stranger has for so many ages inflicted on his unhappy country.

From the beginning of the Revolution he has passed his time between Venice and Verona, his native town, and chiefly employed upon a translation of the *Odyssey*. There are many Italian translations of Homer, but not one has yet obtained that complete success which the voice of the nation, and the sanction of the learned world, alone can bestow. Pindemonte has, it is probable, judiciously selected this poem in preference to the *Iliad*, which would have required more imagination and more energy than are the characteristics of his style. The two first books were published some time ago, and Italy was as impatient as such a wish can make her, for the remainder of the performance. The whole translation appeared at the close of the last year, but what was the effect or judgment resulting from it, cannot, of course, yet be known. The poet's health has of late years been much on the decline, and obliged him to proceed leisurely with his occupation. He has passed his sixtieth year, and age and infirmity have made him devout. His spiritual exercises occupy a considerable portion of his time, and plunge him into that consuming solitude which a more rational religion would teach him to exchange for the active duties and social amusements of life.

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\* See his own declaration in the preface to his 'Epistles,' published at Verona in the year 1805.

Pindemonte is not, and, perhaps, ought not to be, ranked amongst the men of surpassing genius whom Italy has produced; but the assiduity of his studies, the consummate skill with which he has known where to employ, and how to develop his superior abilities, the sleepless care with which he has watched over the rise, and preserved the integrity of his fame, the decorum both of his life and writings, have secured for him the undisputed possession of the first place in the intermediate class, between the great masters of the art, and those who write to captivate the multitude. This intermediate class, although, as in the present instance, it occasionally produces an author, is composed for the most part of those who may be called rather learned readers than learned writers. Such a class has sprung up partially amongst ourselves, but with this difference, that our critics, although they do not condescend to advance in the regular uniform of writers, still appear in print, and that not unfrequently; whereas in Italy they seldom take up the pen, and acquire by that discretion a dignity which gives more weight to their oral decisions. These persons have received what we call a *regular* education, are familiar with, and formed upon, the classical writers, both ancient and modern; and, by an habitual application of the prescribed rules to every popular performance, are the self instituted, but undisputed, arbiters of taste. There are five or six of these in every considerable town; and one set, some of whom are perhaps authors, has so much influence on all the provincial critics, that not even the writers of a respectable class dare to pronounce their opinion without a previous decision of the recognised oracle. A great compiler, Tiraboschi for instance, would not have ventured to speak of a contemporary until he knew what judgment had been pronounced by Bettinelli or Roberti.

These persons establish, by the union of their suffrages, a reputation which is sure not to be ephemeral. But *there* is yet another class of readers, whom it is prudent to gain before an author can promise himself

“The life to come in every poet’s creed.”

These are the men of cultivated minds, *the men of the world* ; a vague phrase, but which will be understood, although it cannot be precisely defined. With the combined verdict of the former as the guardians of the language, and of the latter as the organ of the feelings of his countrymen, the Italian author may be secure that the common readers will follow in a crowd, and, like the Romans to Augustus, raise frequent altars to his living merit.

### VINCENZO MONTI.

This poet has always enjoyed, and still enjoys a sort of pre-eminence, of which, notwithstanding all the world seems agreed upon his claims, he has often been very nearly deprived. His subjects have, for the most part, been popular and occasional. He has laid hold of the most interesting events of the moment: he has sustained the preponderating opinions, and he has invariably advocated the interests of the succeeding reigning powers. With such advantages, it is not strange that he should have found many willing and eager readers; nor is it more strange that all the various governments, one after the other, should have continued to rank him amongst their partisans. It may excite somewhat more surprise to remark the air not only of enthusiasm, but of sincerity, with which he has delivered his contradictory panegyrics, and to admire the address, with which he appears rather repentant than changeful, and converts the dictates of interest into a case of conscience. By turns flattering and irritating every party, he has not only roused the passions of his contemporaries, but has given them a direction towards himself. His real merit, and the advantage derived from his powerful pen by the triumphant faction, have protected him from neglect; and that prostitution of talents which would have rendered him either odious or ridiculous in England, has been less contemptible in a country where there is more indifference, and less intelligence employed, in the review of political transactions.



For three centuries not a single Italian poet had raised his voice against the will or the wish of the powerful. Alfieri and Parini had made the first noble exception to this submission, and it was more easy to admire than imitate so rare an example. Monti, independent of the difference of natural disposition, was not born to the wealth of Alfieri, nor was he thrown into the same juncture of circumstances that had favoured the Milanese poet; neither had he been formed by that independent education which both the one and the other had enjoyed. In a word, Monti was brought up at the court of Rome.

The charm of Monti's poetry consists in a pleasing union of the soft and the strong. His ideas are strikingly clear, his sentiments are full of fire, his verses are truly melodious, and his imagery is highly embellished, and has received the last finishing and decoration of taste. He has, indeed, touched nothing that he has not adorned. If his polish is confined to the surface, not only himself but his readers are content without inquiring into the depth of his capacity.

Monti owed the first diffusion of his reputation to his *Aristodemus*, a tragedy which, to use the language of the stage, is a stock play in constant acting, notwithstanding the passion and interest are totally confined to the chief character. The dialogue was found to have more warmth, and colouring, and energy, than that of *Metastasio*, who was then in possession of the stage; and the audience were not terrified even by the shadow of that harshness, and violence, and obscurity, which characterised the tragedies of *Alfieri*, who was just emerging into notice, and regarded as a wild irregular genius, scarcely within the pale of literary civilisation. Monti then was the tragic writer of Italy, and was confidently hailed as the successful candidate for an eminence as yet never occupied.

He afterwards published two other tragedies: '*Galeotto Manfredi*,' which is not only far below his *Aristodemus*, but beneath the talents of the author, and '*Caius Gracchus*.' Some fine passages constitute the sole merit of the last



tragedy, into which he has introduced some scenes that the Italians are pleased to call *by far too natural*—" *assai troppo naturali*." These scenes were expressly imitated from Shakespeare, and succeeded at first—nobody, however, dared to applaud them in the subsequent representations. The critical spectators near the orchestra, and the closet-judges, having once condemned that which appears to militate against classical authority, their sentence is irrevocable: the people have not a voice; or, if they dare to speak, are not heard. The defects of Monti's tragedies are reducible to the insignificance of his characters, to the irregularity of his plot, and to a style sometimes too lyrical, sometimes too tame. These were discovered by the audience, and perhaps by the poet, for he laid no further claim to the throne of Melpomene.

The work of his which has made the most noise is the 'Cantica in morte di Ugo Basville,' published in Rome in 1793, when the author was about thirty-five years of age. This poem is even now considered superior to the subsequent productions of this fruitful writer, who has never laid aside, and still holds the pen. An edition of it has been published in London by Mr. Matthias, with the title 'La Rivoluzione Franceze,' and another appeared at Paris with another name, 'Il Dante Ingentilito.' It would be difficult to guess at the motive for these changes, with which it is probable the poet was not made acquainted; and it would be more difficult still to justify the usurpation of rights which appear to belong only to the author.

Hugh Basville was a man of letters, employed on a mission at Rome by the National Convention. His object was, probably, to sow the seeds of democracy, and to watch the conduct of the papal government in the approaching revolution. Others there are, however, who affirm that he was only on his return from the court of Naples, where he had been secretary of the French Legation, and that he was charged with no such mission. This is asserted in one of the numbers of the 'Gazette des Maires,' published at Paris by Captain de Basville, who has

undertaken to justify his father's memory. The Roman populace looked upon him as a Jacobin spy, murdered him, and pillaged his house. The capital of the world indulged in a savage triumph at this exploit, and the ministers of the pope, by their inactivity to punish, were suspected of participating in the crime. But Pius VI. was generous enough to save the wife and child of Basville from the rage of the multitude. On this occasion Monti wrote his poem.

According to the anecdotes contained in some pamphlets, and, amongst others, in one called 'Esame su le accuse contro V. Monti,' published at Milan in 1798, Monti was the friend of Basville; and it is certain, that in the greater part of his subsequent writings he showed himself a friend of the revolution. His poem justified the court of Rome, perpetuated the name of his friend, and saved himself from the perils of his late intimacy with a Jacobin. The plan of this work is very simple. Basville repents and dies, and is pardoned by the Almighty. An angel conducts his spirit across those kingdoms of the earth which had been desolated by the wars and crimes of the French revolution. They arrive at Paris at the moment that Louis XVI. is mounting the scaffold. The spirit of the king, ascending to heaven, meets the shade of Basville, and the angel makes them known to each other. The king questions him, and Basville narrates the cause and the manner of his death.

“La fronte sollevò, rizzossi in piedi  
 L'addolorato spirto; e le pupille  
 Tergendo, a dire ei cominciò: Tu vedi,  
 Signor, nel tuo cospetto Ugo Basville  
 Dalla Francese Libertà mandato  
 Sul Tebro a suscitâr l'empie scintille,  
 Stolto! che volli con l'immobil fato  
 Cozzar della gran Roma, onde ne porto  
 Rotta la tempia e il fianco insanguinato.  
 Chè di Giuda il Leon non anco è morto  
 Ma vive e rugge; e il pelo arruffa e gli occhi  
 Terror d' Egitto, e d' Israel conforto:  
 E se monta in furor, l'aste, e gli stocchi  
 Sa spezzar de' nemici; e par che gride  
 'SON LO SDEGNO DI DIO: NESSUN MI TOCCHI.'”

Here Basville confesses the crime which brought him to his end, and lauds the vengeance of Rome and of the Lion of Judah. But the above quotation suggests another remark, which will be found more or less true of all Monti's works; namely, that he has not scrupled to insert the ideas and the turns of expression of former poets in his best verses. The beginning of this canto reminds us of that of Dante's Ugolino.

"La bocca sollevò dal fero pasto  
Quel peccator—  
Poi cominciò : Tu vuoi"—

and the last verse is evidently from Petrarch,

"Son del Cesare mio : nessun mi tocchi."

Monti indeed regards it as a portion of his art, and a proof of his talents, successfully to employ the fine thoughts and the phrases of the great writers. No modern author has, perhaps, so freely imitated others as Monti; but no modern author has so frankly confessed his obligations and his gratitude. His notes abound with the passages from which he has borrowed, and he has the praise of sometimes improving upon his originals, and of always introducing them in proper time and place. So far from accusing him of plagiarism, we are rather agreeably surprised by the new aspect which he gives to beauties already familiar to every reader.

The fourth canto of the poem prepares us for the war of the coalesced potentates to revenge the death of Louis XVI. The soul of Basville is condemned by the poet to expiate his crime, by beholding the horrors of the Revolution, and by wandering without the precincts of Paradise until France shall have received the punishment of her regicide :

"Finchè non sia di Francia ulto il delitto."

According to this plan, Monti had opened an unbounded field for his exertions, and by merely following the progress of events, he would have avoided those difficulties



with which the necessity of inventing and arranging a series of fictions, has embarrassed the greater part of all poetical writers. He would only have had to select the most remarkable traits in the astonishing history of our times, and to divide them, according to the rules of his art and the power of his genius, into pictures which should command the delight and wonder of posterity. The difficulty of handling a contemporary topic was not too great for the capacity of Monti, and had he continued his *Basville* to the victory of Waterloo, he might have occupied, next to Dante, that place which Virgil possesses not far from Homer.

The voyage of the angel with the shade of *Basville* is taken from that of Dante with the spirit of Virgil. The *terze rime*, a metre perfected by the father of Italian poetry, was, in the true sense of the word, *ennobled* (*ingentilito*) by Monti. It is true that he has not the same harmonious variety, nor the same boldness of expression, nor the same loftiness of thought as are found in his model. But he is more equal, more clear, more finished in every part: his images have not only the stable grandeur, but even the glossy whiteness of Parian sculpture; and although they succeed each other with astonishing rapidity, and force, and boldness, preserve an elegance peculiar to themselves, more especially in the *terze rime*, which no one has ever employed with the same success. It is probable that Monti will never be surpassed in this metre: but, in the heroic stanza he could not come into the field against Ariosto and Tasso; and in blank verse, Cesarotti, Parini, and Foscolo have been more adventurous and more successful.

Monti had scarcely published the fourth canto of his poem (which, such as he left it, does not amount to 1500 lines) when the French conquered Lombardy. Perhaps it was fear, perhaps it was interest, or more likely still inclination, that seduced him from Rome, and settled him in the capital of the new Cisalpine republic. On this occasion he quitted the service of the Duke of Braschi, the nephew of Pius VI. Prelates, cardinals, and even popes,



had begun by being secretaries like himself; but Monti was a married man—he was a poet, and he was not besides in the good graces of his Holiness. He one day presented Pius with a magnificent edition of his poetry, and the Pontiff condescended to accept it: but added, at the same time, after quoting some verses of Metastasio, “*No one, now a days, writes like that great poet.*”

Monti was now the poet of the popular assemblies, of the armies, of the democratic dinners, which rose together at the institution of the new Republic; and his patriotic hymns have, almost alone, survived the innumerable copies of verses, inspired by occasions so animating. But he did not confine himself to songs; he wrote with sober severity against the priests: such are his ‘*Superstizione,*’ and his ‘*Fanatismo,*’ and his ‘*Visione,*’ in which the shade of Louis XVI. is changed from the martyr of his Basville into a hideous spectre. Neither his labours nor his devotion could, however, obtain for Monti the confidence or even the pardon of the friends of the revolution. We learn this from his own lips; for he complains of it, and leaves nothing untried to convince his fellow citizens of his sincerity, and begs at least for pity, in the opening of one of his poems, in which he brings himself upon the stage, and assumes the imploring pathetic attitude of the father of a family.

“Stendi dolce amor mio, sposa diletta,  
A quell’ arpa la man, che la soave  
Dolce fatica di tue dita aspetta!  
Svegliami l’ armonia ch’ entro le cave  
Latèbre alberga del sonoro legno,  
E de’ forti pensier volgi la chiave.”

These were to Monti days of humiliation, and of bitterness, and of danger. The legislative council passed a severe and unjust law against those who, before the Italian Revolution, had written in favour of tyranny; and it was seen that this law was directed more particularly against the author of the ‘*Basvilliana.*’ The low retainers of literature, under the pretext of patriotism, now gave vent

to their jealousy, and assailed Monti with scurrilities equally violent and mean.

His friends had procured him a place in the commissariat of Romagna: but he was accused of peculation and carried before a tribunal.—The calumny was proved, and the defendant acquitted, but no steps were taken to punish the calumniators.

Such were the dangers of his position, or such was the inconstancy of his soul, that Monti disgraced himself beyond the wishes of his rivals. Pius VI. was carried off from Rome by the French, and the poet chose this forced migration of his former master for the occasion of an invective imitated from that ode of Horace in which the Roman republic is compared to a ship tossed by the wind and waves, and steering for the harbour. No Protestant pen has ever traced invectives more severe against the Great Harlot than are poured forth by the repentant Secretary.

“ Di mala merce e di dolor vai carca,  
O Nave, che dal Tosco al Sardo lito  
Porti il gran Pescator, che in infinito  
Mar di colpe ha di Pier rotta la barca:  
Vedi come t'insegue e il dorso inarca  
L'onda irata? de' venti odi il ruggito?  
Prendi porto, sollecita il pentito  
Remo e di tanto peccator ti scarca.”

Dante had before called upon the islands of Capraja and Gorgona to block up the mouth of the Arno, and drown the inhabitants of Pisa for their cruelty to the children of Ugolino; and Monti now invoked Sardinia, and told it to fly away, that the *last of monsters* might not find even a tomb to shelter him.

“ E dritto fora  
Non dar di tomba nè d'arena un velo  
All' ultimo de' mostri.”

Monti at least revenged himself of Pius for placing him below Metastasio.

It was but a short time afterwards that Suvaroff and the Austrians made themselves masters of Italy. Monti fled

to France, and the distresses of his exile gave a new vigour and a dignity to his exertions.

Mascheroni, a mathematician, much esteemed in Italy, and a writer of verses admired for their elegance, had distinguished himself for his enthusiastic love of liberty, and, what was much more rare, by his noble integrity of character and purity of manners. He also had escaped, on the same occasion, to Paris, where he died. Monti thought this a good opportunity for writing another poem, which he called 'The Death of Mascheroni' (In Morte di Mascheroni), on the plan of his *Basville*. The spirit of his hero is in like manner made to traverse the earth, and in his view of the changes of Italy beholds the advantages of liberty and the pernicious effects of popular licentiousness. The political aim of this poem is more useful, and the subject is better handled, than in the *Death of Basville*; but the author could not refuse himself the satisfaction of consigning to perpetual infamy the names of his demagogue persecutors.

The Italians discover a greater variety and interest in the scenes presented to the notice of Mascheroni than in those of *Basville*. They think the style less pointed, but more rich and more graceful, and they look upon the *terze rime* as less monotonous and more harmonious than any of his former specimens. The plan was equally vast with that of his first poem, and it was, like *Basville*, also stopped at the fourth canto: for Bonaparte became Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and Monti hastened to publish six cantos of another poem; these were to be the first part of a long work which he called 'The Bard of the Black Forest' (Il Bardo della Selva Nera).

It must be owned that the conception of this poem is vastly puerile. The author is obliged to imagine that there are bards who deal in verse and prophecy yet to be found by those who look for them; and just such a one as Cæsar and Lucan saw in the depths of Germany is discovered by Monti in 1805, hidden somewhere in the Black Forest. This bard has a daughter, Malvina, who is sur-

prised into a sentimental passion for a French officer, who has been wounded in the battle of Albeck. The victories of Napoleon are chanted forth by the same officer, who it seems succeeds in persuading the bard of the advantages of imperial despotism, for he prophesies the absolute monarchy of the triumphant warrior.

This poem is in different metres, in blank verse, in heroical and in lyrical stanzas—a mixture which has had great success with us, but is far from agreeable to the Italians, who have been taught by Dante to run into any embarrassments rather than facilitate the art of poetry.

Monti left this poem also incomplete; and Napoleon, to encourage the continuation of a prophecy so flattering, created him a knight of two orders, and gave him a thousand louis d'ors. The Emperor also assigned him a pension, and made him his Historiographer.

The foregoing censure of the Bard of the Black Forest should be accompanied with the confession that it contains some admirable passages. Such is the description of the night after a bloody battle.

“Pallido intanto su l' Abnobie rupi  
 Il Sol cadendo, raccogliea d'intorno  
 Dalle cose i colori, e alla pietosa  
 Notte del mondo concedea la cura;  
 Ed ella del regal suo velo eterno  
 Spiegando il lembo, raccendea negli astri  
 La morta luce, e la spegneva sul volto  
 Degli stanchi mortali. Era il tuon queto  
 De' fulmini guerrieri, e ne vagava  
 Sol per la valle il fumo atro, confuso  
 Colle nebbie de' boschi e de' torrenti:  
 Eran quete le selve, eran dell' aure  
 Queti i sospiri; ma lugubri e cupi  
 S'udian gemiti e grida in lontananza  
 Di languenti trafitti, e un calpestio  
 Di cavalli e di fanti, e sotto il gràve  
 Peso de' bronzi un cigolio di rote  
 Che mestizia e terror metteva nel core.”

Monti, in this poem, has with his usual taste profited by the Ossian of Cesarotti and the French prose translation of Gray's odes, and of Shakespeare. He does not read English,



but he is as ardent an admirer of our great dramatist as he is of Dante. The writer has heard him pronounce his decided judgment, that the world has produced but three *poets*, properly so called; and Homer, with the two just mentioned, form his triumvirate. The two following stanzas will be seen to have been copied from the speech of Ulysses in 'Troilus and Cressida,' where the necessity of a monarchy is deduced from the pre-eminence of the sun above the stars.

“Delle stelle monarca egli s’asside  
Sul trono della luce; e con eterna  
Unica legge il moto, e i rai divide  
Ai seguaci pianeti, e li governa.  
Per lui Natura si feconda e ride;  
Per lui la danza armonica s’alterna  
Delle stagion; per lui nullo si spia  
Grano di polve che vital non sia.  
E cagion sola del mirando effetto  
È la costante eguale unica legge  
Con che il raggianti imperador l’aspetto  
Delle create cose alto corregge.  
Togli questa unità, toglì il perfetto  
Tenor de’, varj moti, onde si regge  
L’armonia de’ frenati orbi diversi,  
E tutti li vedrai confusi e spersi.”

Monti undertook a translation of the Iliad; and he undertook it confessing that he knew nothing of Greek, but copied after the literal interpretations in Latin, the various commentators, and the poetical versions of all his predecessors. He depended solely upon his talents for versification, and the charms of his style. His readers were equally confident with himself; and their previous persuasion secured him the first applauses with which his translation was welcomed even by the Greek scholars, who were happy to accept of so powerful an ally in their contest with Cesarotti. It was, however, discovered that a translation made by one who was ignorant of the original could not be depended upon. The distrust spread even to those who were themselves equally unacquainted with the Greek text; and the censures of the learned were heard and

multiplied in every quarter. They have by degrees been pushed to an extreme equally unjustifiable with the first praises of this translation. Monti had heard of the simplicity of Homer, and he wished to imitate this quality, which is so much eulogised, and so little capable of definition. To accomplish this project, he sprinkled his phrases with Italian *idiotisms*; and he moreover was prodigal of words from the *Latin*, which, although they have a certain classical air, and are well chosen, expressive, and clear, and enrich the language, give nevertheless a prosaic and pedantic air, that renders his manner disagreeable and dry. He has almost always faithfully given the meaning of Homer, but he has frequently omitted to lay hold of those minute and accessory beauties which form in fact the exclusive merit of great writers, and which, as they are rather felt than seen, are the despair of the most expert translator.

Monti has given an agreeable colouring to the pictures of the *Iliad*; but he has not always been sufficiently exact in his representation of him, who is as it were the master of *design*, and the father of all the great artists. He is simple and he is easy, but he is not natural: he has more fire than strength. It must still be allowed that the verses and style of Monti render his *Iliad* more agreeable than it appears in the meagre translation of Salvini, or in the *rifacimento* of Cesarotti. He may at least pretend to the double merit of having done better than others, and of having excited others to do better than him.

As to the general method, his style is founded upon the exquisite example furnished by Virgil in his imitations of the Greek poet; and as far as respects the versification, he has studied the translation of the *Eneid* by Hannibal Caro, which Monti considers as the purest model of blank verse, and the true depository of the riches and the elegance of the Italian language. His version, like that of his prototype, is, in fact, invariably flowing, and derives its chief excellence from periods well rounded, and a cadence always agreeable. The numbers and the accents of each verse are *comparatively* neglected. This manner of

writing flatters the ear, and is not so varied as to be fatiguing, but it is liable to the monotony which offends us in Ovid, and is still more striking in a language more melodious and less sonorous than the Latin, and whose heroic verses have not the advantage of the hexametral length.

Monti has also translated Persius, and has given to him a clearness of idea and a softness of expression not to be found in the most obscure and the harshest of all the ancient poets. Yet he has rendered some satires line for line, and bound himself by the test before applied by Davanzati to Tacitus. This translation has ceased to be spoken of, except to cite those notes which were composed by the author in 1803, in the height of his enthusiasm for republics, and of his detestation of the vice and tyranny of the Roman Emperors.

The talents of Monti were devoted, with a constancy proportioned to the duration of the French power, to the praise of Napoleon, his unwearied patron. But neither the attachment of the poet, nor the liberality of the Emperor, contributed, in the expected degree, to the reputation of the author or to the glory of his imperial Mæcenas. When Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, sent the sword of Frederic II. to Paris, Monti wrote a poem in one canto, and called it the 'Sword of Frederic.' But 'La Spada di Federico' had some defects, not only of composition and style, but even in the versification, which the partisans of Bonaparte themselves could not pardon, and accordingly attacked with a success dangerous to the superiority of Monti, who ran a second risk of losing his pre-eminence by a poem which he published two or three years afterwards, and called the 'Palingenesis.' This *Regeneration* was the system of Pythagoras demonstrated in the metamorphoses produced in the world by the genius of Bonaparte; and the apparent object of Monti was to rival the 'Pronéa' of Cesarotti. Monti had not the same excuse as the Paduan poet: he was not very aged, nor did he write at the express order of the

Emperor. But his 'Palingenesis' was not more fortunate than the 'Pronéa.'

The odes published by Monti on the usual occasions of victories and treaties of peace, on the marriages and the births of princes, and which he struck off at a heat with inconceivable rapidity, are most of them finished to perfection. Even those which are on the whole but middling performances contain stanzas cited by the Italians as master-pieces in this way of writing.

"Lassù, dov' anco  
Il muto arriva  
Gemer del verme che calcato spira,  
Del Nume al fianco  
Siede una Diva,  
Che chiusa in negro ammanto  
Scrive i delitti coronati, e all' ira  
Di Dio presenta delle genti il pianto."

The series of Monti's poems would not be completely cited without mentioning three of considerable length—'Il Prometeo,' 'La Musogonia,' and 'La Feroniade,' of which he has published only the first cantos and some fragments. The second of these is an imitation of Hesiod. The allegory of Prometheus furnishes a clear and poetical development of the merit and the perilous course of that superior order of beings who dedicate their lives to the enlightening of the human race, and displays the ingratitude of the people towards the defenders of their liberty, and the despotism which is the closing scene of every political drama. 'La Feroniade,' a name borrowed from that of the nymph cited by Virgil and Horace, and who was one of the Roman deities that had a temple in the Pontine Marshes, was a poem composed for Pius VI., who had undertaken to drain and cultivate and people those marshes. The enemies of Monti republished some passages of these three poems, to show that he had substituted the eulogy of his new protectors by the erasure of those originally inserted in praise of the Pope.



The prose of Monti is distinguished for the ease, the clearness, the harmony, and the metaphorical richness which characterise his verses; but the style is unequal, and now and then infected with *Gallicisms*. The poetical diction of Italy has, by the efforts of many great writers, retained its purity through the revolutions of five centuries; but the prose has been subject to the changes of time, and to the invasion of foreign arms and foreign literature. Monti has been lately occupied with a laborious work, meant to supply the void left by the Cruscan academicians in their dictionary, and to counteract the prejudices of the too rigorous adherents of the old school, and the bold dogmas of licentious innovators. It is thought that in this work, the offspring of his cooler reflection and directed to aims more useful, he will avoid those inaccuracies of haste and passion which disfigured his previous performances, and degraded them into mere personal controversies. An exception should be made in favour of two or three discourses, published when he was professor at Pavia. One of them is much praised, and perhaps not a little owing to the subject of which it treats, namely, *Of the scientific discoveries which foreigners have usurped to themselves, to the prejudice of the Italian inventors*. Monti showed his patriotism in this treatise, but much could not be said of his knowledge or of his equity. Even his eloquence was more lively than vigorous. He threw down his glove in defiance of all foreigners, but more especially of the French, and was backed by his countrymen, who have fallen into the absurdity of depreciating the present merit of other nations, by comparing it with the past glories of their ancestors.

Monti has never been wise enough to laugh at silly criticisms, nor was he ever known to spare a powerless adversary. Having been rudely attacked, he has always defended himself rudely. He seems to have looked upon a censure of his writings as an obstacle thrown maliciously in the way of his fortune. In this temper he told the Abate Bettinelli, "*It is not the poet that these people want to attack; no, it is the*

*historiographer of Napoleon ; and they conspire to make me appear in his eyes a contemptible writer."* \*

He tried, therefore, to persuade the court and the ministers to prosecute his adversaries : but it should be told that he employed the same influence in the promotion of his friends. Towards them Monti is truly the warmest and the most devoted of men, and is ready for every generous sacrifice as long as he feels assured that he has no reason to suspect the loyalty of their attachment.

His violent literary disputes with his distinguished contemporaries, with Mazza, Cesarotti, and Bettinelli, have all terminated by a solicitation of their friendship ; and he has not refused to restore his confidence to others who, having grievously offended him, have intreated to be reconciled. It has happened to him to quarrel with and to pardon the same individual several times.

The habit of writing on temporary topics may explain, perhaps, the care which he takes to acquire renown by efforts which, in the end, frequently terminate in the loss of it. He is afraid of the very newspaper writers, and is ambitious of their suffrages. He keeps up a regular correspondence with all the men of letters in Italy, and barter with them the usual commodity of mutual adulation. He is, however, sincere enough with those young writers who ask his advice, and contrives to encourage them without flattery and to instruct them without arrogance. He repeats verses inimitably : he is eloquent in his conversation, which is generally of the softer kind ; but the slightest contradiction provokes him to a vehement defence of positions which he abandons the next day with perfect indifference.

It is probable that the inconstancy, as well as the momentary eagerness of certain individuals, is to be attributed less to education than to nature. The life of Dryden can

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\* 'Lettera all' Abate Bettinelli,' Milano, 1809.

scarcely be compared in a single instance with that of Monti; nor is the poetry, nor even the character of the English laureate, at all similar to that of the Italian. The above unhappy quality they have, however, in common with each other. Both of them have degraded the literature to which they owe their fame, by making it subservient to their private interests, at the expense of truth and of honour. Both of them have been systematic flatterers of the powerful and the great, and both of them have wanted the requisite consolations of old age.

Monti had pursued the Austrians with the war of words, after each of their repeated defeats. When they re-appeared as conquerors, they deprived him of almost all his pensions; but they bargained at the same time for a *cantata* from his pen, which was set to music and sung in the theatre, to welcome their return to Italy. It is neither a hazardous nor a severe reflection to assert that this poet must look back with feelings of bitter regret upon sixty years of laborious and brilliant exertions, which are about to end for ever, and which have left him in the enjoyment neither of an independent fortune nor of a spotless reputation, nor of those fixed principles without the possession of which no one can, without trembling, dare to contemplate the close of his career.

A splendid example and a warning for an apostate generation—

“Petite hinc juvenesque senesque  
Finem animo certum, miserisque viatica canis.”

### HUGO FOSCOLO.\*

When the revolution of 1795 gave a shock to principles for ages established in Italy, and set in motion the spirits and the interests of the inhabitants of every province, the writers before mentioned had all of them published those

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\* Foscolo was born in Zante in January, 1777; he died 14th September, 1827, and was buried at Chiswick.

works which gave them a fixed reputation with their countrymen.

Hugo Foscolo was at that time a youth, but not too young to profit by the friendship and the example of his distinguished contemporaries. The total change in the political condition of his country, his military education, and the part which he played in public affairs, developed, however, his talents, and formed his character in a manner quite different from that of his predecessors: besides, the circumstances under which he wrote arrived too late to form their style, and being now gone by, may perhaps require a course of ages to reproduce.

Foscolo laid it down for a principle that Italian poetry had expired with Tasso, and had been re-resuscitated only in the present day. Hear his own words:—

“Senza l'Ossian del Cesarotti, Il Giorno del Parini, Vittorio Alfieri, e Vincenzo Monti, la nostra poesia si giacerebbe tuttavia sepolta con le ceneri di Torquato Tasso. Da indi in quà un secolo la inorpellò, e l' altro la immiserì. L'Ossian può far dare nello strano; il Parini nel leccato; l'Alfieri nell' aspro; e il Monti nell' ornato: ma le umane virtù non fruttano senza l'innesto d'un vizio. I grandi ingegni emuleranno: i mezzani scimiotterranno: e coloro che esplorano i propri meriti nelle altrui colpe, si getteranno simili a corvi sovra le piaghe de' generosi cavalli.”

This passage, extracted from his Preface to an experiment for translating the *Iliad*, printed at Brescia in 1807,\* may serve for a specimen of his style and of his literary opinions.

He commenced his career a year before the fall of the Venetian republic, with a tragedy called ‘*Thyestes*.’ Being angry at the little attention paid by the Venetians to the tragedies of Alfieri, and at the corrupted taste which made them prefer and applaud those of the Marquis Pin-demonte and of Count Pepoli, he resolved that his drama should have only four personages; and that the simplicity and severity of his whole composition should rival Alfieri

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\* ‘Esperimento di traduzion dell’ *Iliade*.’



and the Greek tragedians. With this hardy project, he contrived that his play should be acted on the same night when two new pieces from the pen of the above Marquis and Count were to be represented at other theatres of the same town. The courage and the youth of the author enabled him to triumph over his rivals, and his 'Thyestes' received more applause than perhaps it deserved. The actors published it in the tenth volume of the 'Teatro Italiano Applaudito,' subjoining to it an account of its great success, and a criticism written in favour of the author. Foscolo himself adopted the extraordinary proceeding of publishing a severe censure of his own work, the success of which he attributed solely to its conformity with the great models of antiquity. The pamphlet was ill received by the public, and the Venetians painted the portrait of the young poet in the drop-curtain of the Fenice Theatre, among those who had a better claim to this distinction. The 'Thyestes' is still occasionally acted, and is sustained by the warmth of the dialogue and the strength of the dramatic passions, but the style is so harsh as to be insupportable to the reader.

The learned of Italy speak neither well nor ill of the 'Letters of Ortis,' which, nevertheless, has been more frequently reprinted in his own country than any other of Foscolo's works, and is certainly much more known on the other side of the Alps. The Germans have exhausted upon this little book all the metaphysics of criticism; they have translated it twice, and a certain Professor Luden has accompanied his version with a whole volume of dissertations. After all, it is but an imitation of Werter. There is, however, this striking difference, that the object of the Italian is solely political. There is indeed something for all tastes in the politics, and the poetry, and the love of Ortis. The allusions to the downfall of the Venetian republic, and the introduction of living interlocutors, such as Parini at Milan, give a reality to the fable which must be highly interesting to the Italians, and is attractive even to strangers. There is a melancholy patriotism in every

word in which he mentions Italy, that makes the author respectable in the eyes of every generous reader. There are some pictures of small objects that evince a considerable knowledge of the human heart, and are extremely affecting. The little dog of the lady who falls in love with Ortis may be mentioned as one. The author is in his proper element when he breaks forth into his ethical reflections: how truly he says, "That we are too proud to give our compassion when we feel we can give nothing else"!

The love of Ortis is, I think, the least interesting portion of the work, and there is not importance enough attached to his existence to make it natural that so much importance should be attached to his end. It was difficult, perhaps, to give many attractions to the adventures of an obscure politician; but it is still possible that those of an age and sex more accessible to the tender feelings may be touched by the misfortunes and the heroic despair of the Italian Werter. But Ortis may boast of having been the first book that induced the females and the mass of readers to interest themselves in public affairs. This was a mighty exploit in a country where one maxim had been for ages the groundwork of education for all classes of society, *De Deo parum, de Principe nihil*. It is difficult at this day to find in Italy an edition of the Letters of Ortis altogether exempt from those mutilations which the revisors of one kind or another have inflicted on this romance. In spite, however, of all their prudent efforts, it has been found impossible to emasculate every page which launches forth invectives against the corruption of the old government, against the foreign usurpation of the new, and lastly against the treachery with which the French General bought and sold the republic of Venice.

Chiari and Piazza, and other common writers, had before published some hundreds of romances, which had been the delight only of the vulgar reader; for those of a more refined taste had resorted to the foreign novels. The Letters of Ortis is the only work of the kind, the boldness

of whose thoughts and the purity of whose language, combined with a certain easy style, have suited it to the taste of every reader. It cannot be too often remarked that it is principally the *style* which in all works attracts the admiration of the Italians; and it may here be mentioned that their critics have laid it down as a rule that the elements of their prose are to be collected only in the period between Dante and Machiavelli. This is the opinion of Alfieri.\*

Foscolo has followed this rule in his 'Ortis,' and more scrupulously still in the 'Sentimental Journey,' which he has translated with the words and phrases of the fourteenth century; not, however, to the prejudice of the conversational ease of our Yorick. This work, so popular in all foreign countries, had been twice before translated into Italian; but the torpidity of their style, and their repeated Gallicisms, had consigned these preceding versions to contempt. Foscolo published his translation under the name of Didimo Chierico; and in one of his many notes he gives us the following remarks on his native language:—

"Le donne gentili insegnarono al Parroco Yorick, e a me suo Chierico, a sentire, e quindi a parlare men rozzamente; ed io per gratitudine aggiungerò questo avviso per esse. La lingua Italiana è un bel metallo che bisogna ripulire della ruggine dell' antichità, e depurare della falsa lega della moda; e poscia batterlo genuino in guisa che ognuno possa riceverlo e spenderlo con fiducia, e dargli tal conio che paj a nuovo e nondimeno tutti sappiano ravvisarlo. Ma i letterati vostri non raccattano dagli antichi se non se il rancidume, e gli scienziati vi parlano franciosamente. I primi non hanno mente, gli altri non hanno cuore; e per quanti idiomi e' si sappiano, non avranno mai stile."

The preponderance of French power during the reign of Louis XIV., and even in that of Louis XV., had infected the Italian language with an infinity of French phrases and idioms. The consciousness of the extreme corruption induced by the revolution has given rise to a zealous spirit of reform, which has itself degenerated into a superstitious worship of the ancients, and has rather augmented than

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\* See his answer to Calsabigi, in the edition of his tragedies by Didot.



diminished the licence of the opposite writers. We consequently find many works composed solely of phrases almost or entirely obsolete, and distinguished neither for the energy of the old writers nor for the ease of the new. Others, and they are the majority, terrified by the study of a language the abundance of whose words and the variety of whose combinations render it almost insuperable, affect that sort of style now so common throughout Europe, which they are pleased to call philosophical, and which, in fact, is but a jargon neither Italian nor French, but a bad mixture of both.

If, therefore, good writers are rare in all countries, they are more especially so in Italy; for they have to connect the generic characteristics constantly inherent for five centuries in the Italian language, with the specific characteristics of their own times; and this amalgamation, not depending upon any fixed rules, must be contrived solely by the individual talents of each author. This accounts for the surprising diversity which foreigners are apt to observe in the manner of writing employed by the various authors of the same age; and perhaps this same diversity is more remarkable in the prose of Foscolo than of other writers. The Italian author also makes it an article of faith to vary his style according to his subject. Thus there is no less a difference between the letters, the romances, and the orations, than between the history and the epic or lyric poetry of these varied compositions. The 'Ortis' and the 'Sentimental Journey' resemble each other very little; notwithstanding that the author has followed the same rules of composition, and has always preserved the traits peculiar to his style. As for his 'Discourse for the Congress of Lyons,' it appears evidently written by the same man, but in a different language.

He wrote this 'Discourse' at the injunction of his Government, when Bonaparte, in the year 1801, convoked at Lyons the *Notables* of the Cisalpine Republic. The directions given to the orator were to pronounce a panegyric; but Foscolo adopted a different course. He pre-



sented a moving picture of the wretched state of the laws, of the armies, of the finances, and of the moral condition of the new republic. The sects, both old and new, that distracted their country—the priests, the nobles, the democrats, the partisans of foreign usurpation, the adulatory writers, the libellists, the defrauders of the public revenue, the monopolists, who profited by the sale of the national property, are all handled with the same severity. The following description of the masters of the republic, if it degrades the nation in one respect, exalts it on the other hand; for there must be something great in a people which can produce a single man who dares, in the cause of virtue, to paint his countrymen in such colours.

“Uomini nuovi ci governavano, per educazione nè politici, nè guerrieri (essenziali doti ne’ capi delle repubbliche); antichi schiavi, novelli tiranni, schiavi pur sempre di se stessi e delle circostanze che nè sapeano nè voleano domare; fra i pericoli e l’amor del potere ondeggianti, tutto perplessamente operavano; regia autorità era in essi, ma per inopia di coraggio e d’ingegno, nè violenti nè astuti; consci de’ propri vizj, e quindi diffidenti, discordi addossantisi scambievoli vituperj; datori di cariche, e pulpati, non temuti: alla plebe esosi come potenti; e come imbecilli, spregiati: convennero confatanza di publico bene e libidine di primeggiare ma nè pensiero pure di onore; vili con gli audaci, audaci coi vili, spegneano le accuse coi beneficj e le querele con le minaccie; e per la sempre imminente rovina, di oro puntellati con la fortuna, di brighe con i proconsoli, e di tradimenti con i principi stranieri.”

The chief cause of this general depravity he attributes to the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, which allowed the French Directory to tyrannise over Italy, and to pillage her provinces, not only by their own missions and generals, but by the appointment of magistrates, timid, ignorant, and avaricious, some of whom were to be found in that government which had assigned to Foscolo the pleasing duties of pronouncing their panegyric.\*

The praises bestowed by the orator upon the hero who was to remedy their national wrongs, magnificent as they

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\* See his Dedication—“Ai Membri del comitato del Governo.”

are in some respects, are still associated with the boldest maxims, and with predictions which are seldom hazarded in the hour of victory. With what satisfaction may Foscolo now look back upon the following prophetic warning!

“A ciascuno di tuoi pregi la storia contrappone e Tiberio solenne politico, e Marco Aurelio Imperadore filosofo, e Papa Leone X. ospite delle lettere. Che se molti di questi sommi, scarchi non vanno di delitti, uomini e mortali erano come sei tu, e non le speranze o il tremore de' contemporanei, ma la imperterrita posterità le lor sentenze scriveva su la lor sepultura. Infiniti ed illustri esempj hanno santificata oramai quella massima de' sapienti: niun uomo doversi virtuoso predicare e beato anzi la morte.”

After describing the distress of his country, the speaker, who calls himself *Giovine non affatto libero*, proposes certain remedies, and those he would apply not only to Italy, but to maintain the renown of that hero whose future glory he declares to depend principally on the durable independence of a nation which he had rescued from the slavery and disgrace of ages. Foscolo afterwards published this ‘Discourse,’ with the following motto from Sophocles:—“MY SOUL GROANS FOR MY COUNTRY, FOR MYSELF, AND ALSO FOR THEE.”

This discourse is not more than eighty pages, and, notwithstanding it is an historical composition, maintains a certain impetuosity and gravity of style which overwhelm and fatigue the attention. The events are hinted at, not detailed; the development concerns only their causes and their results. This brevity might be agreeable to those who had been spectators of, or actors in, the short and transitory scene; but foreign readers, and even those Italians removed by time or place from the original action, are left in the dark. It would be difficult to prove that the style of Tacitus, which Foscolo has not only copied but exaggerated with the devotion of a youth enchanted by his model, can be well adapted to this sort of composition. The English, who have perhaps run into the opposite extreme, will be astonished to hear that this ‘Discourse’ was particularly esteemed by the critics on account of its

close resemblance to the Latin. We should call this pedantry ; but it appears a meritorious exploit in the eyes of a nation, which, having for two hundred years diluted its language to insipidity, now lays it down for a maxim that for the *graces* of style, the early Tuscan authors are to be consulted ; and for the strength, and, if the word may be used, the nobility of the language, the Latins are the only safe model. It must be confessed that the origin of the language admits of this union. It is not unnatural that when they would discourse of liberty, they should have recourse to the manner of their Roman ancestors.

Bonaparte, at the Congress of Lyons, changed the name of the Cisalpine into that of the Italian Republic. He appointed himself president of this new state, and promulgated a constitution which he continued to violate at will up to the other change which converted the Republic into a Kingdom, and placed the administration of Upper Italy in the hands of a French viceroy. The only effect of Foscolo's discourse was to stop his own military promotion, but the loss of fortune was more than compensated by the public gratitude, which pointed to him as the man who had spoken the sense of the people, who had told the courageous truth, and had stood forward as the champion of national independence. It seems, however, that he continued in the army some time after this effort. The date of the preface to his 'Sentimental Journey' shows that he was, in 1805, at Calais with one of the Italian regiments which Bonaparte had united to his *Army of England*. His dedication of the works of Montecucculi, published in 1808 and 1809, which is addressed to General Caffarelli, minister of war of the Italian kingdom, tells us that he was aide-de-camp to that officer.

Foscolo published his edition of Montecucculi in two volumes, in folio, from the manuscripts discovered in the archives of the last Prince Trivulzio, by Serassi, the biographer of Tasso, and more recently by other inquirers. These manuscripts were more complete than those of the old incorrect edition, made just after the death of the author,



which had never been reprinted, and was so much forgotten that Montecucculi was known only through the French and German translations. The object of Foscolo was more than literary : he wished, by the example and precepts of an illustrious fellow-citizen, to inspire the Italians with a portion of his martial spirit, as well as to replace the author in his due rank amongst the best classical writers. He placed Montecucculi by the side of Machiavelli, and the compressed, commanding style of the great rival of Turenne facilitated the labours of his editor in filling up the many blanks of the manuscript. Foscolo was commended for these supplements, and for his happy imitation of the original style ; but he was accused of having been too licentious in his emendations of the text.\*

Montecucculi wrote his Commentaries and his Military Aphorisms when the use of artillery was but imperfectly known, and when a great part both of the infantry and cavalry fought with pikes and halberds, and the principal object of every war was the attack and defence of fortified towns. Foscolo illustrated his author with notes of two kinds—some of them consisting of passages from the classics, serving to show the Greek and Roman art of war, and the others relating to the system of Frederic II. and of Napoleon. By this plan the editor meant to apply each precept of Montecucculi to the three principal epochs in the history of military art—the ancient, the middle, and the modern period. To each volume he subjoined dissertations written with precisely the same object : he calls Napoleon *il maggiore guerriero delle età moderne*, an eulogium which must be allowed far from extravagant, at the time that the two Senates of France and of Italy declared him the *Thunderer of the Earth* (“Jupiter foudroyant sur la terre”), and all the Continental Kings of Europe confessed the title to be fairly earned and duly bestowed.

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\* Ha supplito alle lacune con lo stile del Montecucoli : ma Montecucoli nel proprio testo parla spesso con lo stile di Foscolo.—See *Giornale della Società d' Incoraggiamento*, an. 1809.



The Viceroy Eugene had about this time won a battle of no great importance against the Archduke John, in Hungary. The French chose to exalt this victory to a parallel with that of Montecucculi, who after two years of perseverance, and with an army of seven thousand men, had defeated seventy thousand Turks at a time when they were yet formidable in the field : this was at the famous battle of San Gothard. The *bulletins* observed that the Viceroy had been victorious on the same spot already illustrated by the exploits of Montecucculi, and had rivalled the skilful manœuvres of the Italian marshal. Foscolo devotes one of his dissertations to refute this encomium, and proves that neither the circumstances, nor the position, nor the place were the same ; and he concludes by insinuating that such exaggerations might be injurious to the merit actually acquired by the Viceroy.

Foscolo was now sent as Professor of Literature to Pavia, to replace Monti, who had been appointed historiographer. The new professor opened his course of lectures by an essay on the ' Origin and the Duties of Literature.\*' It was his grand position that, " as society could neither be formed originally, nor afterwards kept together, except by the use of words, every abuse of this distinctive human faculty must tend necessarily to the corruption of all social ties. Consequently, that the men of letters, being especially endowed with the power of words, are traitors to their duty whenever they neglect by their writings to excite the generous passions, to demonstrate useful truths, to add charms to virtue, and to direct public opinion to the promotion of national prosperity."

He goes on to place his men of letters as independent mediators between the government which applies to force alone, and has a natural tendency to despotism, and the people, who have no less a natural inclination towards licen-

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\* " Dell' Origine e dell' Ufficio della Letteratura." — Milano, 1809. It was translated and commented upon by the celebrated Guinguiné.

tiousness and slavery. He looks for the proof of these principles in the history of all nations; and the more he exults in the utility of literature, the more he declaims against the vanity and the baseness both of those who sell their abilities to a tyrant, and of those who employ them in ministering to the odious passions and the capricious follies of the multitude. It was an old and constant practice in Italy to insert an eulogy of the actual government in the opening discourses of every professor. Foscolo departed from this ceremony, and subjoined a note, saying, "that it belongs to history alone to speak in a becoming manner of great sovereigns." He then cited a decree of Augustus Cæsar, which forbade the small poets and orators to disgrace his name by their ephemeral praises.

The professorships of literature not only at Pavia, but also at Bologna\* and Padua, were forthwith suppressed by the government. Many other professorships underwent the same fate—namely, those for the Greek and for the Oriental languages, for history, for the knowledge of medals, and, in short, for all those branches of study not strictly belonging to medicine, to jurisprudence, and to the mathematics. Foscolo retained his *chair* only two months; and about twenty-four other professors, who had not involved themselves in the guilt of preaching his principles, were also deprived of their emoluments, after many years of literary labour. It would be hazardous to say whether the discourse of Foscolo provoked this measure, or whether it had been some time in agitation; but at all events, the Italians were struck with the verification of the words of their own Alfieri, who had told them that *absolute monarchs hate the historian, and the poet, and the orator, and give preference to the sciences.*† Perhaps it may not be uncharitable to add

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\* On this occasion the celebrated Mezzofanti, professor of Oriental languages, and the most extraordinary linguist in existence, was deprived of his chair, and reduced to an income of 750 francs.

† See the article on Alfieri.

that the scientific, compared with the literary writers of every nation, repay with corresponding submission the partiality of royal patronage.

Padua, Pavia, and Bologna beheld the sudden decline of the institutions which had been the ancient ornament of their towns. Four-and-twenty lyceums were founded in the respective departments of the kingdom, with the pretext of reinstating some of the professors ejected from the three universities; but it was impossible to find a sufficient number of learned individuals, or adequate salaries for all these establishments in every branch of science and of literature; and the consequence of this dispersion, as well as of the multiplied foundations, was, that the place of professor was degraded from those high privileges and that respectability of character which had made it for centuries an object of Italian ambition.

Those who have criticised Foscolo's discourse on the Origin and the Duties of Literature, have found all the beauties and all the defects of this author more strongly displayed in this discourse than in any other of his prose works. A strict propriety in the words, a severe grammatical exactness, and a scrupulous rejection of every thing not absolutely inherent in the genius of the language—these meritorious characteristics are apparent in every page; but on the other hand, the same composition is remarkable for an unusual method of connecting the phrases; for the perilous boldness of the metaphors; for the over-nice discrimination of the expressions, and the use of them in the primitive Tuscan sense in contradistinction to their modern acceptance. It evinces also a certain confusion of imagery with argument, a continual struggle between the natural impetuosity and the affected calm of the writer; a union of objects very different in themselves, which are distinguished by a variety of colouring that dazzles and confounds the eye; and lastly, a crowd of ideas which, together with the rapidity of expression, overwhelm and fatigue the attention.

The Cavalier Lamberti, a declared adversary of this



writer, and one of those before alluded to, who possess the reputation of great scholars, examining the works of Foscolo, calls them, "tenebrose per certo stile lor proprio di oscurità misteriosa e d'idee affollate e appena accennate, e d'eloquenza compressa sdegnosamente; quasi che questo autore non voglia per lettori che i suoi pari."\*

Hippolitus Pindemonte reproaches him with the same defect, but in the tone more of a poet than a critic, and less of a censor than of a friend. "Your style," he says, "resembles the Rhone, which flows rapidly from the limpid lake of Geneva, and is lost under the Alps, to the regret of the traveller, who knows not how it has disappeared, and who finds himself obliged to wander on for some distance before he again beholds its azure current, and hears the sound of its rapid stream."† The political topics which have been generally selected for the subject of his performances, have perhaps induced this writer to leave us to guess that which he did not like to say openly. It is, however, equally true that the constant intensity of thought which he requires of his readers must be traced either to the peculiar mode in which his ideas are originally conceived, or to his wish to give them a new turn. Indeed all his writings bear the mark of meditation, although much forethought cannot be discovered in his familiar conversation, in which he gives a loose to all his ideas as they first present themselves. A literary lady has described him as *parlatore felicissimo e facondo*,‡ and this copious eloquence is accompanied with an incessant agitation of limb and body, which, however, is, when he harangues in public, converted into an absolute inactivity. It is told of him that he has spoken for hours at the councils of war with his hands fixed on the back of a chair, without indulging in the slightest action.

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\* See — in the Milanese Review — the Poligrafo, the articles signed Y.

† See Pindemonte's epistle, in verse, addressed to Hugo Foscolo.

‡ Ritratti, scritti dalla Contessa Isabella Albrizzi.



This fact, incredible as it may be to such as have seen Mr. Foscolo only in private society, will not be lost upon those who please themselves with discriminating between the different modes of intellectual exertion, and who will be obliged to account for so singular a discrepancy by recollecting that Foscolo may have deliberately preferred this motionless eloquence. The truth is, as we find in his 'Discourse upon Literature,' that he decries the *quackery* of the latter orators of Athens by praising the more ancient speakers, who harangued in the manner of Pericles, wrapped up in their *clamys*, without gesture or melody: *Peroravano avvolti, all' uso di Pericle, nella clamide, senza gesto nè melodia.*

The published poetry of this writer is confined to two odes and a little work, called 'I Sepolcri,' written when it was forbidden to bury the dead in family tombs:—

“Pur nuova legge impone oggi i sepolcri  
Fuor de' guardi pietosi, e il nome a' morti  
Contende.”

According to the provisions of this new law, all corpses, without distinction, were to be interred in public cemeteries without the towns, and the size of the sepulchral stone was prescribed, and the epitaphs were subject to the revision and approval of the magistrates. The aim of Foscolo in this poem appears to be the proof of the influence produced by the memory of the dead on the manners and on the independence of nations.

It may be sufficient to quote a specimen which will be more easily understood by those who have visited the church of Santa Croce at Florence:—

“Io quando il monumento  
Vidi ove posa il corpo di quel grande  
Che temprando lo scettro a' regnatori  
Gli allôr ne sfronda, ed alle genti svela  
Di che lagrime grandi e di che sangue; \*  
E l' arca di colui che nuovo Olimpo  
Alzò in terra a' celesti; † e di chi vide

\* Machiavelli.

† Michael Angelo.

Sotto l' etereo padiglion rotarsi  
 Più mondi, e il Sole irradiarli immoto,\*  
 Onde all' Anglo che tanta ala vi stese†  
 Sgombrò primo le vie del Firmamento;  
 Te beata! gridai, per le felici  
 Aure pregne di vita, e pe' lavacri  
 Che da suoi gioghi a te versa Apennino:  
 Lieta dell' aer tuo, veste la Luna  
 Di luce limpidissima i tuoi colli  
 Per vendemmia festanti; e le convalli  
 Popolate di case e d' oliveti  
 Mille di fiori al Ciel mandano incensi:  
 E tu prima, Firenze, udivi il carme  
 Che alleggrò l' ire al Ghibellin fuggiasco;‡  
 E tu i cari parenti e l' idioma  
 Desti a quel dolce di Calliope labbro§  
 Che Amore in Grecia nudo, e nudo in Roma  
 D'un velo candidissimo adornando  
 Rendea nel grembo a Venere Celeste.  
 Ma più beata che in un tempio accolte  
 Serbi le Itale glorie (ultime forse!)  
 Da che le malvietate Alpi e l' alterna  
 Onnipotenza delle umane sorti  
 Armi, e sostanze t' invadeano, ed are  
 E Patria, e, tranne la memoria, tutto."

This poem contains only three hundred lines, but it called forth pamphlets and criticisms in every shape and from all quarters. The younger writers tried to imitate it: the critics pronounced it to have brought about a reform in the lyrical poetry of Italy. The Academy of Brescia proposed a prize for the best Latin translation, and awarded their premium to the professor Frederic Borgno, who soon after published his version in hexameters, accompanied with a dissertation, a passage of which may be quoted to show the tone of Italian criticism:—

"It is the business of lyrical poetry, properly so called, to present to us interesting facts, so as to excite our strongest feelings, and to promulgate those opinions which tend to the prosperity of nations. Any ten verses which do not furnish the painter with images sufficient to compose an historical picture, which do not shake the soul by the noble recollections they recall, by the generous passions they

\* Galileo.

† Newton.

‡ Dante.

§ Petrarch.

awaken, which do not engrave in luminous characters some useful truth upon the mind—these verses may, I confess, be admirable in their kind, but they do not belong to lyrical poetry. The prophetic portion of the Bible, some of the hymns attributed to Homer, Pindar, Catullus in his marriage of Peleus, the sixth eclogue of Virgil, the episodes in the Georgics, a dozen of the odes of Horace, six of the canzoni of Petrarch, a few of Chiabrera, of Guidi, of Filicaja, those of Dryden, and two of Gray, are really lyrical. All the other poetry of Petrarch, and of those called lyrical, may be justly praised, and may charm a greater number of readers even than those above cited, but it is necessary to adopt the division of Cicero, in his distinction between ‘*poetæ lyri*ci’ et ‘*melici*.’ Pindar belongs to the first; Sappho, Anacreon, and Simonides, to the second.”

The Italians are fond of these classifications, and indulge in them more than we should esteem profitable to the study of language. But it is also true that their critics seldom praise even their favourite authors with the indiscriminate fury of our eulogists. Mr. Borgno subjoins to his notice of Chiabrera, Guidi, and Filicaja, a list of exceptions to their merits which might surprise a foreigner, accustomed to think of the name, rather than the works of their authors. According to this authority, sonorous words and a magnificence of verse and of phrase are substituted by these writers for the requisite variety of harmony and of imagery, whilst they are totally deficient in the *chiaroscuro* of poetry, and have chosen subjects which either are not national, or, what is as bad, are totally incapable of interesting their nation.

Mr. Borgno quotes other poetical works of Foscolo, which appear to be in the same style, and, amongst others, his ‘*Alceus*,’ which describes the political vicissitudes of Italian poetry from the fall of the Eastern Empire to the present day. He alludes also to ‘*The Graces*,’ a poem, in three cantos. Both the one and the other are, however, inedited, and are known only by some fragments.

The blank verses of Foscolo are totally different from those of any other author. Each verse has its peculiar pauses and accents placed according to the subject described. His melancholy sentiments move in a slow and measured pace, his lively images bound along with the rapid march of joy. Some of his lines are composed almost entirely of

vowels, others almost entirely of consonants; and whatever an Englishman may think of this imitation of sense by sound (a decried effort since the edict of Dr. Johnson), the Italian poet has at least succeeded in giving a different *melody* to each verse, and in varying the *harmony* of every period.

It is perhaps necessary to be an Italian to feel the full effect of these combinations; but the scholar of every country may perceive that Foscolo has formed himself on the Greek model, not only in this particular, but in other branches of his art. In fact, he was born in the Ionian islands, as he himself tells us in some beautiful verses at the end of one of his odes:—

“ Fra l’ Isole  
Che col selvoso dorso  
Rompono agli Euri, e al grande Ionio il corso,  
Ebbi in quel mar la culla :  
Ivi erra ignudo spirito  
Di Faon la Fanciulla ;  
E se il notturno Zefiro  
Blando sui flutti spira  
Suonano i liti un lamentar di lira.”

Two tragedies, the ‘Ricciarda’ and the ‘Ajaz,’ by the same author, were stopped by the government after the first representation. They excited a great curiosity from motives not altogether poetical. It was reported that Moreau was his Ajax, that Napoleon was to figure in his Agamemnon, and that his holiness the Pope would be easily recognised in Chalcas. The known principles of Foscolo facilitated the recognition of these originals, who, after all, perhaps, never sat to the poet for their likenesses. Whatever were his intentions, he received immediate orders to quit the kingdom of Italy and to reside in some town of the French empire. He accordingly fixed his abode at Florence, at that time a department of France.

Foscolo has lived and written in a state of open war with the writers of the day and the reigning political parties. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has been severely handled in publications of every kind, and particularly in the journals, which will be found to contain imputations against



him not confined to his literary life. He was never personal in his first attacks, and he never replied to the personalities of others. He even affected so complete a contempt for them as to republish and distribute some of the libels written against himself. Perhaps he is not aware that this apparent moderation is anything rather than a proof of his indifference to attack.

In England these demonstrations of contempt would be suspected, and would be ridiculous; and even in Italy Mr. Foscolo has been justly charged with pushing them to an unjust exposure of men who were the most disposed to be his literary friends and admirers. He published nearly 300 pages in large octavo upon the translated elegy of Catullus, 'De Coma Berenices;' the whole lucubration being a grave and continued irony on the verbal criticisms of the commentators. Some of the learned fell into the snare; and Foscolo, who had issued only a few copies, now added a 'Farewell' to his readers, in which he repays their praises by exposing the mysteries and the abuses of the philological art. Those whom he had deceived must have been not a little irritated to find that his frequent citations were invented for the occasion, and that his commentary had been purposely sprinkled with many of the grossest faults. Neither the merit nor the success of such a pleasantry can be intelligible to an English reader; but it should be told that Foscolo, with the same patriotism which seems the devouring passion of his soul, contrived this deception partly to warn the commentators that it was their duty also, as well as that of other writers, to devote themselves to the excitement of generous sentiments in the bosom of their countrymen.\*

Foscolo is an excellent scholar: his knowledge of Greek is far superior to that of many of his most distin-

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\* See 'La Chioma di Berenice,' Milano, 1803; 'La Bibliothèque Italienne,' a French review, published at Turin; and 'Il Diario Italiano' for November and December of the same year.

guished fellow-countrymen : he writes Latin with facility and elegance. A little book in that language, called 'Didymi Clerici Prophetæ Minimi Hypercalypseos, liber singularis,' has been attributed, and, it is believed, justly, to his pen. It appears to be a satire against the journalists, the learned pensioners of the court, the Royal Institute, and the senate of the kingdom of Italy ; but it is an enigma from beginning to end to any one not furnished with the key to the individual allusions. This obscurity showed at least, that he did not care to engage the multitude on his side, and that he was indifferent as to the dispersion of his own feelings of contempt for the men of letters of the Italian court.

The lady whose opinions have been before quoted, talks of the literary intolerance of Foscolo as the offspring of his reflection, not of his disposition : "A warm friend, but sincere as the mirror itself, that neither deceives nor conceals. Kind, generous, grateful ; his virtues appear those of savage nature, when seen in the midst of these sophisticated reasoners of our days. He would tear his heart from his bosom, if he thought that a single pulsation was not the unconstrained and free movement of his soul." \*

Although Foscolo had studied under Cesarotti, and had been encouraged by the voice of that generous master, he loudly disapproved of the translation of Homer, and more decidedly still of the *Pronéa*. He was a long time nearly connected with Monti, who frequently mentions him with applause ; and, in his illustrations of Persius, foretells that his young friend will, one day or the other, be the first poet of the age. In the last years of the French government, an intimacy with Foscolo was not favourable to court

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\* Intollerante più per riflessione che per natura : amico fervido ; ma sincero come lo specchio, che non inganna, nè illude. Pietoso, generoso, riconoscente, pare un selvaggio in mezzo a' filosofi de' nostri dì. Si strapperebbe il cuore dal petto se liberi non gli paressero i risalti tutti del suo cuore. See *Ritratti, scritti dalla Contessa Isabella Albrizzi*.

promotion. Monti and the future Corypheus of the poets became cool to each other, and would not willingly meet in the same society; but either reciprocal fear, or the memory of their ancient alliance, has not allowed any written attack from either adversary. An Englishman wished, when at the Scala theatre at Milan in 1816, to give the 'Death of Ortis' as a subject for an improvisation; but a friend said to him, "*It will not be chosen: Monti is behind the scenes, and will hear nothing said in favour of Ortis or of Foscolo.*" The same influence, joined to that of the police, was pronounced fatal also to the 'Apotheosis' of Alfieri. There is a story current respecting the last interview of these two writers, which may illustrate and contrast the character of both. They were dining at the house of Count Veneri, minister of the public treasury: Monti, as usual, launched out against Alfieri, according to the court tone of the day: "All his works together," said he, "are not worth a song of Metastasio's" — "Stop there, Sir," interrupted Foscolo, "*or I will whirl round you and your party as well as ever top was whipped by a school-boy.*" As far as respects his other great contemporaries, he has never spoken of Pindemonte but with esteem, nor ever names Alfieri without admiration. The instructions he received from Parini have mingled a tender recollection with the reverence with which he dwells upon his character, in the 'Letters of Ortis.'

In spite of his opposition to the French, and of his repeated declaration, that the representative rights belong only to the landed proprietors, it is easy to discern that Foscolo is a pupil of the Revolution. In truth, he imputes the misfortunes of Italy to the cowardice, the ignorance, and the egotism of the nobles. He owes his popularity rather to his conduct than to his maxims, or even to his works; for the first are not qualified to obtain the favour of the majority, and the second are above the common class of readers.

The admirers of Napoleon may behold in this author a rebellious subject, but a sincere eulogist wherever he has thought fit to praise. He was confined five months, and

suffered other persecutions, which did not, however, make him lose sight of the distinction between the judicious administrator and the oppressive usurper of his country. The truth is, that Napoleon conferred upon Italy all the benefit that a country divided and enslaved could possibly expect from a conqueror. To him she owed her union; to him, her laws and her arms: her new activity, and her recovered martial spirit, were inspired by his system. But Foscolo was a citizen of the Venetian republic which Napoleon destroyed, and there exists in Italy a very numerous class, who consider the independence of their country as the first indispensable step towards her regeneration. Foscolo, as well as some others, who, when the Italian republic was degraded into a subsidiary kingdom, were named amongst the electoral colleges, contrived never to attend, because he would not take the oath of allegiance. But he did not find it impossible to live under the dominion of the French. The Austrians in their turn required from him personally an oath of fidelity to their Emperor. Foscolo refused to them what he would not grant to Napoleon. But he could not breathe under their depressive system. He became a voluntary exile, and his adieus to his countrymen are couched in the language of proud resignation:—

“Let not the minister of the Austrian police continue to persecute me in my Swiss asylum; tell him that I am far from wishing to excite the hopeless passions of my fellow citizens. We were in want of arms; they were given to us by France, and Italy had again a name amongst the nations. In the access of our inflammatory fever, the loss of blood could not harm us, and the death of a single man would have inevitably produced changes favourable to all the nations who should have courage to profit by the happy juncture. But it was ordained otherwise: the affairs of the world have been turned into another and an unexpected channel. The actual disease of Italy is a slow, lethargic consumption; she will soon be nothing but a lifeless carcase; and her generous sons should only weep in silence, without the impotent complaints and the mutual recrimination of slaves.”\*

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“Senza querele impotenti, nè recriminazioni da servi.” This



It is hoped that the preceding pages may have furnished a general notion of the state of literature in Italy during the last fifty years. More extensive limits would have comprised more copious extracts from the cited authors, would have noticed other writers, and would have included not only a view of the education of the Italians, but of their style and taste, and present productions in all the branches of literature; little indeed has been done in comparison of what remains to do, but on the reception of what has been already offered will depend whether anything more shall be attempted. A great question at this moment divides the learned world in Italy into the partisans of classical poetry, and of the poetry of romance. The first, of course, range Homer in the front of their battle; and the others, who have adopted the division of Madame de Stael, and talk of a literature of the North, and a literature of the South, have still the courage to depend upon Ossian for their principal champion. The first would adhere solely to the mythology of the ancients; the other party would banish it totally from all their compositions. It would not be very difficult to state the true merits of this idle inquiry, on the decision of which may, however, depend the turn taken by the literature of the next half century. But this also must be left for another opportunity. In the mean time it may be allowed to mention, that the Italians themselves are far from ungrateful to those foreigners, especially the English, who evince a desire to be acquainted with their literature: but that they are for the most part surprised at our original misconceptions, and do not a little complain of the false impressions communicated by the ignorance of those, even amongst their expatriated countrymen, who have presumed to be our instructors.

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was inserted in the Lugano Gazette, for April 14, 1815, in an article written to answer a book with the title '*Memoria storica della Rivoluzione di Milano, seguito il 20 Aprile, 1814*,' Parigi 1815. Published by some senators of the kingdom of Italy.

The materials for the foregoing Essay were furnished to me by an Italian exile, whose assistance I could not avow without compromising him with his fellow-countrymen, and, perhaps, embarrassing his pursuits in England. The critical judgments were from my friend; the language and adaptation to English literature were, of course, my own. The caution of my coadjutor was somewhat justified by the event; for the Essay was assailed by the friends of Monti and the partisans of the Romantic school in Italy; and all the praises so justly bestowed upon the verses of Pindemonte did not reconcile the poet to the gentle reproof of those "spiritual exercises which occupied a considerable portion of his time, and plunged him into that absorbing solitude which a more rational religion would have taught him to exchange for the active duties and social amusements of life."

That he was offended I had subsequently a painful proof; for when I requested the co-operation of several distinguished contemporaries of Lord Byron towards erecting a monument to his memory, Pindemonte was the only man who not only gave me a refusal, but replied to me in terms deficient in courtesy and Christian candour. He forgot that if any blame was to be attached to the request, I was the culprit, and not Lord Byron.

The readers of the Essay will observe that it relates chiefly to natives of Upper Italy, and that several writers of eminence belonging to other portions of the Peninsula are not noticed in its pages. It was, indeed, my intention to have continued these biographical sketches, by adding to them similar accounts of Bettinelli, Niccolini, Giusti, and others (embracing, perhaps, the famous Leopardi), who have attained to eminence since my first acquaintance with Italy; but the friend above alluded to discontinued his assistance, and another person to whom I looked for valuable help, and who kindly promised to give it to me, was called to important public duties, which so much interfered

with his literary leisure that I could not venture to remind him of his engagement.

The Cavalier Cosimo Buonarotti was the representative of a family made illustrious by a man of a genius almost universal, and which none but Italians, of all modern nations, have been found to possess. He lived in the house where Michael Angelo had lived: he was possessed of several unpublished manuscripts, some of them autographs, of his great ancestor; and with a taste highly cultivated, and manners most engaging, was one of the chief ornaments of Florentine society. I was honoured by his personal intimacy, and by his correspondence, for many years; and he furnished me when at Florence, in 1842, with some notices, both in conversation and by written documents, which would have been of considerable service to me if he had been able to continue his contributions; but he received a high judicial appointment, and subsequently became one of the ministers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. I saw him in 1854 in that character, and could not help remarking that both he and I had been somewhat diverted from those pursuits to which I had been indebted for my long intimacy with him. He was, however, changed in nothing but personal appearance. I found him the same friendly, urbane, pleasing-mannered gentleman that had greeted me in 1817. But he is gone; nor is there one of all those who made my first residence in Italy so delightful to me now left to receive this assurance of my grateful recollection of them.

It is almost superfluous to add that I leave the undertaking which I had hoped to complete to younger and to abler hands; but it may surprise some readers to hear that at present there is no such general review of the actual state of Italian literature.

(C.)

## ON RECENT EVENTS (1861).

AT the conclusion of this volume, in pages 260, 261, I ventured to record an opinion that "the only chance of Constitutional freedom being established throughout Italy depended on the permanence of the present Sardinian system;" and I, at the same time, confessed that "even of those Englishmen who have some knowledge and love of Italy, the most prudent and trustworthy regard her unity and independence as little better than a pleasing dream, the reality of which has never been, nor is likely to be, actually attained."

This was said little more than two years ago; and I have now before me, on the 23rd of February, 1861, the speech of King Victor Emmanuel at the opening of the first Italian Parliament, together with the announcement that the said Parliament is about immediately to confer on the King of Sardinia the crown of united Italy and Sicily.

Yes! it seems that the Italian Kingdom has come:

"Salve magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus  
Magna virum."

God grant that it may be so. Then will the pleasing dream be exchanged for the un hoped reality; and



then, having lived through some of the darkest days of modern times, I shall not close my eyes, for ever, before they have actually witnessed what our own majestic Milton saw only in a vision, "a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks."

But deep indeed, and desperate, will be the indignation of all the friends of freedom and civilisation throughout the world, should this, the fairest of all human prospects, be again overclouded, and the days of darkness once more return. Yet that such disappointment of all our hopes is possible who can deny? The bold, yet prudent sagacity of the statesman, and the vigorous disinterested valour of the soldier, to which this glorious consummation is mainly due, may not be found in the next age—the sword of France may not be always at the service of Italy—nor may a warlike Prince content with constitutional sovereignty always occupy her throne.

We must not be so blinded by the dazzling successes of the last few months as not to be aware that something more than an honest King, and a free parliament; and a great soldier is wanted to ensure permanence to the new kingdom of Italy. The union of the many provinces which a wholesome dread of a powerful neighbour, a master only yesterday, has served to cement, will require some other motive for continued combination when that fear shall be removed; and nothing but a total change in the most cherished habits and modes

of thinking throughout the Peninsula can create that uniformity of interest and feeling which is essential to national existence. The best political constitution may do much, but cannot do all, to produce the desired result. Nowhere have the disorganising effects of the division and subdivision of property been more distinctly seen than in Italy. Generally speaking the ancient Italian patrician has disappeared, and his place has not been supplied by the titular nobility of the petty princes of the Restoration. Whilst the law of primogeniture prevailed there was too often one very idle man in every considerable family. Since that law was done away with, not one alone, but many idlers are to be found; each of these has a little, and that little is enough, for it saves him from penury and from labour. For fifty pounds a year a man, even in expensive cities, may live and enjoy all that most Italians require, the coffee-house and the theatre. It is true that he has nothing like what we call a home; but few will forego a life of idleness and ease for the cares of a family. In that respect he is not to be pitied more than the priest and the soldier, the most important portion, hitherto, of Italian society. Lord Bacon has declared that "unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants, not always best subjects, for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition." Now it is clear that there is but one way to make a man a good subject, and fond of his home, namely, to give him a good government and a happy

home. For ages the Italians have had neither. The maxim my Venetian friend applied to his state might have been extended to all Italy, "*non conviene imbarazzarsi del governo*" (*see* chap. vii. vol. i.). No one received an education to accomplish him for government, for no one belonged to a class intended for that purpose. In fact there was no such class. The favour of the Prince might raise the most insignificant or the most worthless of the community to official rank. The son or grandson of a highwayman might become prime minister to a Sovereign, or might become a Sovereign himself. But in no section of the community were to be found persons specially qualified by birth or education for the control of their fellow subjects and the management of public affairs. A man of genius well suited for this great art might occasionally be found. Italy is never without some highly-gifted individual, wanting nothing but opportunity to attain distinction in any pursuit. A Sicilian noble knew how to govern France and to pacify Cromwell; the son of a Parmesan peasant became dictator and regenerator of Spain, and disposer of crowns and kingdoms. Both of these consummate politicians were Princes of the Church, not made by the Church, but by themselves. Alexander Farnese, Pescara, Montecucculi, showed that modern Italy could produce great captains; and it ought not to be forgotten that the Italian divisions of the French army were amongst the most distinguished for discipline during the dire disasters of the retreat from Moscow.

The Italians hitherto, except during the short-lived Republics of the great Revolution, have had no political career open to them. Offices there were, for which, as in other countries, they scrambled. Those who gained them got nothing but small emoluments, without dignity or respect. Those who failed to get them became discontented, and sometimes, if opportunity served, factious. The Parliament of the united Italian kingdom must, at any rate, provide a noble occupation for those hitherto condemned to inaction or indulgence. There will be, it is true, no security against irregular ambition, against selfishness in its meanest form, a love of official lucre; but the representative system, if it brings out these blemishes, cannot fail to rouse the energies and awaken the virtues of an emancipated people; and the struggle of conflicting intellects and individual interests will surely develop all the resources of populations remarkable for mental vigour.

Most fortunate is it that the experiment of constitutional government has been tried for several years in Piedmont; and due allowance being made for the enmity of one powerful neighbour, and the friendship of another, with signal success. I have previously noticed some of the difficulties with which it has had to contend; one of them has been disposed of by the cession of Savoy, and it is to be hoped that the Genoese patriots will be reconciled to the sovereignty which has made them citizens of a powerful state.

It is also to be hoped that the beautiful cities which



enjoyed metropolitan honours in divided Italy will find compensation for their loss in the substantial enjoyment of individual liberty and national importance.

Great embarrassments will arise from the selection of a capital for the new kingdom. Rome, Florence, Milan, Turin, and others of her renowned cities have, each of them, their advocates and their advantages. The magnanimous Liberator of the Two Sicilies has declared that the King of Italy shall be proclaimed and fix his throne on the Quirinal.\* But in regard to this proposal a question must be asked which concerns all Italy, and, perhaps, all Europe. What is to be done with the French garrison? and what is to be done with the Pope? What, indeed? There is but one personage who can give to this question an answer likely to be acted upon; and although I do not find, either in Mr. de la Guéronnière's last pamphlet, or in the very remarkable speech of Prince Napoleon, a positive reply to it, yet there is something ominous in both of these denunciations of the recent conduct of the Papal cabinet; nor is it probable that the intentions of the French Emperor, whatever they may be, will be much affected by the laughable impertinence of the Bishop of Poitiers, of which extravagance it may, without irreverence, be said, that Napoleon III. is as much like Pontius Pilate as Pio Nono resembles the Saviour of mankind.

But the difficulty itself is so serious, that on the solu-

\* The Piedmontese Prime Minister has just signified his preference of the Eternal City (April, 1861).

tion of it may depend not only the independence of Italy, but the peace of Europe ; and it appears to me more reasonable to consider and prepare for future probabilities than to discuss past events in order to decide whether what has been done was in strict conformity with the law of nations, or with the Treaties of Vienna in 1815. The protocols of Metternich and Hardenberg have been as much respected as the doctrines of Grotius and Puffendorf by the Sovereigns and swordsmen who have flourished in our days ; and as for the liberation of Italy, men have been found to denounce it,

“ And proved from Vattel,

“ Exceedingly well,

“ Such a deed would be atrocious.”

---

Whatever may be the progress, whatever the end of this great effort, at least it has begun well ; and I cannot close these little volumes more to my own satisfaction than by copying the speech of Victor Emmanuel at the opening of the first Parliament of the kingdom of Italy on the 18th of February last—a speech too prudent to give universal satisfaction, but which appears to me altogether worthy of the auspicious occasion.

His Majesty addressed the Senators and Deputies thus :—

Signori Senatori,

Signori Deputati,

Libera ed unita quasi tutta, per mirabile aiuto della Divina Provvidenza, per la concorda volontà dei popoli, e per lo splendido valore degli eserciti, l' Italia confida nella virtù e nella sapienza vostra.

A voi si appartiene di darle istituti comuni, e stabile assetto. Nello attribuire le maggiore libertà amministrative a popoli che ebbero consuetudini ed ordini diversi, vogliete perchè la unità politica, sospiro di tanti secoli, non possa mai essere menomata.

L' opinione delle genti civili ci è propizia ; ci sono propizi gli equi e liberali principii che vanno prevalendo nei Consigli d' Europa. L' Italia diventerà per essa una guarentigia di ordine e di pace, e ritornerà efficace strumento della civiltà universale.

L' Imperatore dei Francesi, mantinendo fermo la massima del non intervento, a noi sommamente benefica, stimò tuttavia di richiamare il suo inviato. Se questo fatto ci fu cagione di rammarico, esso non alterò i sentimenti della nostra gratitudine, nè la fiducia nel suo affetto alla causa Italiana.

La Francia e l' Italia, che ebbero comune le stirpe, le tradizioni, il costume, strinsero sui campi di Magenta e di Solferino un nodo che sarà indissolubile.

Il governo ed il popolo d' Inghilterra, patria antica della libertà, affermarono altamente il nostro diritto ad essere arbitri delle proprie sorti e ci furono larghi di confortevoli uffici, dei quali durerà imperitura la riconoscente memoria.

Salito sul trono di Prussia un leale ed illustre Principe gli mandai un' ambasciatore a segno di onoranza verso di lui e di simpatia verso la nobile nazione Germanica ; la quale io spero verrà sempre più nella persuasione, che l' Italia costituita nella sua unità naturale, non può offendere i diritti nè gli interessi delle altre nazioni.

Signori Senatori,  
Signori Deputati,

Io son certo che vi farete solleciti a fornire al mio governo i modi di compiere gli armamenti di terra e di mare. Così il Regno d' Italia posta in condizione di non temere offesa, troverà più facilmente nella coscienza delle proprie forze la ragione dell' opportuna prudenza.

Altra volta la mia parola suonò ardimentosa, essendo

savio così lo osare a tempo, come lo attendere a tempo. Devoto all' Italia, non ho mai esitato a porre a cimento la vita e la corona; ma nissuno ha il diritto di cimentare la vita e le sorti di una nazione.

Dopo molte segnalate vittorie, l' esercito Italiano, crescente ogni giorno in fama, conseguiva nuovo titolo di gloria espugnando una fortezza delle più formidabili. Mi consolo nel pensiero, che là si chiudeva la serie dolorosa dei nostri conflitti civili.

L' armata navale ha dimostrato nelle acque di Ancona e di Gaeta che rivivono in Italia i marinari di Pisa, di Genova, e di Venezia.

Una valenta gioventù condotta da un Capitano che riempì del suo nome le più lontane contrade, fece manifesto che nè la servitù nè le lunghe sventure valsero a snervare la fibra dei popoli Italiani.

Questi fatti hanno ispirato alla nazione una grande confidenza nei proprii destini. Mi compiaccio di manifestare al primo Parlamento d' Italia la gioia che ne sente il mio animo di re e di soldato.



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